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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

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By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

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OF

Universal History.

CHAP. LXXVIII. *Continued.*

The History of Poland.

SECT. VII.

From the Resignation of John Casimir to the Death of John Sobieski.

CASIMIR's resignation involved the nation in fresh scenes of discord and confusion. The nobility took up arms, and came in numerous squadrons into the field of election. This conduct they intended as a precaution against intrigue and caballing: it produced the contrary effect, and had almost proved fatal to themselves and the republic. Borne away by the torrent of caprice and passion, they separated into factions, drew their swords against each other, against the senate, and chief lords, and pointed those arms at the vitals of the state which they had taken up in defence of her privileges, and the freedom of their own suffrages. The day for opening the general diet was fixed for the 2d of May by the primate-archbishop of Gnesna; but the interregnum was not disturbed like the former, by religious parties, the late king having taken such measures as effectually suppressed Socinianism, and A.D. 1669.

Candidates for the crown of Poland.

inſpired the other ſects with terror. Four candidates appeared for the crown of Poland. The firſt was the eldeſt ſon of the czar of Muſcovy, who had been educated in the Poliſh dominions, ſpoke the language, and imitated the manners of the country, which were ſtrong arguments in his favour; though the czar had ſtill more powerful in reſerve: an army of eighty thouſand men waited for the anſwer of the diet on the frontiers, ready to break in upon the territories of the republic, ſhould the prince be rejected. The grand-duke beſides promiſed, that his ſon ſhould embrace the Roman catholic religion; that he ſhould publicly renounce his claim to the diadem of Muſcovy; that Kiow, and all the places conquered from Poland, ſhould be reſtored; and that four millions ſhould be paid to the treaſury of the republic to diſcharge the arrears of the army. Theſe were exceedingly advantageous propoſals; but they were accompanied with menaces that rendered them diſagreeable, and excited the reſentment of the whole Poliſh nation. Even the czar's offer of ſupporting the republic with an army of forty thouſand men was conſtrued into a reflection on her weakneſs, as if ſhe was unable to defend her own frontiers, and repel the attacks of her enemies. However, as the Poles were not able to reſiſt the weight of ſo prodigious an army as the czar had aſſembled on the frontiers, they choſe to act with caution, and not give umbrage unneceſſarily to the court of Muſcovy. With this view they diſſembled their intentions; and Pack, high chancellor of Lithuania, was ordered to aſſure the czar of the good will and eſteem of the Poles for his ſon, and their deſign of raiſing him to the throne, provided they could have ſecurity that he was ſincere in his renunciation of the Greek faith. It was the buſineſs of the czar immediately to remove this difficulty: he procured a declaration of the patriarch and clergy of Muſcovy, teſtifying, that as the intention of the young prince in offering himſelf a candidate for the crown of Poland, was only to ſtrengthen Chriſtianity againſt the common enemy, the Turk, he might lawfully conform to the Latin church: ſo eaſily do the clergy ſuggeſt arguments to palliate ambition. The Poles, however, who wanted only to gain time, found excuſes for not immediately declaring in favour of the Muſcovite, and amuſed him with ſpecious appearances.

The other candidates were the prince of Condé, the duke of Newburg, and prince Charles of Lorraine; each of whom was ſupported by his particular faction. Not only the primate-archbiſhop and general Sobieſki were thought to favour the Condé intereſt, but Oberſki, ſtaroſta of Warſaw,

Warſaw, a nobleman of great power and influence, declared openly in his behalf, and ſet to work every engine of intrigue to carry his election. The party was extremely ſanguine; and, indeed, the general opinion determined the diſpute for the prince of Condé, whoſe friends were known to be powerful, and ſuppoſed to be the moſt numerous. However, the ſpirit of the oppoſite factions changed the face of affairs in a manner very unexpected. The ſtandard-bearer of the palatinate of Sandomir, obtaining leave to ſpeak in the aſſembly, roſe up, and pronounced a bitter invective againſt Oberſki, whom he charged with corruption, and betraying the liberty of his country. He even produced letters in confirmation of his allegation, whereby it appeared that the archbiſhop of Gneſna, and divers lords, who were now ſtyled the infamous tools of French policy, had held private meetings, and caballed in favour of the prince of Condé; and that the ſenate propoſed, in direct violation of the conſtitution, to determine the election without regard to the inferior departments of the diet. Such proofs of corruption were no ſooner exhibited than the whole aſſembly was fired with indignation: every member drew his ſword, and, with loud menaces, demanded the trial of Oberſki, who, terrified at this ſudden reſolution, endeavoured to make his eſcape; but was forcibly detained, and obliged to ſwear that he would renounce the intereſt of the prince of Condé, and regard him as incapable of wearing the crown, becauſe he had fought it by methods that were deemed unconſtitutional. As the primate was likewiſe ſuſpected of an attachment to the ſame party, he was required to pronounce, in a public manner, the excluſion of the prince of Condé. This, it was imagined, would be the moſt adequate puniſhment of a prelate, who, though the guardian of the republic during an interregnum, had, in the groſſeſt manner, violated the fundamental laws. However, the eccleſiaſtic proved too cunning for his adverſaries, and eluded the ſnare, by declaring, that if the nobility expected a deciſion of the whole ſenate, they muſt be aſſembled for that purpoſe; but if they aſked only for his particular ſentiment, he was ready to proclaim that perſon ſovereign who ſhould have the ſuffrages of the whole nation. This opinion he ſupported by the ſentiments of ſome other ſpiritual lords, and the influence of the palatines of Kiow, Culm, and Pomerania, together with the intereſt of the grand-mareſchal, who declared aloud that he would quit his office, if the nobility aſſumed to themſelves the right to proſcribe ſo tumultuouſly a candidate of ſo high birth and merit as the

prince of Condé. Upon this declaration warm debates arose, and it was with difficulty the parties were restrained from coming to blows. The inferior order of gentry became extremely violent, and, notwithstanding the resolution of the great lords, compelled the archbishop, by their clamours and menaces, to exclude the prince in these words: "I exclude the prince of Condé then, since they will have it so[d]." Some writers allege, that, in passing this judgment, he omitted the prince's name; but it is probable that the lower department was not to be deceived by so pitiful a subterfuge, and that the archbishop was too well acquainted with their vehemence, and the consequences of his tergiversation, to have recourse to so flimsy a shift. Certain it is, that he was actually compelled to desert the prince, whose faction could never again raise its head.

William, duke of Newburg, was supported by the court of Vienna, and publicly recommended by the imperial ambassador, though it was imagined he had instructions privately to assist the duke of Lorraine. The French too, perceiving they could not carry their point for the prince of Condé, closed in with the Newburg party, and gave that prince a very probable chance for success. The king of England recommended him by letter; the Brandenburg ambassador spoke highly in his praise, and exerted all his interest in his favour. The duke himself promised every thing; but as the assembly knew that the performance exceeded his abilities, all his professions passed for mere compliment. The diet, indeed, acknowleged his merit; but he was a German, and that circumstance alone was sufficient to render him obnoxious to the nation; so that the emperor's recommendation, as it was not supported with money, was rather a prejudice to the candidate, especially as the intrigues of the court of Vienna were well known to be exerted in favour of the duke of Lorraine, who emptied his treasures with liberally promoting his son's claim. This liberality weighed strongly with the needy avaricious Poles; they filled the duke with hope, and repaid his bounty by the most generous promises. For a long time his party was considered as the most powerful; but as soon as the electors observed that he relaxed in his private donations, their ardor suddenly cooled; his party dwindled, and was soon supplanted by a faction of the Piastes, which spun out the session of the diet to an intolerable length, exhausted the patience of the nobility,

[d] Volt. Siec. tom. i. Barre Hist. Emp. tom. ix. p. 106.

and

and excited loud complaints of the conduct of the senate' as if their intrigues had been the occasion of all this discord and delay [e].

Nothing but tumult and confusion ensued. The rage of the multitude broke out against the chief lords, who narrowly escaped being torn in pieces, because they were supposed desirous of infringing the rights of the diet, and engrossing the whole power. The guards at the doors discharged their muskets into the place of election, and the shot fell among the members of the higher order, the bishops and palatines. The soldiers were entirely under the influence of the mob, who are always ready to insult their superiors. Two lords were slain, some were wounded, and several hid themselves under the benches, or made their escape, and were pursued by the seditious populace, who loaded them with reproaches and the grossest abuse. In a word, the senate was driven out of the szopa, or senate-house, and the constitution violated in a manner quite unprecedented. The streets were filled with disorder, and scarce a night passed without bloodshed and murder. All the endeavours of the grand-mareschal to appease the multitude were vain. All was a scene of anarchy, and every thing threatened the dissolution of the government; when Opalinski, palatine of Kalish, found means to assemble the gentry, whom he addressed with such elocution and force of argument, as soon assuaged their passions, and removed their prejudices. "To what purpose (said he) do we cut each others throats for princes with whom we have no acquaintance or connection? Why shed the blood of our countrymen to serve the ambition and promote the intrigues of foreigners? Will any of these princes, after their election, acknowlege their obligations to the suffragans, or at all distinguish those who have hazarded their lives, and spent their fortunes, in elevating them to the throne? No; gratitude is not the virtue of sovereigns; policy might dictate that the other faction should be preferred merely for the sake of establishing unanimity. Let us, therefore, consider our true interest, and, without polluting our hands in the blood of our countrymen, chuse from among them a person worthy to command over the whole nation, who, by the ties of nature and interest, will be careful of their rights and privileges. Are there none of the members of the republic worthy of being raised to the supreme dignity? Can we, without acknowleging our own demerit, seek for kings among foreigners, which is, in

Confusion in the diet.

[e] Hartnoch. lib. i. cap. ii.

other words, telling the whole world that Poland has not a ſubject who deſerves being raiſed to a throne."

This oration, and particularly the mentioning a Piaſto, operated powerfully on the multitude; but there were ſome who adhered to the foreign princes, finding their intereſt in keeping up the ball of contention, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the palatine, who, however, reſolutely maintained his point, and, attended by the palatine of Poſnania, ſet out for the reſidence of Michael Coribut Wieſnowiſki, who had been nominated by about twenty palatines and great lords. To this choice the Lithuanians made the chief oppoſition; but one of their deputies being cut in pieces, they were terrified with the violence of the Poles, and obliged to conſent to the proclamation of the elected prince.

It was matter of ſurprize to ſee a perſon raiſed to the throne, who claimed no pretenſions on account of merit, and was contemptible for his poverty. He was, indeed, collaterally deſcended from the houſe of Jagello, but had been reduced to great diſtreſs by the loſſes which his father ſuſtained in the war with the Coſſacks. The truth is, none of the palatines had any deſign of elevating him to the ſupreme dignity; they nominated him merely to try how the deputies were diſpoſed towards a native. Several palatines aſpired to the crown; but the diet unexpectedly ſhewed ſuch an inclination for a Piaſto, that Wieſnowiſki being once nominated, his election followed of courſe. It was found impoſſible to turn the tide of popular humour to another channel; and the nobility were obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the thoughts they had a ſimple eaſy perſon for their king, who would be wholly guided by their advice.

MICHAEL CORIBUT WIESNOWISKI.

A.D. 1670.

17 Sept. *Michael Coribut Wieſnowiſki elected king of Poland.*

Wieſnowiſki was in the utmoſt amazement at his good fortune, and his aſtoniſhment increaſed when he was ſeated by force on a throne erected in the midſt of the aſſembly; at the offer made to him of the crown, tears burſt from his eyes; he declared his incapacity, and intreated that he ſhould not be made the ſport of the nation. At laſt, however, he was forced to acquieſce in the determination of the people; and thus the king and his ſubjects remained under equal aſtoniſhment at the election. The primate indeed refuſed to crown the new king, as had been cuſtomary, and retired to his caſtle at Lowitz; but the palatine of Kaliſh prevailed on the ſenate to uſe their influence with that prelate, and the minor nobility threatened

ened him in ſuch high terms, that he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of ſanctifying meaſures which he could not approve, and of placing the crown on the head of a prince whom he deſpiſed.

Soon after his coronation, Wieſnowiſki was married to Eleonora of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand, and ſiſter to Leopold, whom he had actually ſerved in quality of gentleman of the bed-chamber. This alliance was attended with its inconveniencies. The Poles apprehended that the king was deſirous of retrenching their privileges, and extending his own prerogatives, with the aſſiſtance of the houſe of Auſtria. A deſign likewiſe, it was reported, had been formed by the queen of rendering the crown hereditary; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon diſſipated by the king's conduct, and his ready compliance with all the demands of his ſubjects. Yet another ſtorm threatened Poland, which all Wieſnowiſki's good-nature could not divert, nor his abilities reſiſt. The czar of Muſcovy, incenſed at his ſon's diſappointment, and the treacherous conduct of the Poliſh deputies, who had long flattered his hope, and ſoothed him with promiſes, determined upon revenge; and, not ſatisfied with reviving the diſcontent of the Coſſacks, entered into an alliance with the Porte, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Ukraine ſhould be the price of the ſultan's aſſiſtance. The czar, indeed, was to enjoy the ſovereignty; but Turkiſh garriſons were to be introduced into all the fortreſſes. As to the Coſſacks, they were extremely well diſpoſed to renew thoſe diſturbances, which never failed of producing plunder. Beſides, Dorozenſki, their new general, was ambitious of procuring an independent principality, of which himſelf ſhould be head. With this view he joined the Tartars that were ſent by the vizir Cupruli, to ravage the Poliſh frontiers. The united barbarians accordingly advanced into Podolia, and laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Kaminiec, and, though it was defended by ſtrong walls, reduced it in the ſpace of ten days, the garriſon not being provided with neceſſaries for ſuſtaining a ſiege. Nothing could equal the conſternation of the whole kingdom when the news arrived that Kaminiec had ſurrendered, although no proviſion had been made for its ſecurity. The people began to blame the ſenate, and they removed the odium from themſelves by laying it upon the ſovereign, though his reign had been of too ſhort duration to afford opportunity of being ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtate of the garriſons, or indeed of any affairs civil or military. Recrimination took place of action, and though the country was entirely open, and nothing remained to

A.D 1671.

War with the Turks, and Coſſacks.

oppoſe the enemy, no ſteps were taken to raiſe an army; ſo that the king was obliged to purchaſe a ſhameful peace, at the expence of Podolia, a province ceded to the Coſſacks; and a tribute of twenty-two thouſand ducats yearly to the ſultan [a] (A).

All Poland cried out againſt this peace as ignominious; yet it is probable that king Michael would have obſerved it religiouſly, had the enemy performed their engagements: but inſtead of retiring, they advanced and laid ſiege to Leopold, an enterprize which ſome hiſtorians allege happened in the preceding war. This city was ſo obſtinately defended by Lenſki, a colonel of dragoons, with no more than fifteen hundred men, that the Turks were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, upon intelligence of the approach of the Poliſh army. Sobieſki was advancing to Kaminiec, to lay ſiege to that fortreſs; but it was neceſſary firſt to diſlodge the Turkiſh army at Choczin, to prevent the baſhaw's diſturbing his operations in cutting off his retreat. But this was an enterprize ſcarcely to be attempted with his ſlender forces, which did not amount to thirty thouſand fighting men. The Turkiſh army exceeded three hundred thouſand men, including the troops of Moldavia and Walachia; the baſhaw was ſo certain of victory, that he had already forged chains for the king and court, and ſent word to the ſultan, that before the end of the campaign he would fix the Othoman ſtandards on the walls of Cracow. It is poſſible he might have fulfilled even this promiſe, had not the violence of his temper occaſioned the deſertion of the Walachians and Moldavians. The baſhaw, incenſed to ſee that theſe auxiliaries were badly provided for taking the field, ſtruck the vaivode of Moldavia in a paſſion, and ſo enraged that chief, that he vowed revenge, and engaged his brother

[a] Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Font. p. 305. Puffend. tom. iv. lib. iv. Connor, lib. iii. tom. i.

(A) Dr. Connor alleges, that Leopold was beſieged, and Kaminiec taken, through the treachery of John Sobieſki, crown-general and grand-mareſchal, and other lords, who wanted to bring the government into contempt. As ſoon as they had reduced the weak prince to the neceſſity of making peace upon any terms, they then exclaimed againſt it as inglorious, and, by the diſturbance they made, got the conduct of affairs into their own hands, inſiſted upon a breach of the convention, and thus renewed the war, which terminated ſo fortunately for the Poles, and gloriouſly for Sobieſki (1).

(1) Connor, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 146, 147.

vaivode

vaivode of Walachia in his quarrel. They intimated their design to Sobieski, invited him to attack the Turkish camp, and promised to assist him with all their forces. The Pole seized the opportunity, presented himself before the Turkish intrenchments, was admitted and joined by the vaivodes, who now began an obstinate engagement with the bashaw. For three days the Turk maintained his ground, and renewed the engagement by intervals: at last the skill and fortune of Sobieski, as well as the superior valour of the Poles prevailed; a complete victory was obtained, terrible slaughter made, a multitude of prisoners were taken, and of the whole Turkish army, not more than fifteen thousand were suffered to make their escape. In a word, the defeat was complete, and had the Polish general profited by his success, the sultan would have been forced to give up the shameful tribute, and the Cossacks to cede Podolia. The truth is, Sobieski would have pursued the blow, but the pospolite refused to continue in the field longer than they were required by the laws of their country. They accordingly disbanded of themselves, returned home, and suffered the king to make peace with the enemy on the best terms he could procure. Some ascribe their conduct to the intrigues of the nobility; others to the policy of Sobieski; but circumstances prove, that they were actuated by no other motive than a mistaken zeal for liberty, and an adherence to the letter of their privileges, which imported, that they should not be bound to bear arms beyond a certain number of weeks, and that they should not march beyond a certain number of leagues into an enemy's country. Happily for the memory of Wiesnowiski he died before advice of the conduct of the army was received at court, but little esteemed or regretted by his subjects, who regarded him as a good-natured simple monarch.

The Turks defeated by John Sobieski.

King dies.

Now opened a new scene of corruption, intrigue, and faction, when every deputy endeavoured to turn his vote to the best advantage, and if possible to dispose of it to each of the candidates for the crown. Some of the princes who had stood at the last election renewed their claims, and were opposed by the elector of Brandenburg, prince George of Denmark, the prince of Transylvania, and at last by a prince of the house of Bourbon, whose name was kept secret. Sobieski espoused the interest of this latter candidate, whence it was afterwards supposed that he was really the person himself. On the 20th day of April the diet opened, and the czar of Muscovy, not discouraged by his late disappointment, offered his second son, a youth not fourteen years of age, but with less haughtiness than he expressed

A.D 1674.

Diet of election.

expreſſed on the former occaſion. It was now a requeſt accompanied by preſents, and not a demand inſolently enforced by menaces, and ſupported by an army; however, little regard was paid to it, though the czar's ambaſſador was treated with the civility and reſpect due to the repreſentative of ſo powerful a monarch. As to the elector of Brandenburg, he promiſed every thing in the name of the electoral prince, who was immediately to embrace the Romiſh religion, in caſe his claim was admitted; but the religion in which he had been bred, and his country, were inſuperable obſtacles to his ſucceſs. The Poles apprehended, that a converſion, founded on ambition, would have but little ſincerity; they deteſted the thoughts of a German king, and ſoon gave the elector to underſtand that his endeavours would be fruitleſs; yet were there a few who flattered his hope, the better to drain his treaſures, though they found they had to do with a cautious frugal prince. The king of Denmark made vaſt offers for his brother: he promiſed to pay three millions into the treaſury, to maintain ſix thouſand horſe, and furniſh a fleet when required for the uſe of the republic; but he was traverſed by a powerful Swediſh faction, and his party was ſoon abſorbed in the ſuperior intereſts of the duke of Newburg and Charles, prince of Lorraine, who had been competitors at the preceding election. The duke now made the ſame offers for his ſon which he had lately done for himſelf, and at the ſame time propoſed that the prince ſhould marry the queen-dowager. The queen, however, attached herſelf to the intereſt of the houſe of Lorraine; ſhe loved prince Charles, and ſupported his intereſt at the expence of her reputation and the crown-jewels, which ſhe pawned to purchaſe votes. She had engaged the Lithuanians in her party, and they had determined that no prince ſhould be elected, who was not ſingle and at liberty to marry the queen-dowager. Pacz, the general and grand-mareſchal of the duchy, was the author of this reſolution, in order to exclude Sobieſki, who was ſuſpected of harbouring ambitious deſigns; but it had nearly ruined the cauſe of the prince of Lorraine likewiſe. A report was ſpread that he was privately married to the empreſs-dowager; jealouſy had almoſt robbed him of the queen's countenance; but he found means to refute the allegation, and convince the queen of his reſpect and affections. The Lithuanians too were confirmed in the intereſt which they had almoſt deſerted, as ſoon as the unfavourable rumours were diſſipated. Beſides the queen's influence, and the attachment of the whole duchy of Lithuania, the prince of Lorraine had a party

party in Poland, a great ſhare of perſonal merit, and an army on the frontiers of Sileſia, to animate his faction, whence he might be conſidered as the moſt formidable of the candidates; and indeed the duke of Newburg's party began to ſink in the Piaſto intereſt, which every day grew more conſiderable, though it was at firſt confounded entirely with the French intereſt, as Sobieſki had propoſed a prince of that country, without giving any direct intimations of his own intentions. Covered with the laurels gathered in the expedition againſt the Turks, he joined popularity to power, and thought his credit was ſufficient to make a king without conſulting whether or not he might prove agreeable to the nation. The crown-army, of which he was general, was at his devotion; he drew the character of a prince, concealed his name, and thereby only left room to conjecture that he himſelf was the perſon he had delineated (B). The expectation of placing ſuch a hero upon the throne increaſed the Piaſto faction, who, joining with the army, became powerful enough to bear down all oppoſition, though Pacz, the rival in glory of Sobieſki, might have been conſidered as a very formidable opponent. No election could be legitimate without the conſent of the Lithuanians, and their reſiſtance might have produced a civil war. Pacz and his party ſwore to remain true to the queen-dowager and Charles, while the ſenate declared in favour of the duke of Newburg, and reſolved to compel the queen to marry the prince his ſon, as ſoon as he ſhould be elevated to the ſupreme power, without conſulting her affections. They were incenſed at the obſtinacy of this princeſs and the Lithuanians; and, by carrying their animoſities ſo high, proved of the utmoſt ſervice to the cauſe of Sobieſki, who ſtrengthened himſelf by the diviſions, heats, and jealouſies of the other parties [b].

Hitherto Sobieſki had concealed his deſign, and claimed the crown in the name of a foreign prince. Now he appeared at the diet with a ſplendid and numerous retinue, which was rivalled by that of the grand-mareſchal and general of Lithuania. The parties of both indeed were much

[b] Connor, lib. iv. tom. i. Font. cap. v.

(B) The features of the picture drawn by Sobieſki ſtrongly reſembled thoſe of the famous prince of Condé, who is ſaid to have aſpired at the crown, though his pride would not ſuffer that his name ſhould be mentioned before there was a certainty of ſucceſs (1).

(1) Vide la Vie de Sobieſki, p. 359.

too

too numerous to aſſiſt at a free election; but Sobieſki was popular, and his extraordinary ſervices pleaded an indulgence; on the other hand, common juſtice required that the ſame liberty ſhould be allowed the Lithuanian. The two chiefs had long been rivals in fame; now they ſtrove for power; not that Pacz aſpired at the crown, but he wanted only to ſhew his equality by diſappointing the views of Sobieſki. It was thought they muſt have come to blows, and that the conteſt would be decided by the ſword, but circumſtances fell out otherwiſe. Sapieha, grand-treaſurer of Lithuania, a nobleman celebrated for his wiſdom and moderation, tempered the ardor of Pacz; and the friends of Sobieſki exerted themſelves in the ſame friendly office, by which means the effuſion of blood was prevented, which muſt neceſſarily have followed the violent clamours of the Lithuanians againſt the Piaſtes, and their perſonal abuſe of John Sobieſki. At laſt the day arrived when the foreign ambaſſadors were to appear in the aſſembly, to ſet forth their claims, and nominate the perſons they eſpouſed. The pope's nuncio was firſt called in, and he in the name of the holy ſee ſtrongly recommended it to the diet to chuſe a prince bred in the Catholic religion, and attached to the true faith and the head of the church. He avoided giving the preference to any of the Catholic candidates. The imperial ambaſſador recommended the prince of Lorraine; and the French miniſter, perceiving that a prince of his own nation ſtood no chance of ſucceeding, cloſed in with the views of the duke of Newburg, and nominated the young prince of that family. There was room to apprehend at leaſt a double, if not a triple election, had not ſome of the more prudent members of the republic interpoſed their influence, and by recapitulating the fatal conſequences of the double election of Batori and Sigiſmund, enforced by example the neceſſity of unanimity; at leaſt, a ſuſpenſion of their reſolutions, until the heat of faction ſhould be ſomewhat abated. This delay occaſioned a prolongation of the ſeſſion to the 19th day of May; and in the mean time Don Renquellos arrived from Spain, without aſſuming the character of ambaſſador, to ſupport the prince of Lorraine. The duke of Newburg's party, finding their own intereſt on the decline, had ſome thoughts of joining the prince of Lorraine, the queen, and the Lithuanians, in order to oppoſe the elevation of Sobieſki; had they purſued this reſolution the conſequence might have been dreadful. A double return would have been made, and of courſe a war muſt have enſued between the Poles and the Lithuanians, theſe laſt aſſiſted by the army which was

kept

kept hovering on the Sileſian frontiers by the duke of Lorraine. However, the good fortune of the republic and Sobieſki prevailed after a violent ſtruggle. His ſucceſs was attributed to the eloquence, influence, and good ſenſe of the palatine of Ruſſia, who roſe up in the aſſembly and addreſſed the deputies in the following manner: "Friends and countrymen, you are all ſenſible of the dangers with which the republic is threatened, in conſequence of your diſputes. You are upon the eve of a civil war, the moſt dreadful of all calamities, and yet what are the objects of your diſſenſions? Are you to butcher and maſſacre each other on account of two foreign princes, and to gratify the caprice and irregular paſſions of a dowager-queen, who has diſgraced her dignity and the republic, by ſelling the crown-jewels to corrupt the people, and gain the votes in favour of the duke of Lorraine; a prince of whom ſhe is paſſionately enamoured, without reflecting on what is due to her late royal huſband, to decency, and the commonwealth? On the other hand, we ſee a German prince, ſupported by a conſiderable party among you, though his country alone ought to be a ſufficient reaſon for ſetting aſide his pretenſions. Thus we ſacrifice our happineſs, and endanger our lives and liberties, for the ſake of princes of whom we know nothing but from their dependents and flatterers. Be it our care, therefore, to drop all factions, to heal the wounds of party, and to avoid diviſions for ſuch frivolous cauſes, which may be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the republic. Let both competitors be rejected, as they are of importance only to us by the factions which they have had the addreſs to form; and henceforward let us be directed by the true intereſt of Poland, that has been ſo ſhamefully neglected in all our late elections. Let this be the guide to our ſuffrages, and you may depend upon it, Providence will reward the piety of the intention, by directing us to a monarch, who may retrieve the ancient glory of the republic, and efface the ignominious ſtains contracted in the late reign, in conſequence of our late diſcord. What ſort of character does reaſon dictate we ſhould elevate to the throne at this juncture? It is that of a hero, who has courage to retrieve the power, and conduct to reſtore the happineſs of Poland; who can render us formidable in war and happy in peace; whoſe magnanimity, equity, and valour, ſhall reflect honour on our choice, and render himſelf equally eſteemed and reſpected. Muſt we look for ſuch a monarch beyond the tracts of our republic? We have among ourſelves a great man, who deſerves to be a ruler

ruler of the people. He is known to you all; you have repeatedly admired his courage and prudence, and you lately beheld him returning from the field of Mars covered with laurels, after having retrieved the honour of his country, and eſtabliſhed her intereſt. The conquered Turks, Coſſacks, and Tartars, confeſs his merit, and ſtrongly ſolicit your favour. The ſecurity of your frontiers againſt your enemies, the tranquillity enjoyed in the heart of the kingdom, and the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Choczin, theſe are the claims which ſhould determine your voices, and not the recommendation of diſtant ſtates, who pay no regard to your felicity. From theſe circumſtances you perceive that I allude to John Sobieſki, to whom you are equally bound by the ties of gratitude and intereſt: can you refuſe him the government of a kingdom, which he has reſcued out of the jaws of deſtruction?"

Sobieſki was no ſooner nominated than all his party immediately gave him their ſuffrages. All the palatinates on the Ruſſian frontier, as well as that of Cracow, declared in his favour, and their example was followed by the reſt of Poland, and great part of Lithuania, influenced by the prince Radzivil, vice-chancellor of that duchy. In a word, the whole diet, except the ſtaunch adherents of Pacz, yielded to the ſtream of popularity, through fear, inclination, or a deſire of promoting themſelves in the favour of a perſonage who, it was obvious, muſt ſoon wear the diadem. Still, however, the bulk of the Lithuanians, the queen-dowager, and Pacz, oppoſed the election, and entered proteſts; but finding reſiſtance equally vain and dangerous, they ſubmitted and joined in proclaiming

JOHN SOBIESKI.

John Sobieſki elected king of Poland.

THE good fortune of this prince was in a great meaſure aſcribed to the French ambaſſador, but without reaſon; he owed it to his valour, popularity, addreſs, and real merit. M. Fourbin de Janſon, biſhop of Marſeilles, aſſiſted indeed in his promotion. His orders were at any rate to exclude the prince of Lorraine, who was at that time no favourite with the court of France; and, in obedience to his inſtructions, he attached himſelf to the duke of Newburg's faction, until he found it upon the decline; when he very wiſely deſerted a prince whom fortune had forſaken, and privately paid his court to John Sobieſki, for which conduct he was afterwards rewarded with the purple [b]: but it is certain, that Sobieſki muſt have ſucceeded, whatever meaſures the

[b] Vie de Sobieſki, p. 23. Fon. cap. v. Connor. tom. iv. lib. i.

prelate

prelate had taken, though French writers have wrested this affair into a compliment to their Grand Monarque, with that little regard to truth which it obvious in almost all their writers of memoirs and secret history (A).

John had no sooner ascended the throne than he exhibited an instance of his generosity, by voluntarily providing a maintenance, adequate to her dignity, to the queen-dowager, who had so violently opposed his elevation. His soul was superior to the meanness of retaining the memory of injuries from a woman, who was swayed by her passion for his rival. He assigned her a revenue greater than any former dowager had enjoyed, or the laws required; with liberty to reside in any part she thought proper of the Polish dominions, Cracow and a few fortified places on the frontiers of Silesia, excepted. Having obtained the consent of the diet to these grants, he then ordered the arrears due to the army to be paid out of his own revenue, the treasures of the republic being quite exhausted: acts of public spirit, which greatly augmented his reputation, raised his popularity, and infused confidence and hope in the minds of the people. After a variety of promotions, civil and military, all of which gave universal satisfaction, he intimated his inclination to prosecute the war with the Turks, and took upon himself the expence of maintaining one thousand infantry as long as the war continued; thereby encouraging the senators, nobility, and great officers, to emulate his example, and provide for the security of the republic. His ardor for resuming hostilities obliged him to defer his coronation;

(A) John Sobieski was a native of the province of Polish Prussia, and the son of James Sobieski, castellan of Cracow, by a daughter of Stanislaus Zolkiewiski, grand-general and chancellor of the crown of Poland. His father had gained the highest reputation both in the senate and the field. In 1621 he was employed in an embassy to Constantinople, where, by his address, he concluded a treaty of peace extremely advantageous to the republic. To John his son he gave the most liberal education, having sent him for improvement to the politest courts of Europe. He was distinguished by king Casimir, who honoured him first with a colonel's commission, and soon promoted him to the rank of captain of his guards. From this station he advanced himself through the several civil and military degrees, until he was made grand-mareschal in the room of Lubomirski, and grand-general in the stead of Poloski, which offices he enjoyed at the time he obtained the late celebrated victory over the Turks (1).

(1) Vie de Jean Sobiesk. p. 29, & seq.

for

for the present he contented himself with the name of sovereign, and his former office of great general, which he desired the diet would confirm.

War with the Turks and Cossacks.

He formed a kind of treaty with the czar of Muscovy, which some writers call an alliance, though it was properly no more than a convention; whereby they mutually agreed to desist from all hostilities against each other, while both parties were at war with the Othoman empire. Whatever haste he made to levy forces, the Turks took the field before his army could be assembled. The senate and nobility had promised to furnish him with sixty thousand men; however, when the troops came to be mustered, they did not exceed sixteen thousand effective soldiers; with which Sobieski saw himself under the necessity of opposing a Turkish army ten times his number, flushed with the reduction of divers towns, and the entire possession of the Ukraine. The pospolite was summoned in the month of June: however, as this body of militia is composed wholly of the gentry of Poland; they frequently pay little regard to the orders of the sovereign, and seldom meet at the time appointed by the decree. This was the case at present: though the king was exceedingly earnest to give a check to the progress of the Turks, it was the month of November before he could assemble an army of thirty thousand men.

By this time the grand vizier Cupruli had reduced Choczin, after a siege of eight days, and obliged the garrison of Deskau to surrender at discretion. He had likewise compelled the governor of Human, after having vigorously besieged the place for fifteen days, to enter upon a treaty of capitulation. The place had been reduced to the last extremity by famine and pestilence; and not finding there was any prospect of succour, the governor had resolved to surrender upon honourable conditions; but before they were signed the Turks sprung a mine, which, blowing up a bastion, opened so wide a breach, that an assault was ordered, the place stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword. After these exploits, the vizir withdrew his army, entered into winter-quarters, and charged the cham of Tartary with the difficult task of opposing Sobieski, who was in full march towards the Ukraine, in order to dispossess the infidels, and punish the revolt of the Cossacks. John no sooner entered the province than a great number of places yielded to his impetuosity. The capital of the province surrendered in a few days, after having for upwards of twenty years enjoyed a state of independence. Rescow, and most of the places inhabited by the Cossacks, shared

ſhared the ſame fate; and of all the Ukraine, only two towns of any conſiderable ſtrength remained to afford ſhelter to Dorozenſki, the Coſſack general, who had a little before been planning ſchemes of ſovereignty. Theſe rapid ſucceſſes produced ſome overtures of peace from the Turkiſh court; but as John imagined they were only intended to ſtop his operations, he refuſed to liſten to the commiſſaries, and purſued the courſe of victory; to which the defection of the Lithuanians, amounting to twelve thouſand men, put a ſudden ſtop. They complained of the rigour of the ſeaſon, which had become altogether intolerable. John endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but his endeavours were vain: they withdrew from the army, and marched home, drawing after them above ten thouſand Poles, who pleaded an equal right with the Lithuanians to a relaxation from their fatigues. Juſt as this event fell out, he was preparing to lay ſiege to Czebryn; the conqueſt of which would have enſured the poſſeſſion of all the Ukraine: but now he was forced to reſt ſatisfied with putting garriſons in the towns which had ſubmitted, and exerting the moſt vigorous means of aſſembling a ſufficient army by the enſuing ſpring.

He is deſerted by the Lithuanians.

The Turks had perfect intelligence of all that had been tranſacted in the Poliſh camp, and determined to ſeize the opportunity afforded by the defection of the Lithuanians, and the diſcontents in Poland. With a prodigious army they took the field in the month of April, and laid ſiege to Zbarras, long before the poſpolite could be reaſſembled. The reduction of this place would have opened a way to the very heart of the kingdom, there being ſcarce any thing to oppoſe their march to the gates of the capital of Poland. Sobieſki had with him indeed about ſix thouſand men, which ſerved him rather for a retinue than an army, to repulſe the numerous forces of the enemy; and with this handful he performed every thing that could be expected from the union of valour and conduct, by harraſſing the Turks, cutting off their convoys, and obſtructing their advances. Zbarras, beſides a ſmall regular garriſon, was defended by five thouſand peaſants; who might have foiled all the attempts of the infidels, had their patience under the inconveniences of a ſiege been equal to their courage; but they grew tired of being cooped up within ſo narrow a compaſs as the walls of a town, and revolted againſt their governor, M. Deſauteuls, a French gentleman in the Poliſh ſervice. He uſed all his endeavours to pacify them; promiſed they ſhould be rewarded in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner by the king; and finding that lenitives produced no effect, he had recourſe to violent means, and delivered over ſome

A D. 1675.

The Turks take Zbarras.

of the mutineers to exemplary punishment. This severity served only to render them quite outrageous: they assembled in a tumultuous manner round the governor's house, forced open his gates, seized upon his person, and threw him over the walls: an action which the Turkish bashaw generously resented, though it contributed so much to his advantage. He ordered the ring-leaders of the mutiny to be put to death, and condemned the rest to the gallies, as soon as the place surrendered. "Your treachery, said Ibrahim, has deprived me of the honour of conquering a hero; but it has afforded me the satisfaction of punishing rebellious poltroons [d]."

They are defeated by Sobieski.

He next made an attempt on Zlotskow; but meeting with unexpected resistance, he bent his course towards Leopold, whither he detached strong parties to insult Sobieski, who was entrenched before the walls. These parties were defeated as often as they appeared; a circumstance which so incensed the bashaw, that he resolved to dislodge the king, and for this purpose advanced with his whole army, amounting to threescore thousand combatants, besides the Tartars, who exceeded forty thousand. To approach Sobieski's camp, the Turks were obliged to ascend an eminence, and then pass through a defile covered with wood, which opened to a plain. Here the king had posted Radzivil with a small corps, while an eminence on the left was secured by a battery of cannon, that took the enemy in flank as they advanced. The wood on each side the defile was lined with musketeers, who kept up a perpetual fire, and made terrible havock. However, the Turks broke through, and by four in the afternoon appeared in such numbers, that the whole plain was covered, and Radzivil under the necessity of abandoning the post he had occupied. Nevertheless, the king planted his troops and cannon in the woods and eminences, which skirted the plain, in so advantageous a manner, that, with no more than six thousand men, he in a manner surrounded and besieged the whole Turkish army, which was assembled in a confused manner, where there was no room to extend the wings, or form lines. In this situation the Polish artillery poured in grape-shot, and, seconded by the small arms, made a terrible slaughter; at the same time Sobieski, with a small party, descended to the plain, and attacked them with such fury, that they were obliged to retreat in great disorder through the same defile by which they advanced, being galled all the way by the batteries and musketeers that lined the woods on both sides. Nothing could be more

[d] Anecdotes de Pologne, tom. ii. p. 213.

complete

complete or glorious than this victory; but the interposition of night prevented the king from pursuing the fugitives; and, indeed, his troops were too much fatigued with the labour of the day to perform farther service. Above twelve thousand Turks were left dead on the field, and three thousand taken prisoners; but the enemy, reinforced by the Tartars, were still too powerful for the slender forces of Poland. However, as their ardor was somewhat cooled by this repulse, they made overtures of peace; but with such an air of insolent superiority, as obliged Sobieski to reject them with disdain. They demanded, that all Podolia should be ceded to the grand signor; that the Porte should be reimbursed in the expences of the war; and that the Ukraine should intirely be given up to Dorozenski, who should hold it as a fief of the Turkish diadem. On the contrary, Sobieski demanded the terms which a conqueror had a right to expect, though he was sensible of his own weakness. He insisted, that the Turks should evacuate all the places they had taken in this and the preceding war, and relinquish the shameful tribute to which the late pusillanimous Wiesnowiski had consented. Claims so extremely contradictory could only be determined by the sword, to which both parties had immediate recourse[i].

Negociations.

Sobieski laboured with the utmost diligence to unite the Poles, and assemble the pospolite; but he was encountered by a thousand difficulties and mortifications. A strong party opposed the Turkish war, and not only refused their own assistance, but diffuaded others from giving countenance to pernicious measures, entered upon merely to gratify the king's passion for martial glory. The treasury too was quite drained, and no method appeared for subsisting an army, had it been raised. Yet, in despite of all difficulties, Sobieski drew together a body of forces sufficient to keep the field. He was supported by the faction that had raised him to the throne; and, though opposed by the chief nobility, he was extremely beloved by the people in general. His army now amounted to fifteen thousand men, with which force he thought himself in a condition to withstand all the efforts of the Turks and Tartars; and he soon demonstrated what valour and conduct can effect against undisciplined numbers. Already the Turks had been repulsed and defeated in a variety of attempts. Two thousand janissaries had been detached to storm the castle of Breziani, defended only by seventy Poles; but they were driven from the walls, and defeated with great slaughter. The same fate awaited ten thousand Tartars, detached by the Turkish

A. D. 1676.

War renewed.

[i] Theat. Europ. tom. xii. Hoppel. Hist. apud init. p. 13.

general to harrass the king's camp in the neighbourhood of Leopold: after a sharp encounter they were repulsed with loss by a small detachment of Poles and Lithuanians, sent out under the command of Harkowniski. Next the Turks laid siege to Podhais, and forced the place to capitulate upon honourable terms. Sobieski was on his march to the relief of the garrison, when he received advice that the town was surrendered, plundered, and burnt, and the whole garrison and inhabitants carried into captivity, in direct violation of the treaty which the bashaw had signed with the governor. Incensed at this perfidy, he resolved to come to an engagement, without regard to the great disproportion of numbers. The bashaw had invested Buezalz, and thither the king directed his march; but the first intimation of his approach terrified the enemy, obliged them to relinquish the enterprize, and retire to Trembowla; to which place they laid siege. Sobieski was preparing to pursue them; and in the mean time the garrison made so good a defence, that the Turks, finding they could not execute their designs before the arrival of the Polish army, broke up camp, and retreated to Kaminiec, of which they still retained possession. Having here received a considerable reinforcement, they ventured once more into the field, and invested Waignaff, carrying on their approaches in a very irregular unskilful manner, but with great spirit and diligence. Sobieski marched towards that place, and encamped on the banks of the Niester, in a situation from whence he greatly incommoded the besiegers, and so irritated the bashaw, that he proposed storming the Polish entrenchments. With this view he drew out his whole army, and was astonished to find that the king of Poland, with an army so unequal, had quitted his defences, with a full resolution of giving battle in the open plain. Such an instance of intrepidity disconcerted the Turkish general; but it was impossible to retreat, without betraying his fears to the whole army, a circumstance which might be attended with fatal consequences. Accordingly he maintained his ground, and was soon attacked with the utmost fury by the Poles. The conflict was obstinate: the Tartars had been slain in heaps; but shame and resentment instigated them to continue the action, until night interposed to prevent their total defeat. The advantage, however, being on the side of the Poles, encouraged them to renew the battle next day, and even to attack the bashaw's trenches. For four successive days the Poles and Turks continued to storm each other's entrenchments, practising every stratagem of war, and effort of valour; when at last the bashaw and cham of Tartary, astonished at the great diminution of their army, and sensible that Sobieski was immoveable,

The Turks are foiled in every enterprize.

immoveable, made overtures of peace ſo equitable and moderate, that the king could not well avoid conſenting to a negociation. For this purpoſe an armiſtice was ſigned, and Turkiſh commiſſaries arrived in the king's camp. Without almoſt any difficulty, the Turks agreed to aboliſh the tribute, and diſannul the diſhonourable treaty made by the late king: they likewiſe conſented that the republic ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all the Ukraine on the hither ſide the Nieſter; that reſtitution ſhould be made of all their conqueſts, except Kaminiec; and that they ſhould defend Poland againſt all her enemies. On his ſide the king ceded all the territories claimed by the general of the Coſſacks on the oppoſite ſide the Nieſter; on condition, however, that the Roman Catholic religion ſhould be maintained, and liberty of conſcience, with reſpect to the Turkiſh faith, allowed to the inhabitants[g]. Such was the ſubſtance of a treaty of peace, which Sobieſki ſigned, after he had ſupported a war againſt the whole ſtrength of the Othoman empire, almoſt without the aſſiſtance of the republic. Some of his enemies, however, exclaimed againſt it; inſiſting, that more advantageous terms might have been obtained, after ſo extraordinary a flow of victory; whereas the grand ſeignor could hardly be prevailed on to ratify conditions which he thought very extraordinary, conſidering the great ſuperiority of his army.

Peace concluded.

Sobieſki having by his valour wiped off the diſgraces of Poland, and reſtored peace to the republic, returned to his own dominions to have the ſolemnities of his coronation performed in the uſual manner, which had hitherto been deferred on account of the war. Dr. Connor, however, with great probability, places this event in the month of February preceding the laſt campaign, when the laſt obſequies of the late monarch, and of his immediate predeceſſor Caſimir, whoſe remains were now brought from France, were performed with the utmoſt magnificence. This relation is confirmed by the vacancies filled up on this occaſion. It is uſual to oblige the king to redreſs all grievances, and fill up vacant offices at his coronation; and accordingly we ſee prince Lubomirſki acting in the capacity of grand-marſhal this year; a poſt to which he was probably appointed at Sobieſki's coronation, as he is nowhere mentioned in this light before.

Sobieſki crowned.

For ſome years Poland enjoyed profound tranquility, and cultivated the pacific arts with all the diligence that could be expected from a nation, where pride and indolence almoſt entirely exclude commerce. Sobieſki applied his at-

[g] Font. cap. v. Connor, tom. i. lib. iv.

tention to the re-eſtabliſhment of her finances. But all the time, he was making continual preparations for war, by which he excited ſuſpicion that he intended to extend his prerogatives, and render the government in ſome meaſure military. However, a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive contracted with the emperor, by which the parties ſtipulated to aſſiſt each other againſt the Turks, together with the diſturbances in Hungary, diſſipated the collecting ſtorm, and convinced the Poles of the neceſſity of keeping the revenues and army in a reſpectable poſture. The pride and arrogance of the court of Vienna, together with the ambition of ſome of the natives, had given birth to a revolt in Hungary, which it was generally imagined would be followed by a war with the Othoman empire. The malcontents had made their firſt application to the Porte; but they had met with little encouragement, becauſe the grand ſeignor was then full of the Venetian war, and the conqueſt of Candia. Soon after the conſpiracy was diſcovered; ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized and beheaded; their eſtates were confiſcated, and Hungary was treated as an hereditary, or rather a conquered kingdom. This conduct increaſed the number of malecontents, who drew over the Tranſilvanians and the famous Tekeli to their party. An open rupture commenced; the malcontents claimed the protection of the Porte; and the grand ſeignor gave them countenance, becauſe he imagined that now the opportunity offered of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and paving the way to univerſal empire. He was excited likewiſe by the intrigues of the court of Verſailles, and of Lewis XIV. who found his intereſt in procuring full employment for the emperor and the princes of the Germanic body. Tekeli became head of the malecontents, who now called themſelves the Proteſtant Intereſt, inſiſting on liberty of conſcience; and the emperor ſeeing the ſtorm grow more conſiderable, endeavoured to divert it by promiſing all that was required. But the Hungarians ſeeing the Turks, Tartars, and Tranſilvanians arming in their cauſe, raiſed their demands, and obliged the court of Vienna to implore the aid of all the Chriſtian princes to reſiſt ſuch a mulitude of enemies. The king of Poland was addreſſed in particular, as the moſt natural and powerful ally againſt the infidels, to whom his name was already terrible. Sobieſki, however, kept for ſome time aloof, out of reſentment to the court of Vienna, which had ſo lately refuſed him any countenance, when he was preſſed by the ſame enemies; and it is probable he would have continued longer in this reſolution, notwithſtanding his inclination to martial exploits, had not the court of Rome, and the ambition of his queen, powerfully ſeconded the

The emperor endeavours to draw him into a league againſt the Turks.

the applications from the emperor. Leopold had flattered her majeſty with hopes, that if ſhe could engage her huſband in a war with the Turks, and to ſign a treaty with the court of Vienna, he would conſent to a marriage between the archduchefs and her ſon the prince, whereby ſhe might ſecure the crown of Poland in her own family, by the aſſiſtance of the empire. The ſame promiſes were made by the pontiff, who offered to aſſiſt the imperial miniſtry in procuring the nomination of prince James of Poland, at a general diet, to ſucceed his father. Upon theſe expectations he ſolicited Sobieſki, and found him more ready to oblige her than could well be imagined, conſidering how obſtinately he had refuſed all the invitations of the court of Vienna; but it is poſſible that he might have been deluded with the ſame bait which had allured the queen, or influenced by the pontiff, for whom he always expreſſed the higheſt veneration. Be this as it may, certain it is, that he now expreſſed his readineſs to join in alliance with the emperor, to complete which he only wanted the concurrence of the ſenate and nobility. To obtain this was a matter of ſome difficulty. The greateſt lords in the diet oppoſed a rupture with the Porte, though they had lately exclaimed againſt the conditions of peace which Sobieſki had granted; however, the court managed with ſuch addreſs and dexterity, and repreſented ſo pathetically the danger to which all Europe was expoſed, ſhould the emperor ſink under the weight of his enemies, that the majority declared for a war with the Turks, and an alliance with the court of Vienna. Religion too conſiderably ſwayed the minds of the Poles, who conſidered the Hungarian war purely in that point of view, and the malcontents as heretics who had revolted not only from the holy ſee, but againſt their natural ſovereign. The baron Jounſki, reſident from the emperor at the court of Poland, drew out preliminaries of a treaty; and Sobieſki ſent his brother-in-law, the grand-chancellor of Poland, to Sileſia, under pretence of attending the baths of Hierberg for his health, from whence he went to Breſlaw to meet the imperial miniſters. Here was laid the foundation of an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt the infidels, which was afterwards finiſhed by the count Waleſtein, who was ſent for that purpoſe to the diet at Warſaw, with the neceſſary powers. The conditions of this treaty were, that the emperor ſhould maintain forty thouſand men in the field, and twenty thouſand in garriſon; that the king of Poland ſhould aſſiſt with the poſpolite and crown-army; that he ſhould take the field in perſon againſt the infidels, and in caſe of the junction of the imperialiſts and Poles, command in perſon the combined army; that a part of the

A D. 1683.

Treaty between the emperor and the republic of Poland.

united forces ſhould fall upon Tekeli, while the reſt endeavoured to regain poſſeſſion of all the Ukraine, Kaminiec, and whatever other places the Turks held on the frontiers of Poland, or of the imperial dominions. By a ſecond treaty, Sobieſki engaged to march to the relief of Vienna, ſhould that capital happen to be beſieged, as the great preparations of the enemy gave cauſe to apprehend it would be [h].

Sobieſki's preparations for war.

Upon ſigning theſe treaties, Sobieſki opened his treaſures, and exerted himſelf vigorouſly to maintain his engagements. His great œconomy during the late repoſe, and the frugality ſo apparent in his houſhold, had afforded room for ſuſpicion, that he was hoarding up money merely from a principle of avarice. Others gave his conduct a more invidious turn, and alleged that he was induſtrious to fill his coffers only to corrupt the diet, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to his ſon. His conduct, however, upon this occaſion, plainly proved that he had ſaved only for the glory of Poland, and retrenched his own expences, that he might be profuſe when the occaſions of the ſtate demanded liberality. He ſpared no expence in levying troops, and drawing officers of merit from foreign ſervice. Several thouſand horſe and foot were raiſed and maintained at his own coſt; in particular he raiſed a regiment of Coſſacks, who began to be tired of the Turkiſh government, and kept ſpies in Tranſilvania and Hungary, whom he maintained out of his private purſe. In a word, by dint of intrigue and corruption, he gradually detached Tekeli from the Turkiſh intereſt; and though he could not prevail upon him openly to deſert the infidels, that prince nevertheleſs kept a conſtant correſpondence with Sobieſki, to whom he betrayed all the ſecrets of the divan [i]. It was by his means the king received intelligence of the ſtrength and deſtination of the Turkiſh army, almoſt as ſoon as the viſir's ſtandard was erected. Such is the aſſertion of the Poliſh writers, but not confirmed by the beſt hiſtorians of the empire, or indeed by circumſtances; for at this very time Tekeli publiſhed a very bitter declaration, and ſeized upon the fortreſſes of Pap, Tot, and Veſprin, committing ſeveral other actions, which diſcovered that he was equally ſincere in his enmity to the court of Vienna, and friendſhip to the grand ſeignor; and indeed the cruel manner in which he deſolated Moravia, is a ſufficient refutation of this aſſertion, which elevates the character of Sobieſki, at the expence of the integrity of a prince who certainly poſſeſſed great qualities, however he may have been

[h] Barre Hiſt. d'Allemagne lib. x. p. 186. et ſeq. [i] Fontaines, cap. v.

ſtigmatized

stigmatized by the advocates of religious and civil tyranny.

Sobieski joins the imperialists, defeats the Turks, and and raises the siege of Vienna.

We have in the history of the empire, recited the operations of this war, and the steps by which the infidels approached Vienna; it is sufficient we now observe, that the capital was closely invested, and on the brink of falling into the hands of the infidels, when Sobieski, in consequence of the most pressing letters from the emperor, took the field with twenty thousand men, and began his march to join the imperialists, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, his former competitor for the crown of Poland, who was now encamped at Allebrun. Here the two princes concerted the necessary measures for relieving the city, and attacking the visir's intrenchments, notwithstanding their combined forces did not exceed fifty thousand men. In consequence of their deliberations, the united army crossed the Danube on the 10th day of September, and by narrow defiles, which the Turks might have easily rendered impassable, gained the eminence of Schallemberg without opposition. There they encamped with intention to refresh the troops before the attack on the Turkish intrenchments, which was agreed to be made on the following day. Early in the morning the army was drawn out, and the right wing assigned to the Poles, who were ordered to form themselves in a crescent round the eminence, to prevent the Tartars from breaking in upon the flank, while the king took post in the centre of the whole army. On the left was the duke of Lorrain, and on his right were the electors of Saxony and Bavaria.

All this while the visir pushed the siege with the utmost diligence, in expectation that the city would be obliged to surrender before the Christian army could take possession of all the necessary posts; contenting himself with detaching ten thousand Tartars round the heights of Schallemberg, to observe the motions of the enemy. As soon as he perceived they were ready to descend to the plain, he advanced a part of his army to the foot of the eminence, and when too late, seized upon all the marshes, defiles, and passes, which could possibly obstruct the Christians in their march; but he was instantly driven back to the main body of his army, and at last convinced that the Christians, though inferior in number, were no contemptible enemy. Sobieski in person, at the head of a body of horse and hussars, attacked his camp, drove all before him, and put the Turkish army in the utmost consternation on the left wing, while prince Charles, with the imperialists, broke the Turkish right, and entered the camp nearly at the same time. Notice was immediately given to count Staremberg, the brave governor

of

of Vienna, of the ſituation of affairs, and he was ordered to ſally out upon the rear of the enemy, a ſervice which he performed with great alacrity and terrible execution. The victory was complete, and it was entirely aſcribed to the gallantry of Sobieſki, and the impetuous valour of the Poles, whom nothing could reſiſt [k]. The great Othoman ſtandard was taken, all the viſir's immenſe treaſure and baggage, the ammunition, proviſion, and train of artillery, amounting to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, were the rewards of the conquerors, together with the glory of having defeated an army of two hundred thouſand men, with the loſs of no more than ſix hundred private men and three officers.

Nor was Sobieſki's piety leſs conſpicuous than his valour. His firſt care was to preſent himſelf before the altar, and return thanks to the ſupreme Being, who had choſen him as the inſtrument of ſo ſignal a victory over the enemies of Chriſtianity, and the people admired the devotion of a hero, whom they could not but regard as their tutelary angel, while the king attributed his whole ſucceſs to heaven. On the emperor's return from Lintz to his capital, a difficulty aroſe about the ceremonials to be obſerved at the interview of the monarchs, as the king inſiſted upon an equality, and the emperor was too proud to grant this even to his deliverer.

He is treated haughtily by the emperor.

Unmindful of his obligations, he gave the king of Poland to underſtand, that he was not to expect the ſame honours that are uſually paid to crowned heads at other courts, and Sobieſki refuſed to admit of the leaſt diminution of the reſpect which he thought due to the ſovereign of Poland and the dignity of the republic. Leopold, it is true, had precedent on his ſide; but he was now unſeaſonable in punctilio, as Sobieſki's very extraordinary ſervices demanded a particular conſideration. At length, to remove all difficulties it was propoſed that the emperor ſhould go to the Poliſh camp, through the troops drawn up on each ſide, and that the two princes ſhould advance within two paces of each other; a moſt ridiculous expedient to gratify the pride of a monarch who had the day before been a fugitive from his capital, and owed his return to the perſon he was now inſulting by the rigorous obſervance of an idle ceremonial. When they approached within a certain diſtance of each other, the king of Poland gave ſpur to his horſe, advanced upon a gallop, and both princes applied their hands at the ſame time to their hats, ſaluted each other, were again covered, and then entered upon converſation.

[k] Barre, tom. x. ſub. an.

According

According to the German hiſtorians, the emperor began the diſcourſe by thanking the king of Poland for his extraordinary ſervices and generoſity, in quitting his own dominions to ſecure the empire; adding a compliment on the ſignal victory he had obtained by his own valour and conduct: to which Sobieſki anſwered, that he had done nothing more than one Chriſtian prince owed to another, and that for the victory, glory was due only to the Almighty, who was pleaſed to fix upon him for the inſtrument of his vengeance. The author of the Poliſh anecdotes, who is followed by the abbé Fontaines, alleges that Sobieſki rode up to the emperor, and told him in Latin how rejoiced he was that heaven had proſpered his endeavours and his friendſhip for his imperial majeſty; a compliment which Leopold received with ſullen ſilence; and this the writer ſtrains into a proof of his arrogance, though in our opinion it only bears teſtimony to his ignorance of the Latin tongue, in which language it is very poſſible he could not readily expreſs himſelf. He adds, however, that Leopold recollecting himſelf, ſent a preſent two days after to prince James of a ſword richly adorned with jewels, and three thouſand ducats to each of the Poliſh generals, writing at the ſame time a letter of apology to the young prince for not having taken notice of him before; an omiſſion which he aſcribed to the impreſſion the ſight of the king his father, to whom he owed the preſervation of his diadem made on his ſpirits; a pitiful ſhift to palliate ingratitude, ſhowing an arrogance of mind incapable of acknowleging favours (A). The Poliſh officers highly reſented the emperor's behaviour, and endeavoured to perſuade the king to break off all connections with a prince inſenſible to the ſtrongeſt obligations; but a ſenſe of honour, a deſire of reducing the Othoman court ſtill lower, and of putting it out of the power of the Turks, for ſome time at leaſt, to diſturb the repoſe of Europe, determined Sobieſki to finiſh the campaign [1].

With this view he formed a project of diſlodging a ſtrong body of janiſſaries which had eſcaped over the bridge at Barcan, and taken poſt round a fort of that name; and that

(A) The ſame author alſo relates, that Sobieſki was ſo offended at the emperor's inſenſibility, when he preſented his ſon and principal officers to him, that he broke off the interview abruptly, ſaying, "Brother, you will probably want to ſee my army; theſe are my generals, to whom I have given orders to gratify your curioſity." Upon which he retired without ceremony to his tent. p. 176.

[1] Font. cap. v. Connor lib. iv. tom. i.

the

Sobieski defeated.

the Poles might have the whole honour of this action, he concealed his design from the duke of Lorraine. Marching up with a few troops of horse and hussars, he was surrounded by the enemy, planted in the orchards and gardens on both sides. An obstinate engagement ensued; Sobieski was overpowered with numbers, and in the utmost danger of being taken prisoner. The hussars deserted him, and he was under the necessity of fighting his way back through fourteen thousand janissaries, supported only by about two hundred soldiers and officers, who had determined to share the fortune of their sovereign. After all, though the king distinguished his strength and valour, the exploit was upon the whole unworthy of the great Sobieski, as it favoured of rashness and that spirit of chivalry, which hath often led princes unnecessarily into the midst of danger, only to flatter their vanity [b]. This great monarch was sensible of his error, and strove to repair it; his courage was not damped, but prudence was now joined to valour. The facility with which he had always defeated the Turks had given him a contemptible opinion of the courage and military genius of that people; but he now was convinced that they only wanted discipline, to become a very warlike and formidable nation. Their own eagerness to pursue the advantage they had lately gained over a monarch whom they believed invincible, afforded him the opportunity of taking signal revenge. The grand vizir had sent orders to Tekeli to join the corps at Barcan; but the janissaries were so elated with their late victory, that they brought on frequent skirmishes with the Polish advanced guards, and suffered themselves to be drawn into a general engagement. Two days after his defeat the king drew out his army, commanding the right in person, assigning the center to the duke of Lorraine, and placing the crown-general on the left wing, in which order he began his march by dawn to attack the infidels, who still maintained their post at Barcan. The Turks having intimation of the king's intention, ranged themselves in order of battle, extending their right wing towards the mountains, and their left to certain marshes, which secured them from an attack in flank. Only one line of front was opposed to the Christians, but in the rear they had placed two columns of horse, as a corps de reserve, which should act as circumstances required. The right wing was led by Kara Mahomet, bashaw of Buda, and the left by Ali, bashaw of Caramania. The Christians amounted to forty-nine thousand men, and never did troops exhibit a

He has his revenge.

[b] Barre, ibid.

finer

finer appearance, or expreſs more ardour. The Poles in particular thirſted to revenge the late diſgrace of their monarch, and Sobieſki found it neceſſary to check their impetuoſity, to prevent their falling in diſorder. The engagement began, and each ſide fought with vigour proportioned to the reſiſtance. Sobieſki had diſpoſed the artillery in the intervals of the left, becauſe it was imagined the Turks would make their chief efforts on that ſide, and he gradually ſtretched the right wing towards the Danube, in order to cut off the retreat of an enemy he was ſure of conquering, from the ſuperiority of his diſpoſition and numbers. The Turkiſh generals oppoſed themſelves with the utmoſt fury to the deſigns of the king of Poland, and, animated with deſpair, made aſtoniſhing attempts to keep open the communication with the bridge; but all their endeavours were baffled by the Poles, who ſtood impenetrable, and were not to be removed from the ground they had once gained. Perceiving that the Chriſtians were not to be forced on that ſide, the baſhaw of Buda made an effort to break the ranks of the imperialiſts in the center; but was repulſed, after having received three dangerous wounds. The baſhaw of Siliſtria fought with incredible boldneſs, after he had been ſurrounded by the Chriſtian cavalry; but was at length forced to ſurrender to one of the Poliſh generals; and the ſame fate awaited the baſhaw of Caramania, after his whole body was covered with wounds and blood.

The Turks are overthrown.

Still however the Turks were not diſcouraged by the loſs of theſe two officers; they repeated the charge, but with the ſame ill fortune, and were at laſt totally defeated, after they had performed prodigies of valour; all were put to the rout: they endeavoured to reach the river through a narrow defile, where they were ſlaughtered in a confuſed multitude. Great numbers threw themſelves into the Danube, and were drowned; others periſhed under the ſwords of the conquerors; then the fort of Barcan was forced by the Poliſh foot, and the whole garriſon ſlaughtered without diſtinction. It was in vain the infidels begged quarter, and threw down their arms; the fury of the ſoldiers was equally deaf to the intreaties of the ſupplicant and the menaces of their own officers; they could not be prevailed upon to ſheath the ſword as long as the face of a Turk appeared in the field. The defeat was complete, twelve thouſand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and of the whole detachment ſcarce a thouſand eſcaped to Tekeli's army, which now began to appear on the neighbouring mountains. It was imagined that he would have immediately

diately attacked the combined Chriſtians, before they had recovered from the fatigue of the preceding action; but Tekeli was too prudent to attempt wreſting victory from a ſuperior well-diſciplined army, with troops newly raiſed, who had ſcarce ever beheld the face of a regular enemy [c]. He accordingly retreated, and this ſtep has been ſtrained into a preſumption that he held a clandeſtine correſpondence with Sobieſki.

The next meaſure was to aſſemble a council of war, where it was debated, whether Buda, Peſt, or Gran ſhould be beſieged. The duke of Lorraine was for inveſting the former, and his opinion was eſpouſed by Sobieſki, though violently oppoſed by all the Poliſh officers, who deſired that the army might be quartered in the dominions of the republic; but the king cut them ſhort by acquainting them, "that he ſhould not viſit Warſaw before he had driven the Turks out of Hungary." He informed his officers, that Gran could not make any conſiderable defence, and that there was no probability of its being ſuccoured, as he had certain advice, that the grand vizir had retired with the broken remains of his army to Belgrade. Accordingly this place was inveſted, and the Turkiſh garriſon forced to capitulate, after a ſiege of five days only; upon which the Poliſh army was led back to their own country, and the king arrived at Cracow in the beginning of the winter, after having driven the Turks out of the bowels of the imperial dominions. In his way he reduced Zutkin, in which the enemy had placed a ſtrong garriſon, to harraſs the Poles in their retreat. A detachment under prince James and the palatine of Lublin, inveſted this town, and ſoon forced the garriſon to retire to the citadel, which was ſtormed and taken.

Gran taken.

Dec. 21.

Renewal of the treaty with the emperor.

Sobieſki on his arrival in his own dominions, was ſaluted with the joyful news of a complete victory obtained over forty thouſand Turks and Tartars, by the Coſſack general of the hither ſide the Neiſter, who then croſſed the river, and laid deſolate the territories of his countrymen in the Turkiſh intereſt (A). Not long after this tranſaction

[c] Barre Hiſt. tom. x. ſub. an.

(A) At the laſt peace the Ukraine, and country of the Coſſacks, was divided, the Neiſter forming the barrier. Sobieſki's addreſs had drawn back the Coſſacks of the hither ſide to his intereſt, while their countrymen on the oppoſite ſide took part with the Tartars, by whom and the czar of Muſcovy they were protected.

the

the republic of Venice was invited to accede to the treaty of alliance between the emperor and Sobieſki againſt the Turks; and the king took this occaſion to ſtipulate ſome advantages to himſelf in the renewal of the treaty. By a ſecret article he obtained a ceſſion from the emperor of Walachia and Moldavia, to himſelf and iſſue male, provided the Turks could be driven out of thoſe provinces; and it was farther agreed, that the Poliſh forces were to be employed on this ſide, while the imperialiſts acted upon the Danube, and the Venetians in the Morea. Sobieſki had beſides the addreſs to draw the czar of Muſcovy into this alliance, by which means he not only powerfully augmented the league, but ſecured the republic during his abſence, from the dread of a formidable reſtleſs neighbour. The hoſpodar of Moldavia too had engaged to declare againſt the infidels the moment he found himſelf protected by the Poles, little knowing that his country was become the property of the Poliſh monarch. Two years were conſumed in theſe negotiations, all which time Sobieſki employed in levying forces, recruiting his treaſures, and in other military preparations; but a variety of circumſtances occured to cool the friendſhip between him and the court of Vienna. Beſides the ſtiff punctilios and inſolent behaviour of the emperor at the interview between the princes, the king of Poland had other cauſes of complaint. Leopold no ſooner beheld his affairs re-eſtabliſhed by the progreſs of his arms in Hungary, than he thought he could fight his own battles without multiplying obligations, which he had neither inclination nor power to repay. The wretched quarters provided for the Lithuanians, whom the king had left in the imperial dominions, fully evinced the emperor's little regard for an ally, who had quitted his own dominions to reſtore its uſual ſplendor to the houſe of Auſtria; a family diſtinguiſhed from its earlieſt riſe for pride and ingratitude. Nor was Leopold ſatisfied with mere coldneſs of behaviour; he endeavoured to traverſe Sobieſki in points highly important to the intereſt of his family, and now not only refuſed the performance of his promiſe of marrying the archduchefs to prince James[d], but took meaſures to prevent the king's ſon from eſpouſing the princeſs of Radzivil. That lady, whoſe fortune was immenſe, he married to Charles prince of Newburg, brother to the empreſs, though ſhe had been engaged to the prince of Poland, and had by a formal deed forfeited her eſtate to that young prince, in caſe of failure in the performance of her en-

[d] Anecdotes de Pologne, pag. 207.

gagements.

gagements. Sobieski however suppressed his sense of these injuries, and stifled his resentment in order to pursue his interest. A league had been formed, by which he stood a chance for securing the property of two valuable pro-
A.D. 1686. vinces to his family. To gain this important object, he took the field with the finest army Poland had raised for several reigns, though the nobility resented his commanding in person, by which means they were deprived of their share of the glory, and an honourable employment that had long been regarded as their undoubted right. This jealousy had already occasioned some divisions; but the murmurs of the nobility were sunk in the ardor which the nation in general expressed to follow a monarch, who had always returned home laden with spoils and covered with laurels. The army passed the Pruth, entered Moldavia, and conquered the whole country by the terror they spread, without having once beheld the face of an enemy, though the perfidious hospodar had broke his engagements and deserted to the infidels; yet it was not possible to keep possession of a country where all the inhabitants might be deemed enemies. Sobieski tried the effects of bribes and promises on the hospodar and principal inhabitants; but he soon found that they received his money only to employ it against himself. This consideration determined him not wholly to lose the fruits of his expedition, for which purpose he bent his march towards the coast of the Black Sea, with intention of laying siege to Bailogrod, a strong town of Bessarabia, on the south bank of the Neister. To execute this enterprize he traversed vast countries which were reduced to a desert by the enemy, and at last found the project attended with such difficulties, that he relinquished it for another no less perilous and fatiguing. His new design was to gain the borders of the Danube, but so many rocks, mountains, woods, and defiles intervened, as rendered the march altogether impracticable. Baffled in all his schemes, and reduced to great extremity, he at last resolved to return towards the Pruth [e]. He begun his march, and saw himself surrounded by armies of Tartars and Moldavians, who, without venturing to attack him, desolated the country through which he was to pass, broke up the roads, placed lurking parties in the woods, blocked up all the passes, set fire to the corn which was ready to be cut down, almost suffocated the Polish army in clouds of smoke and ashes, and raised every other obstruction which the imagination of barbarians could invent. All these dif-

Sobieski's expedition into Moldavia.

[e] Abbé de Font. cap. v.

ficulties

ficulties the king surmounted, and by the end of the campaign returned to his own dominions, having thus finished the last enterprize of his life; which, though fruitless with respect to advantage, served to augment his glory, and was celebrated over all Europe as one of the most memorable retreats recorded in history [f].

Troubles of Sobieski.

This was not sufficient to quiet the mind of Sobieski. His days of youthful gallantry were passed, when danger was sought merely for the glory of the exploit. He proposed to lay the foundation of grandeur in his own family, and was greatly chagrined at his disappointment, while the world rung with his praises. Nor was this the only source of his discontent and uneasiness. Factions and cabals were formed to disturb his peace; and in his own family sprung up two enemies, extremely formidable from their ability and employments. These were Wielopolski, grand-chancellor of the crown; and Radziewiski, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of all Poland. The first was brother-in-law to the queen, and the second the king's own relation, whom he had raised to his present dignity. What the particular designs of the chancellor were, could never be discovered, as he was seized with a distemper that carried him off in the midst of his projects to unhinge the constitution: it is certain only that he burnt all his papers, and that the names of some of the conspirators transpired, though they are not recorded in history. With respect to the archbishop, Sobieski's kindness in raising him to a dignity, second only to sovereignty itself, and his ties of relation to the monarch, made a fainter impression on his mind than the king's refusal to gratify his ambition with the first cardinal's hat in his disposal, though he had been under the strongest engagements to the bishop of Marseilles, who had diligently exerted himself in promoting his elevation to the throne. The primate, indeed, had afterwards the purple bestowed on him by the pontiff; but as he knew the king was not the source of this additional honour, he constantly employed the influence it gave him in opposition to the measures of his royal benefactor. Every scheme formed by Sobieski for the aggrandizement of his own family was traversed by the ingrateful Radziewiski, in which opposition he was powerfully assisted by the Sapieha family, as if fatality directed that all the king's favours and obligations conferred on individuals, should be repaid by injuries and the utmost bitterness of malignity [g].

[f] Puffend. Hist. Germ. tom. iv. lib. iv.

[g] Parthen. Hist. lib. i.

The advantages derived by the house of Sapieha from the king's bounty were more than sufficient to bind them to perpetual gratitude, had not ambition and pride stifled every other emotion of the heart. This family had been removed from Lithuania, where they lived in a kind of splendid barbarity, to bask in Poland in all the radiance of a court, and the warmest smiles of a friendly monarch. Sobieski, indeed, shewed them particular favour from views of policy, in order to counterbalance the influence of Pacz, his constant rival and perpetual opponent; but still the Sapiehas reaped the benefit, though they thought the obligation discharged by the king's bestowing it for his own purposes. It was the great object of Sobieski's policy to place his son in the succession; with this view chiefly a diet was assembled at Grodno. Prince James was present, and expected to attend his father under the same canopy, and to be placed on his right hand; an honour that was violently opposed by the Sapiehas, under the mask of patriotism. They opposed the prince's desires as unconstitutional, and thereby blasted all his hopes of being nominated to the succession by the diet, as the Sapiehas entirely directed the assembly. The king's adherents gave out, that this ambitious family had formed designs of seizing upon the crown for themselves, or at least of dismembering the duchy of Lithuania from Poland. For some years, indeed, they might have been regarded as the sovereigns of the duchy; but no direct proofs ever appeared of their intention to carry matters farther [h].

Divisions in the state.

To these causes of disquiet the king had others superadded, owing to the contentions of ambition, avarice, and pride, among his subjects. Upon some difference between Sapieha and the bishop of Wilna, the former, as general of the troops of Lithuania, had quartered a body of forces within the jurisdiction of the prelate. Of this step the bishop complained as a gross violation of the immunities of the church; and his complaints immediately drew to his party the whole body of ecclesiastics, except the primate, who absolved Sapieha after he had been excommunicated by the bishop. The whole kingdom was divided by this dispute, and all the functions of government were suspended; diets were called, and dissolved before they had entered upon the business of their meeting. So much was the kingdom addicted to faction and dispute, that even the choice of a mareschal raised such violent contentions, as obliged the deputies to return without receiving a hint of

[h] Font. cap. v. Connor, tom. i. lett. iv.

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the buſineſs for which they were aſſembled. Perſonal clamours too and reflections diſturbed the reign of Sobieſki, who had once been the darling of his people, and the admiration of neighbouring powers. It was aſſerted, that all his views concentrated in amaſſing wealth; and certainly his character in this particular was ſtrangely altered. When a private ſubject, he was liberal to prodigality; now, when a prince, and loaded with years, he fell into the contrary extreme, and grew as penurious as he had ever been prodigal; offended perhaps at the coldneſs and ingratitude of a nation, whoſe glory had long been his only aim, and conſcious that wealth and power would always acquire influence and dependence. With no other intention than to ſave the expence of maintaining a regular court, he removed his reſidence from one province to another, under pretence of viſiting the crown-lands. This was the invidious turn given by his enemies to a conduct which his health ſeemed abſolutely to require. Age, together with the addition of bodily infirmities, contracted by the fatigues of war and the chagrin of domeſtic oppoſition, demanded recreation, air, and ſuch exerciſe as his conſtitution could bear; and this, indeed, would ſeem to be the regimen preſcribed to him by Dr. Connor, an Engliſh phyſician of conſiderable ability, in whom the king repoſed great confidence. There, however, was no poſſibility of drowning the voice of faction, which univerſally declared, that a narrow ſpirit and dangerous views alone animated all Sobieſki's meaſures, which ſome aſcribed wholly to himſelf, and others to the intriguing genius of his queen. This princeſs had, indeed, taken a conſiderable ſhare in public buſineſs during the laſt years of the king her huſband's reign, and had gained the entire aſcendant over his inclinations. She had been at great expence in promoting alliances, and connecting her children with powerful and wealthy families, who might be a ſupport to them when Sobieſki's power ſhould be extinct with his life. Immenſe ſums had been ſacrificed to the alliances with the houſe of Newburg and the electoral houſe of Bavaria, by the marriage of her ſon and daughter with a prince and princeſs of thoſe families. She had, beſides, experienced the force of money in determining the fate of elections; and it was but highly probable and equitable that ſhe endeavoured to ſecure a throne to her children, by a retrenchment in articles of luxury and ſuperfluity. At all events ſhe might think that a handſome patrimony would be ſome conſolation for the loſs of a crown, ſhould her ſon be diſappoint-

ed in her views of procuring him the crown of his father [i]. All these, and a variety of other circumstances, might be the motives for a parsimony, which was treated by the members in the opposition as not only unbecoming, but criminal in a monarch who held his crown of the people; yet this malignity, which favoured little of the moderate spirit of true patriotism, infected almost all degrees of men; and Sobieski was taken off by a fit of the apoplexy on the 17th day of June, little lamented by those subjects who had beheld him with adoration.

A.D.1696.

Death and character of Sobieski.

Thus ended with discord and dispute, a glorious reign of one of the greatest heroes the republic had ever seen placed on her throne; of a prince who had, by dint of merit, raised himself through all the inferior offices to the dignity of a crown, to which he gave lustre by his virtues; who had signalized himself before his accession, in a glorious victory over the enemies of Christianity, and particularly of Poland; who had abolished a tribute shameful to the republic; who had recovered the greater part of the Ukraine out of the hands of the Tartars, and brought back to their duty the turbulent Cossacks; who had delivered the house of Austria out of the jaws of destruction, and Christendom from that torrent which threatened to overwhelm it, by the memorable battle which raised the siege of Vienna; who had deferred his own coronation, that he might promote the interest of his country; and who was parsimonious in his private œconomy, only that he might be profuse when public occasions required liberality. Such was the constant tenour of Sobieski's government during a reign of twenty-two years, in which he encountered such manifold difficulties from the opposition of faction, as were sufficient to have given him a distaste of royalty and an averfion to his country. In fact, he was to Poland what Vespasian was to Italy; both rose by the same gradations and the same virtues, from the command of armies to the sovereignty of their several countries; and both were reproached with the same failings, probably with the same injustice. To conclude the character, Sobieski was deeply tinctured with science, considering the low estate of learning in Poland; and his eloquence was no less admired in the senate than his valour in the field. The art of war was his principal study; but he was not unacquainted with those accomplishments which form the gentleman and adorn the sovereign. Besides his vernacular tongue, he understood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages, and

[i] Parthen. ibid.

could

could even hold diſcourſe in moſt of theſe. He delighted in natural knowlege, and ſtrongly patronized this uſeful branch of philoſophy, frequently reprimanding the clergy for not introducing modern ſyſtems founded upon experiment, into the ſchools and univerſities [k]. In one word, he was the moſt learned, politic, valiant, and univerſally accompliſhed monarch that ever wielded the Poliſh ſceptre [l].

SECT. VIII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Inter-regnum, and the violent Contentions which divided Poland, until the Acceſſion of Frederick-Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony.

WE have ſeen that, by the conſtitution of the Poliſh government, the regency of the kingdom, during an interregnum, is veſted in the primate-archbiſhop of Gneſna, who was now in the country, when advice came of Sobieſki's death; upon which he immediately prepared to make his public entry into Warſaw, where he was met by the ſenate and great officers of the crown. The diet of election was fixed for the 29th day of Auguſt; couriers were diſpatched to all the courts of Europe, to notify the king's deceaſe; orders were iſſued for reinforcing the frontier garriſons; aſſigning their pay out of the revenues of the crown; providing for the ſecurity of the ſmall remains of the late conqueſts of Moldavia; and taking every other meaſure that prudence dictated, for the preſervation of domeſtic peace, and external ſecurity.

No ſooner were the dietines aſſembled than diſcord and confuſion interrupted all buſineſs, and involved the whole country in ſcenes of riot and tumult. The only article of conſequence agreed upon was, that the election ſhould be made by the poſpolite, or aſſembly of the nobility of the kingdom. At Marienburg the electors came to blows, and blood was ſhed without appeaſing the heat of contention: in the iſſue, however, it was determined that compliments of condolance ſhould be made to the queen and the princes James, Conſtantine, and Alexander; that proper regard ſhould be had to the conventions made with Sobieſki, and the pretenſions of his family; that thanks ſhould be returned to the primate-archbiſhop, and great generals, for their ſedulous attention to the affairs of the republic, and

The leſſer diets aſſembled.

[k] Connor. ibid. [l] Auct citat. ibid.

the prudent measures taken to preserve the public tranquillity; that the demands of the state in general, as well as of individuals, should be considered, specified in the form of a remonstrance, and presented to the prince elect before his coronation; and that foreign ministers should, according to ancient usage, be obliged to withdraw from the diet of election. Strict injunctions were likewise laid upon the deputies to exert their utmost endeavours, that the business of the general diet might be concluded in fifteen days, to save expence to the state, and cut off all cause of dispute and discord, as well as of bribery and corruption. These instructions were given to very little purpose, as it was the business of the representatives to convert the opportunity to the best advantage, and increase their fortunes by the liberality of the candidates. At the same time the nobility entered into engagements of union for the security of the Catholic religion, the repose of the kingdom, and the freedom of election; engagements that were found vain and fruitless, after the passions had been warmed with debate, and avarice and ambition were excited by opportunity [m].

Meeting of the general diet,

On the 29th day of August the preliminary diet was opened with the accustomed ceremonies, and proceeded to the nomination of a marechal, or speaker, an article which gave rise to warm debates. The contention lay between Great and Little Poland, each of these provinces insisting it was her turn to give a speaker to the diet. At length, the deputies of Great Poland acquiesced, by way of reserving their right to the future diet, that their strength might not be exhausted upon an object merely titular. It was foreseen that the altercation with which this diet commenced would prevent its being decisive, and that another must necessarily be summoned to complete the election. The Lithuanians too were of the same opinion, and seemed to join issue with the deputies of Great Poland. This contest inflamed both parties to such a degree of animosity, that the commonwealth was in danger of being torn in pieces by a civil war, when the bishop of Posnania fell upon the extraordinary method of calming the spirit of faction, by coming in his episcopal robes to the szopa, and haranguing the assembly. Some were awed by his venerable appearance, and others by his eloquence; but the majority thought it savoured of extravagance, continued to foment the tumult, and at length occasioned the dissolution of the diet. On the 30th and 31st, two other diets were held with similar consequences: rage took place

[m] Abbé Font. cap. v. Puff. Hist. Gen. tom. iv. lib. iv.

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of candour and patriotism, and the deputies parted just as they had met. Upon which it was proposed, that the diet should proceed to business without a marescha; but this proposal was fraught with such a variety of glaring inconveniences, that it was immediately rejected. At length the Lithuanian deputies removed all difficulties, by consenting that Little Poland should have the nomination of a marescha; in consequence of which condescension Komieniski, nephew to the palatine of Kiow, lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and staroſta of Podolia, received the staff of office, and was formally installed: an honour for which he thanked the diet in an eloquent oration, promising to conduct himself in such a manner, that they should have no cause to be dissatisfied at his election. Indeed, the new marescha strongly recommended himself to the nobility, by the ardor of his zeal in supporting the honour and interest of that principal body of the nation. *Disputes about a marescha.*

Every new proposition gave birth to fresh altercation: the question was put, whether the body of deputies should deliberate jointly with the senate, or separately? This, after violent contention, was determined in the affirmative. It was next proposed, that a scrutiny should be made into the legality of elections of the deputies; but as it was apprehended that such an inquiry would protract the diet to a great length, the motion was over-ruled; and it was resolved, that the deputies should join the senate, and proceed to business; but that all doubtful elections should be deprived of active voices, until they had satisfactorily answered all the objections which might arise touching that point. A speech, pathetically describing the situation of the republic, and warmly applauding the conduct of the nobility, was pronounced by the marescha, and answered by the primate, who proposed, that a general confederacy of all the members of the diet should be formed, for securing its repose, liberty, and security; for providing the means of extinguishing the animosities which distracted the republic, during the reign of Sobieski; for drawing up the laws and conditions to which the prince should be required to subscribe; for adopting a method of putting the army on a better footing, clearing off arrears, and suppressing the seditious humour which began to infect the whole military body; for regulating the current coin, and thereby preventing the manifold disorders consequent on the diversity of specie; and lastly, he moved, that the diet of election should be postponed to the spring of the succeeding year: thus artfully securing to himself the continuance of supreme authority, under pretence of affording leisure to the

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Irruption of the Tartars, and revolt of the army.

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they were ripe [illegible], and ready to reward the toil of the huſbandman. The army was ordered to advance to ſtop theſe ravages, and puniſh the enemy; but inteſtine diviſion had deſtroyed all diſcipline, and, inſtead of obeying the government, the ſoldiers united in a confederacy to live at free quarters, until the arrears of the army ſhould be paid. Bogiſlaus Baronowſki was choſen leader of this union, not for the qualities of his mind, or the elevation of his birth, but from the popularity he had acquired among the ſoldiers, by a ſpecies of eloquence bold, inflam-

[a] Parthen. Hiſt. tom. i. lib. i.

matory,

matory, and ſeditious. His family had been ennobled, by giving birth to a primate-archbiſhop of Gneſna; but he was as deſtitute of fortune as of principle. From his father he poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, which for a ſhort time only adminiſtered to his diſſipation. He had married a woman, whom he could not love, for the ſake of her fortune, which was immediately ſquandered away, and ſhe was turned adrift, to lament her folly. At this juncture Bogiſlaus was no more than a huſſar in the regiment of Lubomirſki; but a ſpeech which he made to his fellow-ſoldiers occaſioned his elevation. "Is this (ſaid he) the reward of our fatigues and bloodſhed in defence of our unnatural country? Muſt we be left to periſh for want in the midſt of that plenty and felicity which we have ſecured for the haughty nobility? Shall Turks and Tartars ravage thoſe treaſures, which would render us completely happy? Rather let us anticipate their deſigns, and deprive them of the inducement to plunder the frontiers, by laying hands upon whatever is valuable, and reaping for ourſelves the fruits of our toils. This cannot be conſtrued into a violence on the conſtitution; juſtice and policy demand it, ſince thereby the republic will not only be diſcharged of her debts, but the enemy diſappointed of their prey, and deterred from making freſh inroads." The boldneſs of his manner, and the ſpecioufneſs of his arguments, met with univerſal applauſe: the reſolution was taken, Bogiſlaus appointed general, and the invidiouſneſs of a revolt was cloaked under the milder appellation of a confederacy. Immediately he entered upon the execution of his deſign, and laid all the country round under contribution: then he ſent deputies to the ſenate, formally to demand the arrears due to an army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, for the ſpace of ten years; a demand with which the low ſtate of the treaſury would not admit of compliance. Nothing, indeed, could be more juſt than the complaints of the ſoldiers, had they been preſented in a manner more agreeable to the laws of ſociety. The oppoſition of ſeveral of the nobility had deprived the late king of the means of advancing their pay to the ſoldiers, many of whom had conſumed their little fortunes, and were now forced to live upon the public. He had formed ſchemes for redreſſing this grievance, when death put an end to thoſe projects ſo ſalutary to the republic. Ever ſince his deceaſe, the enormity was increaſing, without a poſſibility of applying remedies; ſo that the army was rendered quite deſperate, and the preſent rebellion almoſt unavoidable. However, all men pretended aſtoniſhment to ſee the government thus braved by its ſubjects, and laws

preſcribed

prescribed by those persons who were hired for presiding over the execution of the laws, and the defence of the frontiers. The senate was terrified with the menaces of the military deputies, and it was proposed to apply the treasures hoarded up by Sobieski, towards the discharge of the army-arrears. This was a measure dictated by the enemies of that monarch's family, which they defended by alleging, that as those sums had been collected from the state, it was highly reasonable they should be applied to the occasions of the republic. In vain did the royal party oppose this motion, as highly injurious and unjust to the queen and the princes. It was on the point of passing the assembly, when Horodenski, deputy from the palatinate of Czernikow, entered a protest against these proceedings, and immediately quitted the house, a step which alone was sufficient to break up the diet[a].

An act of the diet.

When the means of paying the army were vanished, it was necessary to have recourse to other measures: accordingly the senate came to a resolution, to which the deputies acceded, that an act should immediately be prepared to confederate the whole body of nobility, for the conservation of religion, liberty, and property, and especially of the freedom of election. At the same time it was determined, that the diet of election should be held in the open field on the 26th day of May next ensuing; the polonite to assemble in the same manner as at the election of king Michael; a point which had been agreed upon before, though with less formality. To this act the primate and the bishop of Posnania set their names on the first day of October; and their example was followed next day by a majority of the deputies. What appears extraordinary is, that one of the articles of this confederacy excluded all natives; and yet the primate, who first signed it, was supposed a stickler for prince Alexander, the third son of the late monarch, whom many persons preferred to prince James, who was born before Sobieski's accession.

Confederacy of the Lithuanians.

With respect to Horodenski, whose protest had warded off the blow levelled at the royal family, he retreated to the confederated army, where he hoped for protection against the resentment of the diet; and offered, with the assistance of six thousand men only, to join all the Lithuanian nobility and soldiers who were in the same interest: a scheme which had been fruitlessly attempted a little before by Baranowski. This chief was, however, too fond of his new-acquired authority to accept of an associate. He therefore

[a] Parthen. lib. i. Puffend. tom. iv. lib. iv.

rejected

rejected the palatine's propoſal, received him coldly, and afforded him protection only becauſe he thought he might be ſerviceable in promoting his deſigns, and that a nobleman of his rank and dignity gave countenance to the confederacy, conſiſting almoſt entirely of obſcure perſons. Baronowſki was ſenſible, that if the palatine was employed in bringing over the Lithuanians, he would ſoon acquire the chief command; or the refuſal of the nobility to join their troops to his, proceeded from the contempt in which they held his birth and fortune: they deſired a leader more illuſtrious, more able, and experienced; not an upſtart, who had only diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, and a certain air of confidence that gained the affections of the ſoldiers. In effect, the bulk of the nobility of that duchy had entered into a confederacy in defence of their privileges, and the eccleſiaſtical immunities. This was the pretext; though, in fact, they were prevailed on by the queen's money, and the perſuaſion of the celebrated abbé Polignac, the French miniſter, to throw off all allegiance to Sapieha, the grand-general. The diſputes between that nobleman and the biſhop of Wilna, in whoſe juriſdiction he had quartered his troops, furniſhed the ambitious and deſigning with a fair opportunity, which was firſt embraced by Oginſki, great-ſtandard-bearer of the duchy, who, by means of corruption and addreſs, obtained the ſupreme command of the confederated ſoldiers. Already this corps amounted to four thouſand men; and they were ſoon joined by the nobility of Samogitia, Novogrod, Brezcia, and Witeſpi; a letter from the palatine of which laſt province, to the queen, was intercepted, whence it appeared, that her majeſty was at the bottom of the revolution in Lithuania, as ſhe was ſuſpected to have been the promoter of the ſedition in the Poliſh army. Sapieha, determining to puniſh the rebels, marched with all who adhered to him of the army, and a body of the nobility, to attack Oginſki in his trenches, who, on the enemy's approach, retreated to Brezcia, but was purſued thither. Here an action enſued, in which Sapieha had at firſt the advantage; but was, in the end, repulſed with great ſlaughter. A ſecond attempt to force Oginſki's works was made, and with more equality of ſucceſs. The defence and attack were vigorous, the loſs on each ſide conſiderable, but equal; which circumſtance induced both to liſten to the terms of accommodation propoſed by Polignac, who became apprehenſive that the diviſions of Lithuania, which had run higher than he expected, might wholly overturn the government, and thereby fruſtrate his deſigns in favour of a prince of the houſe of Bourbon,

Addreſs of Polignac the French miniſter.

Bourbon. That minister, to effect his purposes, engaged the son of the grand-mareschal, who was likewise the intimate friend of Oginski, to negociate the agreement; promising to defray all expences, provided both sides would engage, by a secret article, to unite in favour of the candidate he should propose. Such was the insinuating manner of the French ambassador, that the negociation succeeded to his wish. It was stipulated, that Oginski and the confederates should return to their duty; that Sapieha should grant a general pardon; that he should undertake for the republic to advance half the arrears due to the army; that they should have the same quarters with his own troops, who had remained unshaken in their fidelity; and that no distinction should hereafter be made to the prejudice of Oginski, or his party [b].

The insolence of the Polish army.

In a very different disposition was the Polish confederated army under Baronowski. Nothing pacific appeared in this quarter: the troops were ravaging the territories of the republic with all the fury of barbarians, burning and destroying the towns and villages that refused, through inability, to pay the exorbitant contributions they demanded. Baronowski demanded thirty-two thousand florins from the city of Leopold; and the Jews were forced to pay fourteen thousand to be exempted from quartering the forces. A hundred thousand florins were demanded from the magistrates of Zolkiow and its dependencies, and the people threatened with military execution, if they failed a single day of paying within the time limited. To stop the progress of disorders which threatened the kingdom with destruction, the senate proposed a conference with Baronowski in the neighbourhood of Leopold. Commissaries were accordingly appointed, and the grand-general of Poland was desired by the senate to attend the negociation, which had almost blasted all the hopes produced by the prospect of the approaching conference. The commissaries from the army refused to admit them, declaring they had nothing to transact with the crown-generals; and Baronowski, who dreaded that the senate would comply with all he could reasonably demand, laboured to raise new difficulties. He now insisted, that the funds charged with the payment of the troops should be left to his disposal. He likewise demanded, that he might be at liberty to levy payment in what manner he should think proper; that he should chuse quarters for his troops where he pleased; and, in a word, that he should govern the republic despotically, and dictate

[b] Parthen. lib. i. Puffend. tom. iv. lib. iv. Font cap. vi.

to

to the whole kingdom with the same authority he exercised over the capricious soldiery, who might in the first change of humour hurl him down from his dignity with the same rapidity with which he had been elevated. Upon the refusal of the commissaries of the senate to admit those conditions, the rebel general sent detachments to raise contributions, to commit some dreadful acts of hostility, and strike terror into several provinces, even to the gates of Warsaw; nor did the remotest territories of the republic escape insult and devastation. Polish Prussia, though at a vast distance from the camp, was overwhelmed with dismay when twelve companies of soldiers penetrated into the very bowels of the province, where they exacted heavy contributions by dint of military execution. However, the spirit and resolution of the Polish nobility gave the army a check in the interior parts of the kingdom: they gave Baronowski to understand, that, if he did not recall his detachments, they would unite and give him battle, a resolution which by no means suited with that general's designs. He dreaded the thoughts of driving the people to despair, and thought it more adviseable to confine his ravages to the skirts of the republic, though less profitable, than run the hazard of a defeat, which would be attended with the immediate extinction of his power.

Another irruption of the Tartars.

These civil commotions proved extremely inviting to all the barbarous neighbours of the republic; nor did the Tartars fail to take advantage of the opportunity. During the late conference they advanced, in a body of fifty thousand men, into the district of Leopold, plundering whatever had escaped the rapacious hands of the rebels, devouring and desolating, with inexpressible fury, corn, cattle, villages, and towns, and carrying off the wretched inhabitants into slavery. A small corps of troops, that had remained faithful to the government, opposed itself to this multitude; and acted with such vigour, that great numbers of the enemy were made prisoners, all of whom declared, that they penetrated into Poland at the instigation of some of the principal nobility, who thereby intended to accelerate the measures for an election. The Turks too made incursions with the same fortune into the Polish dominions, and the prisoners made a similar declaration. In this situation the abbé de Polignac interposed, and determined, to convert circumstances to the advantage of the court of Versailles. He offered to pay a sum of money to the Othoman court, to remove all apprehensions of future incursions from that quarter during the interregnum; and the proposal was regarded by a majority of the senate as an extraordinary

traordinary proof of generoſity, conſidering the inability of the ſtate to repay the obligation; though others conſtrued it into a ſelfiſh deſign, intended only to extend the influence of his court at the future election. This conjecture was not without foundation. Polignac acted with the utmoſt capacity and addreſs. Perceiving the unſteady conduct of the queen-mother, who fluctuated from one opinion to another, and ſometimes eſpouſed the intereſt of prince James, and at other times determined to ſet prince Alexander on the throne, he concluded that her fickleneſs would occaſion the excluſion of both, and thence derived hopes for a prince of the blood of Bourbon. King Lewis and the French miniſtry yielded entirely to the ſchemes of Polignac, from a thorough confidence in his capacity; and now the abbé talked publicly of nominating a candidate: but, before he mentioned names, he reſolved to remove all obſtructions to his election. With this view he declared againſt all the children of Sobieſki, and thereby ingratiated himſelf with all the Poles, who either diſliked the queen's conduct, were averſe to the royal family, or the elevation of a native to the ſovereign dignity. He likewiſe checked the deſires of the Poliſh lords whoſe ambition aſpired at the crown, by repreſenting that ſuch pretenſions would terminate in their own deſtruction, not only from the number of the candidates, but from the jealouſy of their competitors, who would not eaſily acquieſce in the preference given to a perſon no way their ſuperior in birth, fortune, or merit. Having by theſe artful inſinuations extinguiſhed their hopes, he put the queſtion, where they thought a prince equal to the neceſſities of the ſtate could be found, whoſe valour might reſtore the luſtre, and prudence reeſtabliſh the tranquillity of the republic; in a word, a prince whoſe dignity and illuſtrious qualities would be able to cruſh the head of faction, and render all men unanimous in admiring his virtues? The proteſtant ſtates, he alleged, could not furniſh a monarch to Poland, as religion and the laws effectually excluded the natives of England, Sweden, and Denmark, however acknowleged their merit might be. A prince of the houſe of Auſtria, he obſerved, would endanger the liberties of the republic, as the inſtances of Hungary, Bohemia, and Sileſia were ſufficient to evince. The long tranquillity of Italy had rendered the princes of that country inactive, indolent, averſe to, and ignorant of the art of war; yet Poland required a warlike ſovereign. Spain itſelf would be obliged to borrow a monarch from France; and, as to Portugal, it was little better than a fief of the holy ſee, in ſo ſlaviſh a dependence

Abbé Polignac's artful conduct.

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was that kingdom held by the church. In ſhort, the eloquent abbé raiſed ſuch objections to the natives of every kingdom and ſtate in Europe except France, which he ſeemed to prefer with the moſt ſpecious impartiality, and without any other view than that of promoting the true intereſt of Poland. Having thus paved the way, he mentioned the prince of Conti as the perſon whoſe birth and virtues rendered him worthy of the crown, and whom the peculiar circumſtances of the republic, at this juncture, loudly demanded for a ſovereign. He was the laſt of the blood-royal of France; ten princes claimed the crown before him, and there was no reaſon to apprehend he ſhould ever be tempted to quit Poland in order to take poſſeſſion of the throne of his native country.

He is oppoſed by the imperial miniſter.

Polignac had, previous to this declaration, formed a very powerful party; yet he met with ſtrenuous oppoſition. The imperial miniſter uſed his utmoſt endeavours to embroil matters. He repreſented in the ſtrongeſt manner the aſpiring views of Lewis, king of France, who laboured at deſtroying that balance which all Europe had been ſtriving to keep equal for near a century. He ſaid, that one of the moſt brilliant diadems in Chriſtendom was inſufficient for that monarch: he was reſolved to kindle the flames of war, and overwhelm Europe with blood and horror, to unite the crowns of Spain and Poland in the houſe of Bourbon. He expatiated upon the intereſt the republic had in diſappointing ſuch vaſt deſigns, which could not fail of proving ruinous to her liberties. "The emperor, Great Britain, the republic of Holland, and almoſt the combined ſtrength of Chriſtendom, hath not (ſaid he) been able to ſtop the rapidity of his conqueſts. Should Poland join herſelf to that prince by any alliance direct or indirect, will ſhe not be acceſſary in eſtabliſhing the univerſal empire of Lewis, in ſhackling the liberties of neighbouring powers, and ſharing their bondage?" Polignac, on the other hand, obviated all the inconveniences that were ſuggeſted by the imperialiſt, with that irreſiſtible ſtream of perſuaſion, which he eminently poſſeſſed; but, though his arguments and eloquence deeply impreſſed the minds of great numbers, they were not univerſally convincing, and ſeveral great perſonages oppoſed the pretenſions of the prince of Conti, among whom was the biſhop of Cujavia. Polignac had written to this prelate to ſecure his intereſt, and was ſurpriſed to receive for anſwer, that the deſigns of the prince would be fruitleſs; that the Poliſh nation was not well affected to France; that many inſuperable objections lay againſt chuſing a prince of the houſe of Bourbon; that the queen dowager's conduct had

inſpired

inſpired a general diſlike to that union, and that, for his own part, though he highly eſteemed the prince of Conti, the court of France, and in particular the abbé Polignac, he would nevertheleſs conſult the real intereſt of his country and the republic.

And incurs the diſpleaſure of the queen of Poland.

It would be endleſs to repeat all the arguments produced by Polignac to diſſipate thoſe and ſimilar ſcruples: he omitted nothing in this way, but he fell upon a ſtill more effectual method of accompliſhing his purpoſe. His meaſures were ſo effectually taken with the petty diets, that they entered upon a new reſolution, of excluding prince James, by which means the queen's indignation againſt the court of Verſailles was more inflamed, though it anſwered no other end than that of ſtrengthening the prince of Conti's party. Her reſentment was carried to ſuch a pitch, that ſhe ordered the picture that hung in the abbé Polignac's apartments to be taken down, from which circumſtance it became evident, that her intereſt and the abbé's were not united, as had been long ſuppoſed; and this diſcovery drew the Poles more readily into the deſigns of the latter, becauſe they ſaw he acted with ſincerity.

Nor was this the only advantage which the addreſs of the miniſter obtained over this paſſionate princeſs. While he was upon terms of friendſhip with her, he had perſuaded the queen to apply all the treaſures of her late huſband to purchaſe annuities in the French loans, exciting her avarice by the extraordinary intereſt they would yield. She fell into the ſnare, and thereby deprived herſelf of the means of promoting the election of her children, while, at the ſame time, ſhe ſtrengthened the hands of the miniſter and the court of Verſailles. As ſoon as ſhe had diſcovered her error, ſhe flew into a rage, and loaded Polignac with all the abuſe which the imagination of an incenſed woman could ſuggeſt. He wrote to her in vindication of his conduct; ſhe anſwered with bitterneſs; and the correſpondence is curious, as it explains a variety of circumſtances in the conduct of both parties that would be otherwiſe unintelligible. Hence it was evident that the intereſts of the queen and of prince James her ſon had been widely different; that ſhe had laboured to raiſe her younger ſon to the throne; that a reconciliation having been effected between the elder prince and queen-mother, ſhe had directed all her batteries to remove the obſtructions to his aſcending the throne; and that, to prevent the jealouſy which might ariſe from the preſence of his brothers, ſhe had ſent the two young princes to France, under pretence of completing their education. It was upon this union, and the meaſures

sures taken by the French minister to procure his exclusion in the petty diets, that prince James determined to sound in person the affections of the Polish nobility, to gain them over by his promises, or at least know the real cause of their coldness; for hitherto he had no suspicion of the intrigues of Polignac. With this view he went in disguise to Cerzko, the first district in the province of Mazovia, where a petty diet was assembled; but his project had almost cost him his life; he was discovered, and pursued closely by several gentlemen, sword in hand, and escaped only through the fleetness of his horse. Nor was this the only consequence of a measure taken so precipitately; the Poles were so incensed at a practice which they regarded as the most flagrant violation of their rights, that they combined more firmly than ever to exclude all the children of Sobieski, by which resolution they fell directly into the views of the French minister. Yet still the imperial minister found means to keep up a strong faction against France, and to render the integrity of Polignac suspected by his own court; upon which the abbé Chateauneuf was sent to Poland with the powers of envoy extraordinary. On his first arrival he found that Polignac had been unjustly impeached; that his party was in the exact situation he had represented; that all the chief nobility were in the interest of the prince of Conti, and that the minister had acquitted himself with equal honour, address, and ability; upon which the powers of Polignac were confirmed, and his instructions extended [c]. What confirmed the court of Versailles in the opinion entertained of Polignac's integrity, was the order issued soon after by the palatinates, for her majesty to quit Warsaw; in consequence of which she retired with her father-in-law, the cardinal Arguien, to Dantzick. This was a certain proof of her declining interest, and of the little chance any of the children of Sobieski stood of succeeding to their paternal throne. A.D. 1697.

Candidates for the crown.

To effect the exclusion of the young princes appeared to be the settled purpose of the factions that were formed by the imperial and French ministers, who differed in every thing besides. For this purpose the duke of Newburg, was proposed a candidate by a small party, which had hitherto declared for no interest; but as this prince wanted money, the essential virtue of a candidate, he was only mentioned to pave the way for some person more able and willing to distribute his wealth among the electors.

[c] Lettres de Reine de Pologn. au Polign. lib. iv.

The next candidate was uſhered in by the palatines of Cracow, Siradia, and Leopold. This was no other than Livio Odeſchalchi, nephew to the pope, a prince whoſe wealth, munificence, and generoſity were highly extolled in the diet. He beſides promiſed, that all his riches ſhould be given to the republic as a pledge of the performance of his engagements; but all the return that Odeſchalchi's offers met with, conſiſted in bitter paſquinades on himſelf and the conſiſtorial advocate, Monté Catini, who was ridiculed as the ſolicitor of a hopeleſs cauſe. In theſe pieces it was alleged, that the Italian prince intended to pay the arrears due to the army in paintings, ſculpture, and ancient coins; and that for this purpoſe he had ſent into Poland the head of an Otho in braſs, as a ſpecimen of what might be expected from his liberality.

A fourth candidate nominated in the diet was the duke of Lorraine, a prince ſtill leſs able than the duke of Newburg to gratify the rapacity of the electors. He had been lately ſtript of his dominions; relied wholly on the aſſiſtance of the imperial court and her allies, and was but nineteen years of age; circumſtances no way favourable to his pretenſions, though poſſeſſed of extraordinary merit. He was the ſon, indeed, of a queen of Poland, who had been conſort to king Michael, but he had little reaſon to depend on the affections of a people who refuſed to pay his mother's dowry; accordingly his party was inconſiderable. Fame reported that the crown was offered by a very numerous faction to the duke of Bavaria; but that he was ſeduced by the inſinuations of the imperial court to decline the propoſal. It is probable, however, that rather the fear of being diſappointed, after launching out into extraordinary expences, than reſpect for the emperor, actuated his conduct.

Prince Lewis of Baden might be reckoned among the moſt powerful of the prince of Conti's competitors. His repeated victories in Hungary and Tranſylvania had ſpread his fame all over Europe, and fixed the imperial throne on the head of the emperor, at a time when it tottered through the rebellion of his own ſubjects, and the formidable irruption of the Turks into his dominions. A prince accuſtomed to conquer the Turks, and capable of completing the great work begun by Sobieſki, muſt have appeared a welcome candidate to the Poles, had his merit been ſupported by adequate wealth, or could they have been certain that the elector of Brandenburg would perform the promiſes he made in behalf of the prince of Baden, without expecting ſome equivalent at the expence of the republic. This conſideration

ſideration alone was ſufficient to render his influence greatly inferior to that of the prince of Conti, who ſeemed to triumph over all his rivals, until Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, declared his pretenſions, and ſuddenly chilled all the hope of Polignac and the French party (A). John Prezbondowſki, caſtellan of Culm, finding that his own ambitious projects met with little ſucceſs, firſt joined himſelf to the French intereſt, imagining he ſhould become the head of that faction; ſoon, however, perceiving that his influence was little regarded, he caſt his eyes on the elector of Saxony, a young, wealthy, ambitious prince, who would probably reward his ſervices liberally, ſhould they prove effectual in placing the Poliſh diadem on his head. He ſent a meſſage ſecretly to Auguſtus, and received ſuch an anſwer as encouraged him to ſet out privately for the electoral court at Dreſden, where his reception was ſuch as firmly ſecured his zeal and fidelity. He laid before the elector a ſtate of the parties as they appeared in Poland, and informed him of the means which muſt infallibly procure ſucceſs. Theſe conſiſted chiefly in the promiſe of three millions, of which the republic was in great want, for the payment of the army. This ſum it was neceſſary ſhould be ſhewn to the commiſſaries before the election. The preſence of the elector would, he obſerved, contribute greatly to the ſucceſs of his application, and this was an advantage which he would probably have over the prince of Conti, whom the French court found it difficult to tranſport to Poland, during a war with the maritime powers and the emperor; but he mentioned, as a neceſſary condition, that he ſhould abjure the Lutheran religion, a point which it was imagined would occaſion the greateſt difficulty, though it proved otherwiſe: in fact, the prince had, two years before, renounced his principles in a tour he made to Rome, and his converſion was regiſtered in the dioceſe of Javarin, and regiſtered by the prelate prince of Sax-Zaits, his kinſ-

The elector of Saxony oppoſes the prince of Conti.

(A) Beſides theſe candidates, Opalinius, ſtaroſta of Nowenmiciſki, one of the richeſt noblemen in Poland, and the grand-general, count Jablownoſki, ſhewed themſelves on the liſt of competitors for the crown. It was thought the queen, deſpairing of the ſucceſs of her children, inclined to favour the grand-general, upon condition that he would marry her, and ſhare his authority with a princeſs to whom he owed his good fortune. To theſe we may add the caſtellan of Culm, who at firſt formed deſigns for himſelf, but ſoon renounced them in favour of the elector of Saxony (1).

(1) Parthen. Hiſt. lib. i. p. 55.

man. The caſtellan beſides repreſented the difficulties under which the prince of Conti's party laboured, though inconteſtibly the moſt powerful; namely, the ſcarcity of money, the miniſter of France having taken up ſix hundred thouſand livres from the bankers, which had already been diſtributed among the Poles, and his credit being now at a ſtand, on account of the difficulty the French monarch found in remitting ſpecie, while the ſeas were covered with the ſhips of his enemies. He told the elector that the Poliſh nobility were always more powerfully influenced by preſent than by paſt favours. Smaller ſums duly applied at the time of election, proved of more efficacy than much larger given before, or promiſed eventually. In a word, he repreſented every circumſtance in ſo favourable a light, that Frederic Auguſtus was eaſily prevailed on to appear a candidate for a crown, which became the ſource of manifold calamities to himſelf and to Saxony °. Having taken his meaſures with the court of Rome to remove all obſtructions on the ſcore of religion, he began to provide the ſums which he imagined would be neceſſary in the proſecution of his great project.

Count Fleming ſent to Poland.

On the return of the caſtellan to Warſaw, he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed; his credit was not conſiderable enough to gain approbation to a treaty projected and formed wholly by himſelf. He was equally apprehenſive of diſappointing the elector, and incurring the reſentment of the Poles; but prudently imagining that money would effect every thing with a people ſo corrupt, he wrote to the elector, candidly confeſſed the difficulties he had to encounter, and was ſoon relieved from his perplexity by the arrival of colonel Fleming, the elector's growing favourite, whom he ſent to ſupport the caſtellan's credit. This miniſter immediately delivered a letter from his maſter to the abbé Polignac, and aſked the French envoy whether he had not received inſtructions from his court, relative to the late negociation between the king and the elector. Polignac was aſtoniſhed to hear of a negociation, of which he had not the leaſt intimation; he anſwered, that he could not conceive the cauſe of the inquiry, ſince the affairs of the prince of Conti were in a flouriſhing ſituation, and behaved with a caution and reſerve which gave Fleming to underſtand, that he doubted the truth of any treaty between the courts of Verſailles and Dreſden. The ſcheme, indeed, was well laid to ſeduce the abbé into a belief that he was now

° Parthen. lib. i. Volt. Siecl. tom. i. Mem. de Fred. Auguſt. page 59.

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to co-operate with the elector's designs; but Polignac was too sagacious and penetrating to be over-reached. He determined to wait for direct instructions from his court, before he began the smallest alteration in his measures [p]. Notwithstanding this report, it was rumoured that the French minster had deserted the interest of the prince of Conti, and it required all the address of Polignac to prevent the bad consequences of such a report.

It was not long before the abbé received an answer from the French court, requiring him to persist in his designs, and to prosecute with the utmost vigour the pretensions of the prince of Conti. This be made public; and now the kingdom was divided into two great parties, all the lesser ones being wholly absorbed in the superior weight and influence of the factions formed by the courts of Versailles and Dresden. The former was the most numerous and popular; the latter acquired gradual strength, was supported by money, the talents of Fleming, and the influence of the court of Vienna. These were reinforced by the clamours of the castellan of Culm, that France did not execute her engagements, that the prince of Conti was absent, and that money was wanting for the payment of the army, without which the state was exposed to the most imminent danger. There was indeed some truth in this last allegation. Baronowski was still at the head of the mutineers, plundering the provinces, and ravaging with peculiar animosity the estate belonging to the late king's family, a circumstance which created suspicion that he was countenanced by the French minister, who intended to put the queen-mother and the princes out of all condition of supporting an opposition. It was besides reported, possibly by the imperial and Saxon ministers, that he had promised the troops all their arrears, besides large gratuities, provided they would countenance and espouse his designs. However, the misconduct of the proud Baronowski, and some fortunate accidents, overturned the project formed by Polignac, and entirely crushed the rebellion. The senate, unable to stop their ravages, had set on foot a new conference at Leopold, at which Baronowski consented as before, that commissaries should attend. Here the commissioners of the republic conducted themselves with such dexterity, that the military commissaries were drawn in to sign a treaty, notwithstanding the endeavours of their general to traverse the negotiation. Incensed at their conduct he condemned them to death, and by this insolent tyrannical act of power alie-

The confederate army reduced to submission.

[p] Auct. citat. ibid.

nated the affections of the soldiers, and paved the way for the spirited measures upon which the senate was entering. The commissaries of the republic interceded for the delinquents, and procured a respite of the sentence by renewing the conferences at the castle of Samber, where the mutineer-chief had established his head-quarters. By dint of subornation Baronowski directed the new negotiation at his pleasure, and obtained a resolution of the whole army against any renewal of the conferences. Immediately after he published a defence of his conduct, or rather a libel upon the senate; but this proved the ruin of all his projects. All men were sensible that he pushed his ambition to an extreme that was dangerous to the constitution. The senators assembled at Leopold had the courage to declare him a traitor, and the whole body of the confederates rebels and enemies to their country. Rigour effected what had long foiled all lenient applications. More than half the troops deserted the confederacy, and Baronowski had so little confidence in the steadiness of the remainder, that he endeavoured to make a merit of the necessity of his affairs, and procure pardon before he was abandoned by all his forces. Accordingly he offered his submission, threw himself upon the clemency of the senate, and would have met with his just reward, had not Jablownoski, who was vested with discretionary powers, interposed. Many were for putting him immediately to death, as an example of the authority and justice of the senate, which was necessary to the tranquillity of the state, and essential to the support of good government. The crown-general, however, overruled all violent resolutions, declared the pardon granted to the confederates, and pledged his honour that they might repair in perfect security to Leopold. They embraced the offer, appeared with Baronowski before the tribunal established by Jablownoski, and washed out the stains of rebellion by tears and a hearty contrition. The proud Baronowski now behaved in the most abject manner. He kissed the hands and feet of his judge, and shewed by his servility how little he merited the compassion that was extended to the preservation of his life and fortune.

The final diet of election assembles.

No sooner was the republic restored to peace by the submission of the confederated army, than fresh causes of dissension arose. The day now was arrived for the meeting of the final diet of election, when all parties agreed to the necessity of giving the kingdom a sovereign, and terminating the authority of the archbishop, who was accused of shifting and temporizing in a manner unworthy of his sacred function,

tion, and the dignity of his employment. On the 15th of May the diet met, and the first day was consumed in formalities, the election of a mareschal having been deferred to the day following, on account of the difficulties that arose from the multiplicity of candidates for that office. Humieniski urged his pretensions, arising from his having been appointed mareschal to the preliminary diet; but this argument was over-ruled. The present assembly was composed of different deputies from the former; and by the same rule the speaker must have been changed, or at least placed upon a footing with the other candidates: however, the palatines joined in requesting that he might continue in that office until another mareschal should be elected, which request was accordingly granted, in order that the assembly might proceed to business with more regularity. Some debates, which arose on a motion that inquiry should be made into the causes of the late confederacy of the army, occasioned an adjournment to the 19th, when the subject of electing a mareschal was resumed, and debated with great warmth and animosity. It was now the turn of Great Poland to give the assembly a speaker, and accordingly this province supported the interest of Odolanowski, starost-general of Great Poland. He was opposed by the French party, in which appeared eight candidates, who had more trouble to reconcile their several interests than would have been sufficient to have excluded their adversaries. Besides, a party proposed continuing Humieniski, though this was generally supposed to be a violation of the constitution. Count Bielinski was favoured above all the competitors by the abbé Polignac, because he was known to be entirely devoted to the interest of France, on account of his possessing a great estate in that country, and marrying the daughter of count Morsteyn, who had great influence over his conduct. The abbé managed the affair with so much address, that he at last united the strength of the whole French faction to support this gentleman, and then the dispute lay chiefly between the count and Odolanowski. It became violent in proportion as it was contracted to a point: Great Poland insisted on its right, and the French party were equally attached to their interest; both sides were so tenacious of their opinions, that it was found necessary to defer the election. At last the suffrages were given by the pospolite, every gentleman in turn putting the name of the candidate he espoused in the hands of Humieniski, by which means it appeared, on a scrutiny, that Bielinski had a majority, and upon this he was immediately proclaimed mareschal, after a whole month had been spent in fruitless alter-

cations. France triumphed in gaining this point, as the voice of the mareſchal has always been regarded of the greateſt importance in determining controverſies before this aſſembly.

Corruption of the electors.

It was now that the crown was openly put up to ſale, and the acts of corruption were practiſed in the moſt glaring and ſhameful manner by the candidates for the ſovereign dignity. The pretenders bid to a degree of extravagance; but the electors were too numerous and too avaricious to be fully gratified. The two great parties had calculated their ſtrength, the one endeavouring to improve the late advantage, and the other ſtriving to ſtrengthen themſelves and deprive the enemies of the fruits of their victory. Both were ſo powerful, that all men dreaded a double election; and it was propoſed in the aſſembly that the mareſchal ſhould not deliver the diploma to either party, without the conſent of the republic. What likewiſe contributed to render the diſpute more equal was the equality of the talents in the agents employed. Fleming, the miniſter of Saxony, was artful, cunning, plauſible, and liberally ſupported with money, by which he daily augmented his faction; Polignac was eloquent, elegant, liberal in his manners, irreſiſtible in his addreſs, and foremoſt in his application. He was not ſo well ſupplied with money; but he had formed his party before the arrival of his adverſary. The caſtellan of Culm laboured to break this intereſt; perceiving that the palatine of Wilna fluctuated, he endeavoured to fix him on the ſide of Auguſtus, by repreſenting that the elector of Saxony performed all his engagements, while the court of Verſailles gave only fair words, which were forgot as ſoon as the point was gained. This hint led into an enquiry into facts, from whence it appeared that Polignac was totally deſtitute of money, and that attachment to his perſon alone had hitherto kept his party ſteady and unanimous. Such a diſcovery could not but be productive of advantage to the Saxon miniſter, whoſe coffers were as full as his hand was liberal. Complaints were publiſhed againſt the failure of Polignac's promiſes; but he anſwered them ſo well, and gave ſuch aſſurances that ſupplies of money would arrive at Dantzick before the day of election, as broke the ſchemes of his adverſaries. The palatine of Wilna was again brought back to the prince of Conti's party, juſt as he was on the brink of deſerting it, and he joined in an oath, taken by the primate and ſeveral noblemen, of admitting no other nomination. In conſequence of this aſſociation, expreſſes were diſpatched to France to haſten the prince's arrival, as his abſence proved the greateſt detriment to his affairs.

Fleming

Fleming oppoſed his utmoſt ability to fruſtrate the deſigns of the French miniſter, whoſe talents he reſpected and dreaded. He judiciouſly diſtributed large ſums among the nobility, by which he daily made converts. Such proofs of the rectitude and juſtice of his cauſe were too powerful to be reſiſted by the candid Poles, who made no ſcruple of relinquiſhing that party which they regarded as conquered by thoſe beneficial ſolid arguments. This miniſter's ſteadineſs, ſupported by actual performances of all his engagements, laid the foundation of his maſter's ſucceſs. He ſaw that the arrival of the prince of Conti would be able ſtill to maintain a powerful party, which would oblige the republic to caſt her eyes on a third candidate; and he levelled all his batteries to make an advantage of ſuch a ſituation. Once the prince of Conti was abandoned, it would, he conceived, be no difficult matter to gain over many of his partiſans, who might think themſelves at liberty to join him, as they were abſolved from their promiſes to the court of Verſailles. *Intrigues of the parties.*

It was on the 20th of June that audience was given to the foreign ambaſſadors, and firſt to the pope's nuncio, as had always been cuſtomary. This prelate took not the leaſt notice of the pretenſions of the Italian candidate; but confined himſelf wholly to recommend a Catholic king, and harmony among the deputies. Next day the emperor's ambaſſador was admitted to an audience; after having ſuſtained a variety of indignities from the French faction, owing to the ignorance of his retinue, in points of ceremonial, which obliged the mareſchal to declare, that unleſs they paid more regard to form, he would give orders they ſhould be cut in pieces (A). Another mortification was ſuſtained the moment he entered the aſſembly: on delivering his inſtructions to the grand-ſecretary of the crown, it was obſerved, that the title of Serene, which the republic always aſſumed, was omitted; but the conſequent difficulties were removed by the prelate's offering to make his apology in full diet. Theſe were but preludes to the farther vexations he was about to encounter. His train ſurrounded him ſo cloſely that he could not be ſeen; they were deſired *Foreign ambaſſadors have audience.*

(A) The biſhop of Paſſau came into Poland, attended only by a few gentlemen; but finding it neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the imperial court, he took into his ſervice a great number of Germans who reſided at Warſaw. They met with ſome inſults from the populace, which occaſioned their ſurrounding their maſter with their naked ſwords. This was the indecorum of which the mareſchal complained.

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to remove to a greater distance; but they chose to lie down on the ground, for which indecent demeanour the ambassador was reprimanded by the mareschal. In his speech he omitted certain phrases of honour and compliment which the republic thought due to her, and this omission furnished the emissaries of France with frequent opportunities of rudely interrupting the bishop, who went on in his own way, without altering an expression, though he was so incensed at their behaviour that the blood gushed out from his nostrils. On the 22d, audience was given to the abbé Polignac; and the opposite party determined to revenge themselves for the insults which had been offered to the imperial minister. The starost of Olzten plainly told him, "You have affronted an ambassador: expect retribution," a declaration which determined the abbé to print the speech he intended to pronounce, and distribute it, signed with his hand, to the palatines and other electors.

It was soon after this transaction that the council sent a detachment to the abbé, to request he would use his endeavours to prevent a double election, which to them appeared unavoidable, except by the prince of Conti's resigning the crown to the elector of Saxony, on that prince's undertaking to reimburse the court of Versailles in all the expence it had incurred on this occasion. This expedient was not relished by Polignac: he attended the deputies to the senate, and there demonstrated with all the force of his elocution the danger that would ensue to their liberties from placing a German prince on the throne. He represented assurances he had of being supported at the election by a powerful body of nobility; he repeated all that he had before advanced, relative to the character and superior merit of the prince of Conti; and he concluded, that should that prince be disappointed, his party had determined to join the interest of prince James, and both might probably be able to carry the crown against all opposition. "It is he, said the abbé, shall ascend the throne, which religion, the security of your liberty, and the honour of France will not suffer to be enjoyed by the elector of Saxony, a disguised Protestant, and an acknowleged German." His discourse made an impression, and the whole senate determined to adhere to his interest, except the palatine of Witesp and the castellan of Czerkow, who had been gained over by the liberality of Augustus and his agent Fleming. The example of these noblemen was followed by Potoski, palatine of Cracow, who first offered his services to Polignac for a certain sum of money; but finding the French ambassador was in no condition to accept his terms, he went over

The party of Saxony increases.

over with all his adherents to the elector of Saxony, and received the sum stipulated. The want of money, indeed, proved the greatest detriment to the French party, who lost a great number of nobility because they could not advance the sums required. Jablownoski, the grand-general of the crown, declared in favour of the elector, for no other reason but because his coffers were better filled than those of the prince of Conti. Polignac saw the continual desertion; he knew his danger, and exerted all his ability to break the schemes of the adverse party; but the elector's money proved too powerful for his address and eloquence: however, he still maintained his ground, and even appeared formidable at the period when the time limited for the sitting of the diet was almost expired.

The postponelite assemble in the field.

On the 25th day of June all the nobility, exceeding a hundred thousand persons, assembled on the plains of Wara saw, each palatinate being divided into companies under their proper standards, and all the electors mounted on horseback. armed with lances and scythes. In their countenances appeared an air of ferocious dignity and importance, that denoted their consequence, and the power they possessed of bestowing the regal dignity. It is customary on this occasion for the senators to harangue their several palatinates, and to recommend a due regard to the laws of the constitution. The bishop of Plosko began his harangue; but had not finished it, when the nobility of his palatinate cried out, "Long live Conti," an acclamation which was echoed back by the palatinates of Siradia, Rava, and the three distinct governments of Prussia. The election was on the point of being anticipated; and unless the castellan of Culm had exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, at the hazard of his life, the prince of Conti must have been elected king of Poland: but that nobleman protested against all that had been done, inveighed bitterly against the proceedings of the bishop of Plosko, and the heads of the opposite party, as a violation of the constitution. By dint of his remonstrance, the nomination was deferred to the next day, by which time he mustered up his strength, and infused spirit into his party. Mean time both parties played every engine of intrigue and calumny; the French party vilified the elector as a pretended apostate; and Fleming and the castellan of Culm used their utmost influence with the pope's nuncio to confirm the certificate of his conversion; and though the enemy seemed to prevail that night, yet they carried their point next morning. It has been supposed, with great probability, that the nuncio was

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gained over by Saxon gold, though he was under the utmoſt dread of diſobliging the court of Verſailles.

On the 26th the aſſembly met early in the church of St. John's, when, after maſs had been celebrated, the cardinal primate made a ſpeech, in which he drew the picture of ſuch a prince as the circumſtances of Poland required, and evidently deſcribed the prince of Conti; then he nominated the ſeveral candidates, artfully placing the elector of Saxony laſt, as if he had been forgot. "We ought not, ſaid he, to neglect the German prince, though he be a Lutheran; the laws require we ſhould mention him, and I ſwear that I will not proclaim any candidate who has not the unanimous ſuffrages of the nobility, unleſs he be deſerving of the throne; but I conjure you not to caſt your eyes upon any ſubjects of the republic, unleſs their virtues be very conſpicuous." He was proceeding in his harangue, when the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular ſenators quitted their ſeats to put themſelves at the head of their palatinates, and there only remained in the ſzopa the primate and mareſchal, who received diſpatches, and tranſmitted the neceſſary orders to the field of election. As ſoon as they were mounted, all were aſtoniſhed to hear three companies of the palatinate of Cracow cry out, "Long live prince James." The royal intereſt had been entirely given up, and it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee it now revive without any apparent cauſe. Theſe were ſupported by a company of Poſnania, who likewiſe declared in a faint voice for the prince; upon which the three remaining companies of Cracow, and the five remaining of Poſnania, proclaimed the prince of Conti with loud acclamations.

This party had found means to ſpread a report, that the pope's nuncio had refuſed to atteſt the elector of Saxony's converſion, which raiſed ſuch doubts, that at firſt he was nominated only by one company of Samogitia; but the caſtellan of Culm, producing the atteſtation in the field, ſoon increaſed the number of voters, and approached almoſt to an equality with the Conti party. The princes of Newburg and Lorraine had their eſpouſers, and Don Livio Odeſchalchi had his advocates in the aſſembly; but the great ſtruggle was maintained by the French and Saxon diviſions. Confuſion ſucceeded to the heat of faction; as it was found impoſſible to take the votes, the primate propoſed that the voters for Conti ſhould range themſelves in a line upon one ſide, and thoſe for the elector on the oppoſite part of the field. The propoſal was embraced, and ſo great a number of companies drew up on the French ſide as greatly alarmed the Saxons, who redoubled their diligence,

but

but could not equal their adverſaries in number. The French intereſt, perceiving their ſuperiority, inſiſted upon the primate's proclaiming the prince of Conti; but the ſtiffneſs of the oppoſite party, and the fear of bloodſhed, made him defer it, and ſlip this opportuity as he had done a former. Beſides, he had juſt received a letter from the biſhop of Cujavia, in which that prelate declared, that ſhould the prince of Conti be nominated, he would join the intereſt of Saxony with forty companies. This declaration ſtill more perplexed the primate, and determined him at length to poſtpone the proclamation till next day; an overſight, of which the oppoſite party did not fail to make an advantage. By dint of money and intrigue Fleming, the imperial miniſter, and the caſtellan of Culm, united all the ſmall parties, who had declared in favour of other competitors, in the elector's intereſt, which, with the biſhop of Cujavia's party, ſet him again pretty near an equality with Conti's party; but Polignac balanced this advantage by prevailing upon the primate to proclaim the prince of Couti, which he did in the uſual form, after much heſitation, declaring Lewis de Bourbon king of Poland, and grand-duke of Lithuania. He then repaired to the great church of St. John's to ſing Te Deum; and the biſhop of Cujavia took that opportunity of proclaiming Frederick Auguſtus with the ſame formalities. He likewiſe ſung Te Deum in the field of election, and next morning celebrated it with more pomp in the church of St. John's, where he alſo adminiſtered the oath for obſerving the pacta conventa to count Fleming, in the name of his maſter the elector.

The election deferred.

June 27. *A double election.*

It is remarkable that neither party obſerved the forms preſcribed by the conſtitution; the primate forgot to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the biſhop ſeemed to forget that it was neceſſary the archbiſhop ſhould ratify his nomination. Conferences paſſed between the two parties, in which it was propoſed to obſerve the laws of the kingdom, which require that none of the competitors ſhould ſet foot in the kingdom till after the confirmation; but this propoſal was refuſed by the friends of Saxony, who depended much on the elector's proximity. It was then objected by the French party, that, beſides other violations of the conſtitution in the elector's election, the proclamation was not made properly in the field, therefore the whole ceremony was void; but this objection the biſhop of Cujavia endeavoured to remedy by repeating the proclamation, and making a freſh offer of the pacta conventa to the Saxon miniſter. The biſhop's conduct gave great offence to delicate

Disputes about the confirmation of the election.

cate consciences; and men, who had no scruple about selling their country, and the most flagrant corruption, took fire at seeing the oath administered to a Calvinist ambassador, while the holy sacrament was exposed. They never reflected on the violation of their oath committed while they received presents, and seemed to pay a veneration only to the exteriors of religion, and certain forms independent on truth, justice, and virtue. Sabres were drawn upon this occasion: the pope's nuncio blamed the bishop; but as he had been gained over by the elector's money, he did not push his indignation to extremities, or carry his respect for religion beyond the bounds of prudence and his own interest. Certain it is, that the election on both sides was illegal; but it was not to be decided by equity, but by intrigue, money, or the sword: and, if we refer to the accounts published at that time, it will be difficult to discover which party was the most corrupt. Neither took any concern about the legality of their measures: they only studied to avoid calumny, as far as it affected their interest, and to carry their point by any means in their power. Conferences were set on foot to determine to which of the competitors the crown should be given; but as neither relaxed in any part of their claims, the matter became every day more embarrassed. The primate proposed to refer the decision of differences to another diet; but he was over-ruled; upon which he wrote to the elector of Saxony, that the diet, with almost unanimous consent, had elected the prince of Conti; he therefore requested of him to relinquish his claim, and thereby restore peace to Poland. The elector paid little regard to this request: he even refused to receive the letter, because he had not been saluted by the title of his majesty. He then turned his views to the courts of Vienna and Berlin: he wrote to the emperor and the elector of Brandenburgh; but met with little encouragement from either. Failing in all his projects, he moved that there should be a fresh election, as the only method of untying those knots, which were only drawn harder by their intrigues; and those who had hitherto remained neutral, or expected to make farther advantages of their votes, readily closed with the proposal: but the expedient being violently opposed by all the Saxon party, the diet broke up on the 11th day of July, without coming to any resolution.

After this dissolution of the diet, the whole kingdom was divided, and different provinces were under the government of different sovereigns. Wherever the prince of Conti was acknowleged, all public business was transacted in his name; and that of Augustus was used by the opposite party.

party. When the primate summoned a diet of confirmation to assemble on the 26th of August, the bishop of Cujavia issued writs for another diet to meet on the 15th of September for the elector's confirmation. Mutual protests were published, and bitter pasquinades stuck up in every public place in Poland; but the delays on the side of the prince of Conti brought daily advantages to his rival. His friends cooled in their ardor, in consequence of the dilatory proceedings of the court of Versailles; and great numbers were entirely weaned from their attachment by the magic powers of the elector's money. Some mistakes, committed by the couriers dispatched by the abbé de Polignac, increased the evil; and the difference must have immediately been decided in favour of Augustus, but for the extraordinary abilities of M. Polignac and Chateauneuf, who animated and supported the French party under every disadvantage. It seasonably happened, to assist their endeavours, that the marquis of Brandenburg, pressed by the primate's repeated letters, at length offered his mediation, which was accepted by both parties. The French interest wanted to gain time, which they hoped this negociation would procure; and the Saxon faction imagined they would find a partial friend in the umpire. Such were the motives of both, and a conference was agreed upon. Here the electoral ambassador demanded, that the writs issued for the diet of confirmation should be revoked; or, if that was thought unreasonable, that the primate should nominate the elector, instead of the prince of Conti. In the next place it was required, that petty diets should be assembled previous to the general diet. Upon these conditions the elector consented not to receive the crown from the hands of the bishop of Cujavia; but to date his election only from the day on which it should be confirmed by the diet; to sign such additional articles to the pacta conventa as should be deemed necessary; and to pay, in ready specie, to the chiefs and lords of the opposite party, the sum of nine hundred thousand crowns.

The elector of Brandenburg offers his mediation.

To this propofal the primate delivered an answer in writing, professing his respect for the elector's person and merit; but declaring the aversion of his whole party to his religious persuasions. He affirmed, that, to a man, they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their liberty and religion; and that chusing a protestant would be a direct violation of the latter, and would necessarily pave the way to the subversion of the former. He then represented the obligation that not only the king but the

queen

queen consort should embrace the Roman Catholic religion before their confirmation, on pain of having the election declared void; but it was not so much as pretended that the electress had abjured heresy, and therefore he could not in conscience consent to the confirmation of the elector her husband. Thus the conferences came to nothing, and each side endeavoured to profit by the diets summoned by the primate and the bishop of Cujavia. In this particular the prince of Conti's party had apparently the advantage; but the elector was provided with an army of Saxons on the frontiers of the republic. Little regard was paid to the bishop's writs in those palatinates attached to the adverse faction; and where they were complied with by the nobility, it was only with intention to oppose the confirmation of the elector, and to embroil the assembly. Some districts refused to send deputies; the diet of Seroda carried matters so far as to declare open war upon the elector, to levy troops, and to appoint the castellan of Kalisch their general. To this confederacy the palatinates of Lencicia and Rava acceded; and the spirits of the party were still more animated by letters just received from the prince of Conti, giving the strongest assurances of his intention to put himself at the head of his friends, and venture his life in defence of their privileges.

On the other hand, the elector of Saxony, finding himself supported by an army of Saxons, doubted not but his presence, his money, his forces, and his party, would be able to triumph over all obstructions. He had just received a deputation of sixty gentlemen, attended by a train of several thousand horse, sent by the bishop of Cujavia to compliment him on his accession. The elector was at Tornowitz, when the deputies were all admitted to the honour of kissing his hand, and dining in his presence at the table of the imperial ambassador. Nothing could be more fulsome than the adulation poured forth in the speeches of the deputies, three of whom harangued the prince in the name of the republic of Poland, the duchy of Lithuania, and the body of the nobility. The palatine of Volhinia reaped the reward of his prostitution: he was conducted to the camp, and made general of the army.

Deputation to the elector.

On the 25th the elector advanced to Pukari; and on the 27th he repeated the abjuration of his errors before Crispin, bishop of Samogitia, swearing also to the observance of the pacta conventa, which had been accepted by his minister Fleming. By the 29th he approached the gates of Cracow; but deferred his public entry, because

count

count Wielopolski, governor of the citadel, had refused to surrender his charge, until the election should be unanimously confirmed. Threats did not terrify this nobleman: however, he yielded to the irresistible persuasion of five thousand crowns, and a rich diamond necklace presented to his lady; in exchange for which he made over his honour and government. Having now gained entire possession of the capital, Augustus made his public entry, and immediately summoned a grand council, to deliberate upon the necessary measures for reducing the rest of the kingdom to obedience. A few of the nobility recommended his compelling the primate, exerting the power which God had put into his hands, coming immediately to blows, and advancing to Warsaw, to prevent the meeting of the diet which was summoned to assemble on the 26th of August. This measure was deemed too violent by a majority of the council, who were of opinion, that he ought to wait the result of the diet, remain at the capital, repair and improve its fortifications, secure himself, and gain the affection of the people by his lenity and moderation. After violent debates this last opinion was followed as the safest, and most likely to impress the minds of the people with a favourable sense of the new government. The elector, however, could not help declaring his astonishment at their timidity and want of vigour, after they had expressed so much satisfaction at his accession.

He gains possession of Cracow.

In the mean time, the French faction was thrown into the utmost consternation, at seeing the elector with a body of troops in possession of the capital; and they determined not to irritate too much a prince who bid so fair for the sovereignty. It was their fear which suggested the resolution of not surrendering the instrument of the prince of Conti's election into the hands of the French minister, until he had paid off the arrears due to the army, and performed a variety of other engagements. A resolution so sudden and unexpected greatly embarrassed Polignac, who immediately informed his court of the determination of the party. He exhorted the prince of Conti to embark without delay, and furnish himself with all the money he could possibly raise, without which his expedition would be fruitless, and the immense sums already expended entirely thrown away. In consequence of Polignac's remonstrances, the prince went on board the little squadron of the chevalier du Bart, lying at Dunkirk, attended by several of the nobility and gentry of France, and arrived on the 28th of September in the road of Dantzic. He had brought with him a hundred thousand pounds in specie, besides an equal sum in bills of

Arrival of the prince of Conti.

exchange, payable on ſight, and a great number of jewels; but the city of Dantzic had attached herſelf to the elector, and refuſed paying the prince any other honours than a ſingle diſcharge of the artillery at fort Weychelmunde. The citizens even inſulted the officers of the French ſquadron; to revenge theſe indignities, the admiral ſeized upon five merchantmen belonging to the city; and the magiſtrates, by way of repriſal, laid hands upon all the effects of the French, carrying their reſentment ſo far as to ſell the French ambaſſador's horſes to the higheſt bidder. Polignac was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to pave the way for his entrance into Poland; but he encountered manifold difficulties. The electoral troops diſperſed through the kingdom rendered it neceſſary that the prince of Conti ſhould be attended by a ſtrong guard; to procure which the ambaſſador entered into treaty with the powerful family of Sapieha, who engaged, for the ſum of four hundred thouſand livres, to ſend twelve companies to Dantzic, under the conduct of the ſon of the grand-treaſurer: then the grand-general of Lithuania, and all the officers, engaged to ſwear fidelity to the prince, and march at the head of their troops to the general rendezvous that ſhould be appointed: firſt, however, the prince was under the neceſſity of advancing near five hundred thouſand livres, beſides the ſum promiſed to Sapieha. Fear prevented the Lithuanians from executing their engagements. The French ambaſſador went on board the fleet, in full confidence that the prince would immediately be furniſhed with a ſufficient eſcort. Couriers were continually arriving with advice that the troops were in motion, and the prince was adviſed by his Poliſh friends to advance to Marienburg; but he ſeemed to diſtruſt the Lithuanians, and choſe to wait on board until their arrival, which never happened: for, notwithſtanding daily intelligence that the army was near, and attended with ſeveral Lithuanian ſenators, who, in conjunction with the Poliſh embaſſy, came to preſent him with the crown; yet the prince of Sapieha had not moved out of his camp, and the arrival of a body of the elector's troops in Pruſſia made him drop all thoughts of advancing.

Whatever diſappointments the prince of Conti encountered at Dantzic, his arrival threw the Saxon party into ſome confuſion. Before this intelligence was publiſhed at Cracow, the elector was carrying all before him, by means of two millions which he had diſtributed among the army, and other extraordinary liberalities, which extremely augmented his party, ſtrengthened his intereſt, and raiſed his popularity. A great number of companies, with Potoſki, great-

great-huntsman of the crown, at their head, joined his party, though they had been before considered as the partizans of France. To the honour of the military gentlemen it must, however, be observed, that a majority firmly rejected the pecuniary bribe, and remained attached to that side which gave them nothing besides promises. When the diet of confirmation, or poparcia, summoned by the primate, assembled, it was opened by a speech from Bielinski, mareschal of the diet, and attended by great numbers of the Saxon interest, who came on purpose to excite tumults, and interrupt the business of the assembly. Donowski, deputy of Wilski, had the boldness to ask the mareschal, for what purpose the diet of confirmation was called, when the nation had already proclaimed the elector of Saxony. But this temerity had almost cost him his life: six thousand gentlemen drew their sabres, struck him several blows, and he was carried for dead out of the field; a circumstance which so terrified the other partisans of Saxony, that they stole away privately from the assembly. Now the primate and mareschal carried every thing in favour of the prince of Conti, whose election they confirmed, promising to support it at the hazard of their lives. A general confederacy was formed to sustain the measures they had taken, to which all the principal nobility present subscribed. It was called an association in defence of religion, honour, property, liberty, and the constitution. The next step was to deliberate on a deputation to the elector of Saxony, to represent the violation of the rights and liberties of the republic he was daily committing, by his residence with an armed force in the kingdom; but the difficulty was to find persons of sufficient courage to undertake the dangerous embassy. To remove their perplexity, the bishop of Kiow offered his services: they were accepted, and he had actually began his journey to Cracow, when he was given to understand, that he should be treated in the same manner as Donowski was at the diet, a hint which cooled his ardor, and determined him to return. It was then proposed to appoint a generalissimo to the confederacy; but every one to whom it was offered refused the honour. The castle of Warsaw was summoned to surrender; and the palatine of Plosko, who acted as governor, at first refused; but was soon intimidated to submission by a battery of cannon, which was erected, and began firing upon the walls. During the following days several articles were signed for the support of the rohoz, or confederacy; and a resolution was taken of writing to the bishops of Cujavia and Cracow, to exhort them not to expose themselves to

A diet of confirmation held previous to his arrival

Confederacy to support his interest.

the resentment of the republic, by an imprudent attachment to the elector of Saxony, whom they intended to crown with all possible solemnity. At the same time the bishop of Kiow was appointed to inform the army of the resolutions of the diet, and to invite them to accede to the confederacy. In a word, the primate was desired to hasten his proclamations, in order that the nobility might march in a body to drive the elector out of the kingdom. The whole design, indeed, of the confederacy was to prevent the elector's coronation, which would give him the disposal of all vacant offices. In this particular he had anticipated the prince of Conti, because he was at the capital, and actually surrounded with a numerous body of troops, which disconcerted all the vigorous resolutions of his opponents, and effectually frustrated their execution.

The elector's measures to oppose the confederacy.

Secure of his own strength, the elector determined to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, which he believed would greatly extend his influence, by giving him the disposal of all public employments; and indeed many lords and gentlemen only waited this event to declare in his favour. Many difficulties, however, occurred to prevent the solemnization of the ceremony agreeable to the laws. The first was, that all the crown ornaments were locked up in the treasury of Cracow, the keys of which were kept by eight officers, six of whom were in the opposite interest. The Saxon council determined to force a place that had been always deemed sacred; but, that the laws might not be violated by breaking open the doors, it was judged expedient to enter by a breach made in the walls; a quibble suggested by some of those miscreants of the court, who are never at a loss for the means of excusing the most flagrant and criminal actions in princes. Another great obstruction to his designs arose from the necessity of being crowned by the primate archbishop of Gnesna, a circumstance which alone could give credit to that ceremony with the people; to remove this inconvenience, the elector's little council of four or five senators declared the archbishoprick vacant. It was likewise required that the body of the late monarch should be interred on the day preceding the coronation; but neither was this ceremony practicable, as the enemy were in possession of Warsaw, where the royal remains were deposited. However, a salvo was provided for this likewise; the funeral obsequies were to be performed in effigy, in the cathedral church, with the same pomp and magnificence as if the body had been actually present.

He is crowned.

Every obstruction being thus surmounted, the ceremony began, and a procession was made with vast pomp to the church

church of St. Staniſlaus, where the confeſſion of faith was read by the biſhop of Cujavia, and the ſacrament adminiſtered by two other prelates, during which the prince fainted away; a circumſtance which ſome turned into raillery, while others regarded it as an unhappy preſage. The crown was placed on his head by the biſhop; and, after all the ceremonies were finiſhed, he received the homage of the nobility and gentry preſent, the crown-officers who were in the oppoſite intereſt being repreſented by proxy.

On the ſame day the coronation diet aſſembled, and occaſioned the utmoſt tumult and confuſion. Complaints were uſhered from every quarter, that certain eſſential formalities had been omitted; but this difficulty was ſurmounted with the ſame facility as all the preceding; the deputies agreeing to regard each other as regularly elected; however, the choice of a mareſchal gave birth to new contentions, that honour being claimed by prince Wieſnowiſki and Zwiſſa, and at laſt carried by the latter. The next ſubject of diviſion reſpected the pacta conventa, the original draught of which the diet required ſhould be laid before them. They aſſerted it ſhould ſtipulate, in expreſs terms, that the election ſhould be void, if the ceremony of coronation was performed previous to the electreſs's converſion; and they were the more confirmed in their opinion by the elector's anſwer, in which he declared, that the original act was loſt; an evaſive reply which highly incenſed the deputies. An aſſociation of gentlemen, of the palatinate of Sandomir, produced a copy that had been taken from the original act; but this the elector's council refuſed to admit; and the caſtellan of Culm ſo effectually embroiled the affair, that the deciſion was deferred to the month of February. Fruitleſs proteſts were entered by ſeveral deputies againſt all that had been tranſacted before and after the coronation; the elector expreſſed no concern at their proceedings, and regarded the ſtorm as a ſudden blaſt, whoſe duration would be ſhort in proportion to its violence. Others turned the diet into ridicule, and revenged by a jeſt the injuries offered to national liberty. A paſquinade, under the title of The Comedy of Cracow, was handed about. The piece contained five acts, to each of which was prefixed an argument, to the following purpoſe: 1. A king without a diploma. 2. An interment without a corpſe. 3. A coronation without a primate. 4. A diet without deputies. 5. Proteſtations without effect.

In this ſituation were matters at Cracow, when the news of the prince of Conti's arrival at Dantzic obliged the electoral party to unite more cloſely, to drop their private

Triple diets summoned by the primate.

animosities, and point their whole strength against the enemy. On the other hand, the primate issued proclamations for three particular assemblies to be held on the 20th of October, in which he justified his own conduct, and threw all possible odium on the elector and his party. On this occasion, Augustus deviated from his usual maxims. He thought proper to answer these manifestoes by circular letters, though hitherto he had opposed nothing but money and cabal to the writings of his adversaries. Here he advanced every argument capable of demonstrating the legality of his election and coronation, concluding with an exhortation to all the friends of their country to join with him in defence of their honour and liberty, and in re-establishing the peace and tranquillity of the republic. Nevertheless, both sides were sensible that the dispute would be determined by power, and not by argument. It was with this view the primate assembled the triple diets, and it was with the same design that the elector ordered six regiments of Saxony to surround the petty diet of Cracow, and threaten to cut the whole in pieces, if they did not subscribe to his decree against the primate and the confederacy. Three proposals were now made by his adherents, either of which it was imagined would wholly destroy the hopes of the prince of Conti. First, he was advised to march directly with the Saxon army to the camp occupied by the crown-forces, to prevent, by his presence and liberality, their joining the adverse party. Great sums of money had already been distributed among them, but a majority remained still uncorrupted. The next proposal was, to prevent the meeting of the assemblies summoned by the primate, and to surprise that prelate at Lowitz; and the third was to march at the head of all his forces into Prussia, to oppose the prince of Conti's landing; or, if he should already be landed, to obstruct his march to Poland. The last proposal was embraced, as the least unconstitutional; but the elector contented himself with detaching a strong reinforcement, under the generals Fleming and Brandt, to join the forces that were already in Prussia, instead of taking the field in person. In consequence of this resolution, the triple diets met without opposition from the elector. At Grodno nothing was effected, as the assembly was wholly directed by the Sapiehas, who promised every thing, without having yet executed their engagements to the prince of Conti, of sending him an escort, notwithstanding they had received the sum stipulated. At Zawieho scarce any deputies appeared; even the president of the diet was absent; but near two thousand gentlemen met at Lencicia, where no other business was transacted than the useless ceremony

remony of again proclaiming the prince of Conti, and appointing a deputation of three hundred gentlemen and nobility to wait upon him with the pacta conventa and diploma. To this meaſure ſucceeded a circular letter, publiſhed by the prince, in which he ſtyled himſelf duke of Conti, and, by the grace of God, and affection of the Poliſh nation, king of Poland, and great-duke of Lithuania. He apologized for his delay, and attributed it wholly to his regard for the liberties of the conſtitution. He urged the ſame reaſons for his not landing, or coming to the Poliſh coaſt attended by a military force. He inſiſted upon the illegality of the elector's election, and touched particularly on the hereſy of the electreſs, which alone was ſufficient to render void all that had been tranſacted in his favour; and he concluded with expreſſing his affection for the Poliſh nation, his deſire to avoid the effuſion of blood, and his willingneſs to expoſe his life in defence of the religion and liberty of the republic. This letter, though penned with great addreſs, produced no effect in his favour. Every man in Poland was directed by private intereſt, prejudice, or paſſion. Moſt people had taken their meaſures, and having drawn money from both parties, reſolved to adhere to that which was ſtill in a condition to gratify their inſatiable avarice. Hence freſh ſuccours every day joined the electoral party, for this reaſon only, that his coffers were not yet exhauſted. Many made promiſes to the prince, which they had neither the power nor inclination to perform; others took his money and betrayed his ſecrets; and ſome openly declared themſelves his enemies, from a pacific intention and ſtrong deſire of terminating the ruinous confuſion of the republic. But of all his adherents, the prince of Conti had the greateſt cauſe to complain of the Sapiehas, and the great-general of the crown, who propagated falſe reports injurious to his intereſt, only to palliate their own fears and miſconduct, in not ſending the promiſed eſcort. The behaviour of theſe lords gave him ſo much diſguſt, that he offered to retire to France, but was prevented by the abbé Polignac and ſome Poliſh lords about him, who ſtill fed his expectations. Their hope proceeded from the arrival of young Sapieha, ſon of the grand-mareſchal, with his company of guards, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic; but when that nobleman acquainted the prince, that the main body of the Lithuanian forces could not begin their march in leſs than ſix weeks, he abandoned all hopes, relinquiſhed his whole project, and determined to return to France, after all the expence and trouble which the purſuit of a crown had coſt the court of Verſailles. The coaſts of Pruſſia were lined with troops, and he could not,

Prince of Conti's circular letter.

He loſes all hopes of ſucceſs.

without the utmoſt danger to his perſon, wait longer for the execution of promiſes in which he placed no confidence, after ſuch repeated diſappointments.

Already the magiſtrates of Dantzick had put ſeveral affronts on the ſea-officers and the French ambaſſador, which obliged Polignac to give orders for ſhipping the moſt valuable effects that had been brought to the city for the accommodation of the prince of Conti. The order came too late, the magiſtrates ſeizing upon the effects, and impriſoning the ambaſſador's domeſtics, and ſeveral merchants who aſſiſted in the removal. The ſame day on which this affair happened, news arrived that the electoral forces had advanced to Stum, where they made priſoners three hundred and ſixty of Sapiehas cavalry; an event which determined the ambaſſador to lodge the remainder of his effects in the abbey of Oliva, the only place of refuge on the whole coaſt, and where the Poliſh nobility attached to the prince of Conti had taken ſanctuary. They were not long in this place of ſuppoſed ſecurity, before general Brandt and the Saxons arrived, broke into the abbey, and ſeized all the effects, took ſeveral Poliſh lords priſoners, and had well nigh laid hold of the perſon of the French ambaſſador, who eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty on board the ſquadron in the road.

Brandt having atchieved this exploit with great ſucceſs, reſolved to profit by the general conſternation which had ſeized the French party, and accordingly inveſted the citadel of Marienburgh. He puſhed his operations with vigour, and obliged the grand-carver of the crown, who acted as governor, to capitulate; in conſequence of which ſurrender, the palatine of Siradia, and the great-chamberlain Bielinſki, repaired to Cracow to make their peace with the elector, and take the oaths of fidelity to that prince. The defection of theſe lords, and the loſs of Marienburgh, the only place where he could effect a diſembarkation with any degree of ſafety, confirmed the prince of Conti in his reſolution of ſailing back for France, and abandoning all hopes of acquiring the crown of Poland. Yet he ſtill entertained ſome appearances of expectation, and landed the abbé Polignac in the iſle of Rugen, from whence he was directed to paſs into Poland, ſhould the conjuncture of affairs render it neceſſary; and he wrote two letters, one to the primate, and another to the republic, reproaching the nobility with timidity, and attributing to their miſconduct the affront he had received in the face of all Europe. Finally, he weighed anchor, and ſteered for France, by the way of Denmark.

He returns to France.

The

The departure of his rival brought a fresh accession of power to Augustus. Several districts acknowleged his sovereignty, and took the usual oaths of fidelity. A great number of the nobility who had before kept aloof, now made no scruple about acknowleging the legitimacy of his election. Part of the army which had rejected his pecuniary offers with disdain, sent deputies to swear obedience to the new sovereign; and proposals were made both by the king of Sweden and the czar of Muscovy to assist him with powerful armies.——How soon the face of affairs, with respect to the former of these princes, altered, will appear in the sequel. This was a turn of fortune which it was imagined would bear down all opposition; yet did the primate, assisted by several powerful noblemen, maintain an opposition with their whole influence and authority. They published manifestoes in vindication of their adherence to the prince of Conti, and exerted themselves so effectually, that the elector began to meet with opposition from those very persons who had raised him to the regal dignity. He had introduced a body of Saxons into Poland with their consent, and he retained them from the necessity of circumstances, and for the security of his person. Of this expedient the Poles, ever jealous of their liberty, complained, as a violation of the constitution. They chiefly objected to the Saxons being put in the garrisons of Cracow and Marienburgh, and said that it was unprecedented to see the Polish fortresses in the hands of foreigners. Whenever the troops of both nations happened to be quartered together, skirmishes and duels continually ensued. The elector was under the necessity of devising some expedient for satisfying the Poles, without dismissing the Saxons, upon whom he chiefly relied in the present unsettled state of the kingdom, and while a strong party opposed his government. The council was several days employed on this subject; and it was at length resolved, that the Saxons should be removed to the sea-coasts, to guard against all attempts from France, while the Polish troops should be quartered on the frontiers, as a barrier against the irruptions of the Turks and Tartars. The great distance between both would cut off all opportunity of broils and divisions, at the same time that the situation of the Saxon camp, and the removal of the troops of that nation out of garrison, would, it was hoped, extinguish all jealousy of any designs against the liberties of the republic. This resolution in some measure produced the desired effect; it quieted the minds of the elector's adherents, and silenced the clamours raised on that account by the primate and opposite faction.

The elector's successes.

Fresh disturbances, occasioned by the foreign troops.

Having

Having healed these divisions, the elector determined to gain possession of Warsaw. He began his march in the month of December, in order to assemble a diet of pacification in that city, and endeavour to conciliate such of the nobility as continued averse to his government. He was met on the road by the grand-mareschal of the crown, the great-treasurer of Lithuania, and divers other noblemen, who took this opportunity of detaching themselves from the primate's declining interest. On his arrival near Warsaw, the keys were presented to him by the magistrates, he was saluted by a discharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts, and Te Deum was sung in the great cathedral church, accompanied with the shouts and acclamations of the populace, as if he had obtained some signal victory, or had been raised to the throne by the universal suffrage of the people, in favour of distinguished merit. These ceremonies being ended, he went to the citadel, the keys of which were presented to him by the palatine of Plosko, as governor of the city and castle, and in the evening he visited to the queen-dowager, which terminated in an entire reconciliation with her and the whole family of the late monarch. As the rohoz or confederacy persisted in refusing to acknowlege any other sovereign besides the prince of Conti, Augustus was confirmed in the resolution of assembling a diet of pacification, as the only means of reclaiming the primate and his adherents to their duty. For this purpose writs were issued, in which the elector declared the sincerity of his conversion to the Romish faith, his respect for the liberties of the Polish constitution, his earnest inclination to heal up the wounds of discord, and to become the sovereign of an united happy people. He avoided all harsh expressions, which might have irritated the spirit of the adverse party, and only lamented that their mistaken zeal and erroneous principles should occasion their persevering in measures, which could not fail of terminating in their own destruction, and the ruin of the kingdom, if not speedily relinquished. He concluded with assurances, that his forces and treasures should not only be employed in restoring the ancient lustre of the crown, but in retaking Kaminieck, and placing the frontier in such a situation, as should foil all the future attempts of the barbarians to ravage the provinces belonging to the republic.

The king enters Warsaw.

Troubles in Lithuania.

The expected effects did not follow these declarations; a variety of circumstances concurred to rekindle the sparks of sedition just as they were thought to be extinguished, both in Poland and Lithuania. In the latter Oginski, great-standard-bearer of the duchy, resented that the house of Sapieha was reconciled to Augustus, and had the courage

to

to take up arms againſt the great-general. A body of nobility was aſſembled, part of the army was corrupted, hoſtilities were committed in the country, and the lands belonging to the houſe of Sapieha were ravaged. Theſe violences the grand-general determined to oppoſe with the remainder of the forces that continued in their allegiance. Auguſtus interpoſed his authority, ordered Oginſki to diſmiſs his forces and repair to Warſaw, and gave ſtrict orders to Sapieha not to oppoſe violence to the meaſures of his adverſary, aſſuring him that he ſhould be amply indemnified. In conſequence of theſe injunctions, each ſent deputies to Warſaw, but it was impoſſible to effect a reconciliation, becauſe the deputies declared they were not furniſhed with ſufficient powers to conclude a treaty: all therefore that the elector could perform, was to exhort the parties not to diſturb, with their private animoſities, the peace of the kingdom, which the people began now at length to enjoy.

In Poland the army frequently mutinied, notwithſtanding a majority had acknowleged the elector, and taken an oath of obedience. From their extravagant pretenſions, it was obvious they harboured the ambitious deſign of acquiring a ſhare in the legiſlative government, and erecting themſelves into a fourth eſtate. Add to theſe cauſes of the public diſturbance, that the primate appeared as averſe as ever to an accommodation. He heard the remonſtrances of ſeveral of his friends, and was viſited by them, without being once moved from his inflexibility; and he now began to expreſs himſelf with more boldneſs, becauſe he had received advice of certain preparations making in France in ſupport of the prince of Conti. Even the pope's nuncio could work no change in the obſtinate humour of this headſtrong prelate, who ſeemed determined to fall a ſacrifice to his engagements, and the animoſity he entertained againſt the elector of Saxony. At length the court of Rome openly declared for Auguſtus; the preparations in France were laid aſide, and the indignation of the primate began to ſubſide, merely becauſe his pride was not flattered by ſolicitation. The conditions of reconciliation which he offered were extremely inſolent; but Auguſtus was pleaſed that he could be brought to any terms; and regarded this change of diſpoſition as a happy preſage that he would ſoon relax in the moſt material points. His demands now were, that the republic ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the injuries committed againſt his perſon and dignity, public acknowlegement of the violation of the laws in reſpect to him, engage never to proceed to the coronation of any future monarch without the conſent of the primate, and that

The primate becomes more pliant.

that the bishop of Cujavia, in particular should make a personal submission. The primate's change of humour drew a letter to him from the king, in which he professed a personal regard and affection for the prelate, who, softened by kind expressions, condescended to return an answer, to the letter of his sovereign, in which he gave him the title of majesty. He likewise gave the king to understand, that he would exert all his authority in the assembly of the rohoz, to establish the public tranquillity, and procure a general acknowlegement of his sovereignty, provided his demands should be gratified. This promise however he
Feb. 18. did not perform in its full extent; for though the assembly met with the king's consent, the prelate's whole application proceeded no farther than a general proposal, that methods should be devised for re-establishing the laws, restoring the course of justice, securing the liberty of the constitution, and promoting peace, concord, and unanimity, to which pious work he himself gave the greatest obstruction. Augustus sent the grand-marshal of the crown, and the great-treasurer of Lithuania, in quality of deputies to this meeting; but the title of commissioners, which they assumed, and certain inadvertent expressions dropt in course of the conference, so arroused the indignation of the confederacy, that they were forced to retire privately, to pre-
Assembly of the rehoz propose terms which are rejected. vent their being insulted. Divers members likewise exclaimed against the title of king, which Augustus assumed in his letter to the assembly; but, after warm debates and violent altercation, a bill consisting of twenty-one articles was prepared, to be signed by Augustus, otherwise the assembly declared their resolution of not receiving the elector for their lawful sovereign. The conditions were found too rigid to be accepted, and their being rejected threw the assembly into a ferment. The rage of the confederates blazed out with such violence, that divers persons fired in at the windows of the Brandenburg envoy, for using his good offices in moderating the terms, calming the spirits of the party, and effecting a reconciliation. For several days the tumult continued, and every man of candour and public spirit lamented the excess to which faction was carried in a meeting, where it was proposed to stop all the sources of discord. Many of the principal members withdrew, intending to acknowlege the elector without insisting upon unreasonable conditions. The primate and marshal were in the number of those who would admit of no relaxation; on the contrary, they insisted that the bishop of Cujavia should be deposed, and for ever disqualified from holding any public employment, civil or ecclesiastical; and they had the influence to repair the loss of the late secession, by six

standards

ſtandards of the crown, and ſeveral lords who now declared for the rohoz, and embraced all their meaſures.

There is ſomething extremely unaccountable in the fluctuating principles of the Poles at this juncture. They ſeldom adhered to any particular intereſt, and ſeemed to be equally agitated by avarice, ambition, principle, and paſſion, each ruling in its turn. On ſome occaſions private intereſt ſeemed to prevail; at others, the love of liberty appeared the only actuating principle; while, in general, prejudice and paſſion conquered every other emotion of the heart. Many perſons were ſurpriſed that the king ever permitted the rohoz to meet, though it is plain that he was deluded by the primate's profeſſions, and induced to it by an earneſt deſire to reſtore the tranquillity of the republic, which had not, for near the ſpace of two years, taſted the ſweets of repoſe. It was for ſimilar reaſons that he refrained from giving ſatisfaction to the Brandenburg envoy, who made loud complaints of the violences committed on his houſe, of the inſults offered to his perſon, and of the infraction of the laws of nations, and the privileges of ambaſſadors. He only promiſed to puniſh, at a proper ſeaſon, the offenders, and the miniſter was forced to reſt ſatisfied with this acknowlegement, at a time when the whole kingdom was diſtracted. The confederates perſiſted in open oppoſition to Auguſtus, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen their faction by ſuccours from France, which they earneſtly implored. A deputation was ſent to Verſailles, to ſolicit the prince of Conti's return; but they met with a cold reception. Lewis was not only offended at the uſage the prince had met with from the republic, but he was deeply engaged at that time in affairs of greater moment; the king of Spain's illneſs opened a proſpect for his grandſon of ſucceeding to the throne of that monarch. This diſappointment proved the ruin of the ſchemes formed by the confederates, and brought the greateſt advantages to Auguſtus; yet ſtill the troubles in Lithuania threatened an inſurmountable obſtruction to the quiet poſſeſſion of his new acquired dignity. The army of that duchy had almoſt entirely revolted from the great-general, and joined themſelves to the party formed by Oginſki, great-ſtandard-bearer. The late injunctions laid upon both theſe noblemen by the king availed little; all the nobility who had ſided with Oginſki, demanded to be put on a footing with the ſame order in Poland. They alſo inſiſted upon having four hundred thouſand crowns, which they alleged had been promiſed by Sapieha for the payment of arrears due to the army. Had a pacification depended on this laſt article it would have been eaſily procured; it was the king's intention to purchaſe the public repoſe

Diviſions in Lithuania.

at

at any price; but the demand which was made, of aſſembling a diet in arms and on horſeback, occaſioned more ſpeculation and greater difficulty. He dreaded the effuſion of blood, and the thoughts of having a new election propoſed; and therefore peremptorily refuſed granting this demand, although at the hazard of ſeeing the deſired coequation of the Lithuanian and Poliſh nobility take effect, a ſtep which would have rendered him unpopular in Poland. It was particularly prejudicial to the intereſt of Sapieha, and happily for Auguſtus, that powerful nobleman oppoſed it with all his ſtrength and influence. He publiſhed a manifeſto, demonſtrating that Oginſki not only violated the laws of the conſtitution, but thoſe of equity and humanity alſo; and he cenſured in the bittereſt terms the cruelties committed by that officer. This publication wrought a happy effect; many were impreſſed by the arguments, and not a few were ſwayed by the eloquence diſplayed, and the dreadful picture drawn of the violences committed by Oginſki: in conſequence of theſe impreſſions, they deſerted his party, joined themſelves to the intereſt of Sapieha, and declared their reſolution of oppoſing, to the laſt drop of their blood, every meaſure which had a tendency to diſturb the tranquillity of the duchy and republic. Even this declaration did not determine the controverſy; the ſword alone was capable of untying thoſe knots, which had foiled all the addreſs of the king and government. Sapieha reinforced by the deſerters from Oginſki, marched againſt that general, came to an engagement, and, after an obſtinate conflict, obtained the honour of a victory, with the loſs of ſix hundred men, killed and wounded, on the ſide of the enemy.

The blood ſpilt in Lithuania abated the heats of party in that country; but it was otherwiſe in Poland. Seditious writings were fixed upon the cathedral door of Warſaw, and abſolution was offered to all who ſhould aſſiſt in maſſacring the German ſoldiers. A great reward was publiſhed for diſcovering the author of theſe pieces, and proper cautions were taken for guarding againſt the effect; after which the king ſet out upon a progreſs to Pruſſia, to eſtabliſh his authority in that province, one of the moſt conſiderable of the republic. Here he viſited the fortifications of Marienburg, and received the ſubmiſſion of the magiſtrates of Elbing and Dantzick; then he made his public entry into the laſt of theſe cities, receiving the keys from the hands of the burgomaſters. In a word, he received the homage and oaths of fidelity from the inhabitants of Marienburgh, Dantzic, Elbing, and all the conſiderable cities, towns and villages in the province; and then returned to Warſaw.

During his abſence, Paulucci arrived in quality of nuncio from the pontiff, with more ample powers than thoſe which had

had been given to Davia, his predeceſſor. It was through his influence that the confederacy was diſſolved, on a reconciliation effected between the king and the rohoz. He had ſo artfully ſoothed, cajoled, and threatened the primate, that the inflexibility of that prelate yielded to his reſpect for the holy ſee; in conſequence of which he made a feeling ſpeech to the aſſembly of the rohoz, which produced a conference with the king's deputies. Paulucci took upon him the character of mediator, aſſiſted at the conferences, and acted with ſuch impartiality, that all parties were ſatisfied his ſole deſign was to reſtore the peace of the country, and cruſh thoſe factions which had brought Poland to the brink of deſtruction. A reconciliation was accordingly ſigned, upon condition, that the king ſhould exhibit freſh proofs of his having embraced the Romiſh faith; that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his conſort to follow his example; that he ſhould diſmiſs the Proteſtant miniſters in his army; that he ſhould paſs an authentic act to preſerve the freedom of elections and diets; that he ſhould not require to be reimburſed in the ſums expended in Poland; that he ſhould pay the arrears due to the army; that he ſhould employ his forces in regaining Kaminieck, and re-uniting that city and the province of Podolia to the crown; that he ſhould afterwards diſmiſs all the foreign troops; that he ſhould revoke his grants of certain demeſnes to private perſons, and apply them to the ſupport of his houſhold; that he ſhould give the preference to the members of the rohoz in the diſtribution of public offices; that the primate ſhould confirm the king's election; and, laſtly, that this prelate ſhould give his majeſty the benediction in the great church of Warſaw, the courts of juſtice to remain ſuſpended until that ceremonial was completed, and the king confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the crown.

Diſſolution of the rohoz, and a general reconciliation.

Thus happily was Auguſtus unanimouſly acknowleged ſovereign of Poland, unleſs we except the palatine of Sandomir, who not only refuſed to ſign, but entered a proteſt of nullity againſt the agreement: a circumſtance which gave but little diſturbance to the king, who was ſenſible that he would ſoon be obliged to cloſe in with the ſentiments of the nation. Accordingly the mareſchal of the aſſembly broke his ſtaff, to ſignify that the confederacy was diſſolved; after which ceremony Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral, and a ſplendid entertainment given in the caſtle, the whole concluding with general demonſtrations of joy, and the loud acclamations of the people [z].

[z] Parthen. lib. ii. Font. lib. vi. Lett. de Pologn. paſſim. Barre Hiſt. tom. x.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Containing the Transactions of the Republic to the Deposition of Augustus, and the Elevation of Stanislaus to the Throne of Poland.

The primate waits on the king.

ALL the arts of the primate being insufficient to extend the duration of his authority by continuing the interregnum, he at length reluctantly yielded submission, and waited upon the king at Warsaw, with thirty of the principal personages of the rohoz, and paid him a kind of homage; not, however, with the usual formalities, which he refused, under pretence that the election had not yet been solemnly confirmed. He likewise had the honour of a private audience, and was closetted for two hours by Augustus, though to very little purpose, the prelate waving, with great address, every proposal made of taking the oath of fidelity to the king; insisting, that the election should be confirmed by a diet. Augustus, in consenting to such an expedient, would have tacitly acknowleged, that neither his coronation nor election were valid: the prelate was sensible of this absurdity; but he wanted to prepare the way, by plausible excuses, for the future conduct he had planned, which evinces how little sincerity there was in all his professions of reconciliation.

Troubles in Lithuania.

The next affair that engaged the king's attention was the quarrel between Sapieha and Oginski, which divided all Lithuania, and had already occasioned some bloodshed. The great-general was supported by the army, and the standard-bearer by all the nobility, who were jealous of the power and aspiring views of Sapieha. This family, indeed, engrossed all the public employments, either lucrative or honourable, by means of their great influence with the court; an influence which they could always maintain, on account of their vast possessions and dependencies. Augustus had already attempted a reconciliation between these chiefs by his own authority; now he thought proper to refer it to the senate, which he assembled on purpose to deliberate on the present situation of the great-duchy of Lithuania. The deputies of the army demanded their arrears, and laid the whole blame of their circumstances on Oginski, though lately they had taxed Sapieha with having detained four hundred thousand livres. Orders were sent for these two noblemen to appear at Warsaw, and Sapieha obeyed, while Oginski contented himself with sending his brother to attend

tend the king and senate. A treaty was signed, by which all parties agreed to lay aside their differences; but unfortunately the reconciliation was scarce effected, when Sapieha received advice that a battle had been fought in Lithuania during his absence. This, it was imagined, would throw every thing again into confusion. The young prince Sapieha, to whom his father had left the command of the army, seized this opportunity of trying his fortune, and displaying his valour. Accordingly he began his march at the head of six squadrons and seven battalions, with a train of seven pieces of cannon, against Oginski, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Jurginburg, in Samogitia. Oginski drew up his troops in order of battle, determined to give them a warm reception; but his army could not stand before the fury and regularity of the enemy's fire: the ranks fell into confusion, the whole fled in disorder, and great numbers were drowned in the Niemen, or slain in the pursuit. Oginski had the good fortune to escape safe into Ducal Prussia, whither he was followed by the scattered remains of his forces; but he lost four pieces of cannon, and his military chest. The news of this action deeply affected the elder Sapieha, who feared that his son's rashness might be attributed to him; but it caused no alteration in the treaty, and the king made immediate use of the intelligence that was brought, by publishing a mandate to the following effect: that since his accession he had laboured to compose the civil divisions, and restore the peace of the great duchy of Lithuania: that, as it was necessary all hostilities should cease, it was his pleasure, that all other persons should lay down their arms, and repair to their several homes, as soon as the army of Lithuania should begin to march, to act in conjunction with the Polish forces in retaking Kaminieck: that whoever should henceforward foment new divisions should be deprived of the privileges of nobility, and subject to such other punishments as the law inflicts on disturbers of the public tranquillity; and Sapieha sent orders for the army to march to Leopold, in execution of the treaty, and in conformity to the king's mandate.

The king takes the field, and the council is divided.

The king had serious designs upon Kaminieck; the retaking of which fortress, he knew, would not only be an exceeding popular measure, but furnish him with a specious pretext for retaining a body of Saxons in the kingdom. Though his sovereignty was generally acknowleged, yet Augustus did not think himself perfectly secure without the assistance of troops, on whose fidelity he might depend. The Saxons intended for this expediton were held

in readineſs, and the duke of Wirtemberg was come from Germany to take the command: the crown-army was quartered on the frontiers of Podolia, and magazines had been formed ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the combined forces during the campaign. On the 10th of Auguſt, Auguſtus ſet out for Rava, where he found Peter, czar of Muſcovy, with whom he held a conference for the ſpace of three days, which concluded in a treaty of alliance, that laid the foundation of the unfortunate war with Sweden. On the czar's departure, Auguſtus ſet out for Leopold, into which city he made his public entry with great magnificence. On the 18th of Auguſt, a grand council was held, at which aſſiſted the ſenators, the Poliſh generals, and the principal officers of the Saxon army, the preſence of which laſt gave offence to the rigid republicans. Here it was debated, whether Kaminieck ſhould be immediately attacked. Some of the council eſpouſed the affirmative, alleging, that the place could not poſſibly hold out until the winter ſhould oblige the army to quit the field; while others ſupported the negative, becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and the enterprize more difficult than was imagined. Beſides, they thought it of more conſequence to fall upon Moldavia, to ſeize the principal fortreſſes in that country, to cut off the communication of the Turks with Kaminieck, and to quarter the German troops in that province during the winter. By theſe means, they obſerved that foreigners would be removed from the boſom of the republic, and ſtationed in thoſe places where they might not only guard the kingdom from irruptions, but ſtand between danger and the Poliſh army. There was ſomething, indeed, extraordinary enough in all theſe counſels, when we reflect that a negociation was now actually carrying on between the Porte and the Republic, to which both the grand ſeignor and king Auguſtus had ſent commiſſioners. A few, with more juſtice and good ſenſe, recommended pacific meaſures; and alleged, that no great ſtreſs could be laid on the aſſiſtance of the emperor and Venetians, with whom the republic was engaged in an offenſive alliance for two years preceding the death of their late monarch, Sobieſki. As each party obſtinately perſiſted in their ſeveral opinions, the council broke up without coming to any reſolution. Next day they met; but were not more unanimous: however, a majority now declared for peace, alleged their reaſons, and were oppoſed with arguments equally plauſible in point of policy, but leſs conſonant to equity, and that candour which ought to direct the meaſures of ſtates, as well as the conduct of individuals.

dividuals. As it was impoſſible to determine any thing while the council remained divided, Auguſtus reſolved to diſoblige neither party; but, in ſome degree, to act agreeable to both. With this view he nominated an extraordinary embaſſy to conclude a peace, and at the ſame time made preparations for taking the field. He reviewed his army on the 6th of September; and, while he was thus employed, advice arrived that a body of Tartars had entered Volhinia, ravaged the country on all ſides, and defeated a part of the Poliſh army. In conſequence of this intelligence, the king put himſelf in motion, and advanced at the head of the Saxons to join the crown-army, which had orders to meet him in Podhaicia. In their march thither, the Poles were attacked by forty thouſand Tartars, who flew and made priſoners all the ſtragglers belonging to the army, and kept cloſe to their ſkirts until they arrived in the ſuburbs of Podhaicia. Here it was expected they ſhould meet the Saxons; but the Poliſh general, finding he was diſappointed, drew up his army in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked by the Tartars; a precaution that ſoon proved neceſſary. The enemy fell upon them by break of day, and by their impetuoſity broke the advanced guard, threw themſelves on the firſt line, where they were very warmly received. Meeting with inſurmountable difficulties on this quarter, the Tartars ſurrounded the wings, defeated them, and penetrated to the baggage, to which was aſcribed the ſafety of the Poliſh army. While the Tartars were employed in plundering, the Poles rallied, and renewed the charge with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy were forced to retire with part of their booty, after an obſtinate engagement for eight hours, during which the artillery did prodigious execution. Yet the advantage gained could not prevent the enemy from carrying off ſome very valuable plunder, and burning the ſuburbs and part of the city of Podhaicia: however, it muſt be confeſſed that the Poles acted with great valour, conſidering their number did not exceed eight thouſand men, oppoſed to forty thouſand. Nine hundred Poles were ſlain in the action, above a thouſand were wounded, and the ſon of the great-general Jablownoſki, with three ſtaroſts, were carried into captivity by the Tartars [b].

The Poliſh army attacked by the Tartars.

As the army of Lithuania was not yet arrived, and the ſeaſon far advanced, Auguſtus laid aſide all thoughts of beſieging Kaminieck for this year, and made diſpoſitions for putting his troops into winter-quarters. Juſt as every

[b] Parth. lib. iii.

thing was in readiness for this purpose, the Lithuanians joined the army; and advice was at the same time brought, that the Tartars, reinforced by great numbers of their countrymen, and a strong detachment of janissaries, were advancing to revenge their late disgrace. This intelligence extremely embarrassed Augustus. A thousand circumstances evinced the little dependence he could have on the Poles, when joined with the Saxons, whom they detested, and either of the armies singly were insufficient to resist the enemy. Nor were the Saxons less odious to the Lithuanians, who took every occasion to affront and insult the German officers. Their mutual animosity daily increased, and at length rose to such a pitch, that the king, believing his person was no longer safe in the Polish camp, drew up the Saxons in order of battle, with intention to obtain justice by force of arms, in case the crown-generals should refuse to punish the authors of the tumult. On the other hand, the Poles and Lithuanians took to their arms, affording the fairest opportunity to the Tartars to ruin both, had they received intelligence of the division. In this situation the two armies continued for above half a day, when the menaces of the Polish army to join with the primate and nobility against the foreign troops, obliged Augustus to quit the field, and repair to Leopold, after having assigned quarters to the Saxons at a distance from the army of the republic.

Divisions between the Poles and Saxons.

The troubles in Lithuania renewed.

Augustus had scarce checked the troubles in Poland by his prudent management, when the troubles in Lithuania again broke out with redoubled vehemence. The treaty mediated by the king and senate had not quieted the spirits of the people, nor restored that harmony which was necessary to the tranquillity of the duchy. On the contrary, it proved a mere temporary expedient to enable the Lithuanian army to take the field. The members of the diet disavowed the treaty of Warsaw, which had been concluded by their deputies; and, assembling at Wilna, protested against almost every article, declaring that the deputies had greatly exceeded their instructions, and been inveigled into an agreement prejudicial to the interests of the duchy. This charge alluded to the act of coequation, and not to the quarrel between Sapieha and Oginski, though this too was renewed as a necessary consequence of the other. In this assemby it was resolved to summon the whole body of the nobility to meet at Grodno on the 15th of October, in order to raise money for the payment of the army. In the mean time hostilities commenced; and the lands belonging

ing to the house of Radzivil were entirely desolated, rather from wantonness than any particular pique to that noble family.

To these evils was superadded an open attack on the republic, made by the elector of Brandenburg, who had seized upon the city of Elbing, as an equivalent for a debt of three hundred thousand rixdollars due to him by the crown of Poland since the reign of king Casimir. This city had been pledged to him in security of payment; the affair had been forty years in agitation, and the late treaty set on foot between Augustus and the elector, was broke off without coming to any conclusion. Before he invested the place the elector published a manifesto, declaring the reasons upon which was founded his resolution of doing himself justice; at the same time he wrote a letter to the primate, and notified his pretensions to the magistrates of the city in dispute. The magistrates desired time to consider the elector's proposal, and at last offered to pay the money for the crown at certain instalments, rather than be oppressed by a military force; but the elector, either suspecting that this was an artifice to procure delay, or possibly chusing rather to be master of the city than to have the sum required refunded, ordered trenches immediately to be formed, and threatened to bombard the place if the magistrates made any scruples about capitulating. His threats produced the desired effect, and the city capitulated on the 11th of November, on condition that the privileges, religion, schools, and hospitals, should be preserved on their present footing. An article was added respecting the conservation of the magistracy and commerce, the suppression of imposts on their merchandize at Pilau, with other conditions of less importance. Augustus was at Leopold ready to set out for Lithuania, when advice arrived that Elbing was invested by the forces of Brandenburg. The news extremely embarrassed and affected him; he declared the necessity of having reparation, and expressed his resentment with equal bitterness and vivacity. He wrote to the senate a letter full of indignation at the elector's perfidy; the primate and the nobility joined in his complaints; but their passion evaporated in murmurs and revilings; the season for relieving the magistrates was lost, and Elbing fell a sacrifice to the discords, jealousies, and irresolution of the republic. Malignity was carried to such a pitch, that the king's indignation was supposed counterfeit, and that prince actually taxed with conniving at the elector's designs; however, Augustus laboured to refute

The king's resentment against the elector of Brandenburg.

the malicious accuſation, and earneſtly ſolicited the republic to aſſiſt him in retaking a place equally important to the honour, intereſt, and ſecurity of the Poliſh dominions. Such, indeed, was the mutual diſtruſt, that the royal remonſtrance produced no other effect than a reſolution to put Thorn and Dantzic on their guard; to petition the king to ſend the Saxon army into Poliſh Pruſſia; to publiſh an order for the poſpolite of this province to take the field on the third ſummons; to requeſt the aſſiſtance of the allies of the republic; and to order the reſident of Brandenburg inſtantly to quit the Poliſh territories. Next the king publiſhed the Univerſalia, taxing the elector with injuſtice and ingratitude, which piece was anſwered by ſimilar accuſations on the ſide of the court of Berlin; and theſe virulent publications were followed by a kind of irregular declaration of war, while both parties ſeemed to apprehend the conſequences of a rupture.

A war in the North could not but be prejudicial to the intereſts of the court of Vienna at this juncture; the emperor, therefore, laboured to effect a reconciliation, and offered his mediation, which was accepted by both parties, who acknowleged themſelves his ſubjects, as far as they were members of the Germanic body. The conduct of the negociation was entruſted to count Sareniſki, the imperial envoy at Warſaw, a perſon extremely beloved by the Poliſh nobility. The miniſter exerted his utmoſt ability; Auguſtus was ſtrongly diſpoſed to an accommodation, on account of the diviſions in his kingdom; the elector declared his inclination for peace, yet was the treaty protracted for above a year, becauſe Brandenburg inſiſted upon the reimburſement of the money due to him from the crown of Poland as a preliminary article.

The Lithuanians oppoſe the Saxons.

While the negociation with the elector of Brandenburg was on the carpet, the king applied his mind to the affairs of Lithuania, which were now involved in great confuſion. All the Saxon cavalry, with Fleming's regiment, had orders to take up their quarters on certain lands aſſigned for the maintenance of the king's houſhold in Lithuania. This order was regarded by the Lithuanians as a violation of their privileges. The ſenate aſſembled at Grodno, and the nobility of the duchy ſent two deputies to Auguſtus, who had advanced to Breſczia in his way to Lithuania. They aſſured him of their zeal and fidelity, but requeſted that the Saxons might not be quartered in the duchy, pleading as the reaſon of their petition, that the country was already impoveriſhed and exhauſted by the hoſtilities of the parties in open arms. They alſo demanded

manded arrears due for eight years to the Lithuanian army; and added menaces to oppoſe the entrance of the Saxons, unleſs this demand ſhould be granted. Without regarding their threats, the king ordered twelve regiments to advance to Grodno, placed a garriſon in the tower, and diſtributed the remainder of the forces in the quarters that were firſt aſſigned.

It would be difficult to aſcertain preciſely the ſtate of the diſputes in this duchy; but the chief motives of diſturbance were the treaty of Warſaw, by which the coequation was ſettled, the quartering of the Saxon troops, and the private animoſity between Sapieha, who might be conſidered as the partizan of Auguſtus, and Oginſki, who was ſeconded by the nobility. The former was at the head of the army, amounting only to eight thouſand men; and the latter was made general of a corps of the gentry and nobility, who exceeded double that number. The ſuperiority of his ſtrength urged Oginſki to wipe off the diſgrace of his late defeat: accordingly he attacked Sapieha, and ſoon obtained a victory over an army ſo unequally matched. This turn of affairs inclined the chiefs in the army to accept the propoſed mediation of the biſhop of Wilna, who was authorized by the king to accommodate the differences. The prelate laboured in this attempt; but met with little ſucceſs, as the two armies were ſo nearly encamped, that another action was hourly expected, which determined Auguſtus to a vigorous ſtep that alone could terminate the diſpute. He ordered count Fleming to advance with the Saxons between the two armies, and inſtructed that officer to enjoin Sapieha, in the name of the king and the republic, immediately to diſband the army. Sapieha was ſtruck with this order, pauſed a little, but reflecting on the conſequences of diſobedience, and the ſuperior ſtrength of Oginſki, he complied, by which means the way was paved to a treaty of pacification. Commiſſioners were immediately appointed to meet; it was mutually agreed, that the army ſhould remain diſbanded; that two thouſand ſix hundred foot, including the regiment of the republic, ſhould be retained as a ſtanding force; that every officer ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the king, and the ſtates of Lithuania; that eleven hundred dragoons ſhould be maintained upon the ſame footing; that the Hungarian forces ſhould be diſmiſſed; that a year's pay ſhould be advanced to the army, in conſideration of which they were to renounce their claim to all farther arrears; that a general amneſty ſhould take place; that the ſums ſtipulated by the pacta conventa, in favour of the army, ſhould

The army of Lithuania diſbanded, and a treaty enſues.

be advanced; that the republic ſhould ſolicit the execution of that promiſe; that new levies ſhould be deferred until the enſuing ſeaſon; that means ſhould be taken to oblige the great general to obſerve the inſtitution of co-equation; that the palatines who refuſed aſſigning quarters to the troops, ſhould be compelled thereto by the diet; that the expences of the artillery ſhould be provided for by certain funds ſpecified in the agreement; that the cannon ſhould be lodged in the arſenal of Wilna, from whence it ſhould only be removed to be employed againſt the enemies of the republic; and that the Tartars of Lithuania ſhould be equally protected by both parties in their perſons and effects, provided they immediately ſwore fidelity to the king and republic.

A.D. 1699. In conſequence of this treaty the troops were diſcharged; then the number ſtipulated were retaken into the ſervice; and to conclude the affair with more ſolemnity, the biſhop of Wilna ſung Te Deum, with the act of thankſgiving, accompanied by a general diſcharge of the artillery.

On the king's return to Warſaw, his firſt care was to fall upon meaſures for reconciling the primate and the biſhop of Cujavia, whoſe diſſenſions might again embroil the republic. This was a point of the utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially as the primate ſtill demanded a confirmation of the election in a general diet, and a deciſion of that diſpute, whether the biſhop of Cujaiva had a right either to proclaim or crown a king of Poland? He had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to aſſemble a diet for this purpoſe, and the king conſented that the ſtates ſhould meet; but he was ſwayed by a double motive to delay this aſſembly until the month of March, that he might have more leiſure to effect a reconciliation between the two great prelates; and be able to judge of the iſſue of the congreſs at Carlowitz. The latter negociation paſſed to a final concluſion with all the facility and ſucceſs imaginable. A peace was ſigned between the king and republic on the one hand, and the grand ſeignor on the other, by Staniſlaus Malakowſki, plenipotentiary from Poland to the congreſs, and Mahomet Effendi and Alexander Mama Candato, ambaſſadors from the Porte. This treaty imported, that the ancient amity ſhould be renewed, and the provinces of the two ſtates diſtinguiſhed by the boundaries which were mutually acknowleged before the war: that the republic ſhould reſtore all her conqueſts on the frontiers of Moldavia: that Kaminieck, all Podolia, and the Ukraine, ſhould be reſtored in their preſent ſituation to Poland: that the grand ſeignor ſhould ſtrictly enjoin all his ſubjects and vaſſals, whether Turks or Tartars, from making irruptions into the Poliſh

Peace of Carlowitz. Jan. 26.

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dominions: that all the Turkish governors and officers should have peremptory orders to be vigilant in guarding the frontiers, and active in punishing all violators of the treaty, the republic engaging to do the same on her part: that Poland should be acknowleged a state entirely free and independent: that the Tartars, who had deserted their own country to possess lands to which they had no right, should return and reside within their ancient limits: that the religious of the Roman catholic persuasion, through the whole Turkish empire, should enjoy the free exercise of the functions annexed to their religion and circumstances, according to ancient treaties subsisting: that mutual liberty of trade should be restored, and the merchants of either nation suffered to pass without molestation, on paying the duties specified by ancient treaty and agreement; and that no merchant should be obliged to pay a debt claimed only upon verbal evidence: that all prisoners taken during the war should be mutually released, on paying the ransom adjusted by former treaties; the ransom to diminish in proportion to the length of the captivity: that prisoners taken after the conclusion of the treaty, should be restored without ransom, and a free passage granted them through the dominions of either power: that the vaivode of Moldavia should continue a good understanding with the republic; and neither Poland nor Moldavia should protect or countenance the fugitives of either country: by the last article, former treaties, in every point not specified in the present, were confirmed; each of the contracting powers agreed to notify it to their respective allies, governors, officers, and magistrates, within the space of thirty days, and to punish any infraction with great severity; the republic engaged to send an ambassador to exchange the ratifications at the Porte, and also to pay the compliment of a solemn embassy to the sultan, as soon as conveniency would admit.

In this manner did the peace of Carlowitz restore the important fortress of Kaminieck, the province of Podolia, and the vast territory of the Ukraine to Poland; an happy event for Augustus, who was thereby disengaged from the most difficult of the engagements contracted by the pacta conventa. The peace was celebrated by public rejoicings at Warsaw, which were soon interrupted by an expedition of the remote Tartars, who either were not informed of the pacification, or took advantage of the security of the Poles. They advanced in a vast body as far as Leopold, plundering and ravaging all before them, and were preparing to return with prodigious booty and twelve thousand captives,

Irruption of the Tartars.

captives, when a detachment of Poles fell upon them and retook great part of the priſoners. This incident checked, but did not entirely ſtop the courſe of pleaſure at court. The carnival was ſplendid and magnificent, beyond any thing ever beheld in Poland. The politeneſs, graceful perſon, and majeſtic air of the monarch, contributed greatly to gain over the affections of the Poles, and ſoften the animoſity of his moſt inveterate enemies.

At a council held about this time, it was reſolved, that the diet ſhould not be convoked before the laſt day of May enſuing; that it ſhould be referred to the king to appoint commiſſioners to receive from the hands of the Turks reſtitution of the places ſpecified in the treaty of Carlowitz; that the mediation of the maritime ſtates ſhould be accepted, to accommodate the differences with the court of Berlin; and that conferences ſhould be held for this purpoſe at Elbing, and not at Breſlau, as had been propoſed. With reſpect to the reſtitution of Elbing, the king was left at liberty to act as he thought fit and conjunctures might require. Sweden, Denmark, the ſtates-general, and even the emperor and French king, offered their good offices: mediators were not wanting; but the elector's policy, and ſtrong deſire of poſſeſſing this city, raiſed difficulties. A congreſs was ſitting, yet Auguſtus perceived the neceſſity of preparing for war, though he was ſenſible that the mediating powers would oppoſe his laying ſiege to Elbing. However, this furniſhed him with a plauſible excuſe for retaining the Saxons in the kingdom, though repeated addreſſes were preſented, deſiring they might be diſmiſſed. He flattered himſelf, likewiſe, that his preparations would render the elector more pliant; but he was deceived in both conjectures. The Saxons became odious to all men, not from their own miſconduct, but from the jealouſy which the Poles always entertain of foreigners. The primate, ſeconded by a great number of ſenators and the nobility, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the deſign of retaking Elbing by force of arms, from an apprehenſion that this meaſure might involve the republic in a war, and in expences which the treaſury was in no condition to ſupply. Notwithſtanding their remonſtrance, a camp was marked out at Marienburg, and the Saxon artillery ſent to Poliſh Pruſſia; circumſtances which obliged the elector to prepare for his defence. That prince had intelligence of a conſpiracy ſet on foot by the magiſtrates of Elbing to introduce the king's troops, and he took the moſt effectual meaſures to defeat the project. A ſtronger garriſon was put in the town than had been ſtipulated in the capitulation; the keys were taken

Addreſs to diſmiſs the Saxons.

taken from the magiſtrates; and all the guards were mounted by the troops of Brandenburg inſtead of the citizens and militia.

In this ſtate were affairs when the diet aſſembled, the reſult of which the elector determined to await. It met on the day appointed, and a mareſchal was choſen without oppoſition, from which calm the king drew a happy preſage: but this harmony was not of long duration; the diet demanded that the Saxons ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the king waved it by every art and intrigue. At length debates roſe ſo high, that Auguſtus, fearing the conſequences, gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that part of the German army already had orders to quit Poland, and the reſt were preparing with all expedition to oblige the diet. He remonſtrated, however, that this could not be done till fifteen days after the aſſembly broke up; that he then ſhould require ample ſecurity for his perſon, and expect that a guard of fourteen hundred Saxons ſhould always be ſuffered to remain about his court. To enforce this demand, Auguſtus ordered the acta conventa to be read, by which he was allowed a guard of ſix thouſand men: all were now ſenſible of his moderation, and acceded to his opinions without farther litigation. A deputation waited upon his majeſty to acquaint him with the inclinations of the diet. Auguſtus gave audience, ſeated on a magnificent throne; he preſerved all the dignity of a ſovereign in his air, but the complacency of his manner obtained whatever he pleaſed from the deputies. Such was the popularity he acquired, that he was ſolicited to preſide in perſon; he accepted the invitation, and his addreſs quickly contributed to the happy iſſue of the diet, which confirmed, by unanimous conſent, the act projected for the ſafety and authority of the king, annexing a clauſe, by which the moſt rigorous puniſhments were denounced againſt whoever ſhould make any attempts upon his perſon and dignity. It was alſo reſolved, that all Saxon and other foreign dependents upon the king's court, ſhould continue about his perſon; that the king ſhould always retain ſix miniſters or counſellors of ſtate for the affairs of Saxony; but his majeſty, to remove all exceptions, declared he would be ſatisfied with a third of the number. It was farther decreed, that beſides the two regiments of infantry called the King's and Queen's, there ſhould remain twelve hundred horſe, under the names of great Muſqueteers and Train-bands; that an equal number of Saxon troops ſhould remain in Lithuania; the whole to be maintained at the expence of the republic; that arrears for two years ſhould be

A general diet, which ends happily.

be paid to the Polish army, and the king authorised to put the forces of the republic on a better footing. In a word, every thing was transacted to the king's satisfaction, and before the diet closed, the primate and the great chamberlain Bielinski signed the act of election.

The result of the diet was by no means agreeable to the hope entertained by the elector of Brandenburg. That prince was in expectation that such heats would arise as could not fail to divert Augustus from any attention to the affair of Elbing. This hope occasioned his protracting the negociation during the whole winter, and rising or falling in his demands, just as the intelligence he received of the transactions in the diet directed. He now, however, sent an envoy extraordinary to Warsaw, and relaxed so much in his demands, that a treaty was concluded to the following effect: the evacuation of Elbing was fixed for the 1st day of February in the ensuing year, without the smallest alteration in the ancient fortifications; the king and Polish republic engaged faithfully to pay the elector in the city of Warsaw, three months after the general diet should be held, the sum of three hundred thousand rixdollars, and for his better security, to pledge the crown-jewels in the hands of the commissaries the day preceding the evacuation of Elbing: the elector was empowered, on default of payment, not only to retain the jewels, but to repossess himself of Elbing, and its demesnes, until the entire discharge of his demand. Four other articles respected certain private differences, which this treaty furnished an opportunity of regulating. At the day appointed the electoral forces quitted the city by torch-light [c]. As soon as the Polish commissaries regained possession, they reproached the magistrates with cowardice and perfidy, for having opened their gates to the Brandenburghers, acquainting them with the penalties incurred by that transgression, if the king and republic had not out of parental tenderness interposed their clemency. The magistrates pleaded necessity; but the commissaries refuting all their allegations, told them they were to hold their privileges on the following conditions, prescribed as a just punishment for their misconduct: that the city should furnish fifty thousand crowns towards the redemption of the jewels; that three hundred foot and thirty horse, should henceforward be maintained for the defence of the posts, instead of two hundred, the usual number, and that these should be augmented to two thousand upon any appearance of danger; that an officer of valour, experience,

Treaty with the elector of Brandenburg.

[c] Mem. de Branden. p. 72. Parthen. lib. iii.

and

and reputation, should be retained in quality of commandant, who should take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic; that the president of the council should henceforward take an oath never to surrender the town to any besieger, until it was reduced to the last extremity; and that certain new privileges mentioned in the treaty should be granted to the inhabitants of the Romish profession.

The Turks make difficulties about the surrender of Kamieneck.

So deeply had the king and republic been immersed in negociations on account of Elbing, that they had scarce time to attend the execution of the treaty of Carlowitz, with respect to which some difficulties occurred. The restitution of Kaminieck was deferred under several pretences, notwithstanding this place was to have been delivered into the hands of Polish commissaries immediately after the ratification. The grand signor expressed the utmost reluctance to part with a fortress which proved so galling a thorn in the side of the republic. The restitution was so contrary to his true interest, that the mufti would have absolved him from his engagements, and consecrated the perfidy. A curse was denounced upon the vizir, who had consented to this article; but he defended himself by shewing the impossibility of supporting the war without money and forces, or of procuring peace upon other conditions. Now they had recourse to the most pitiful subterfuges to evade this article. At first, the seraſquier had not received the necessary orders, and the harvest, which the garrison had sown, must be reaped. Next, restitution was deferred until the minister of the republic at the Porte had an audience of the grand seignor. When the audience was at length obtained, other pretences were devised, until it became obvious that the divan had formed a design of not complying with the terms of the treaty. At last, the vizir exerted himself so effectually, representing, in the most lively colours, the national dishonour that must ensue from so open and barefaced a violation of treaties, that the resolution was taken to execute the article in its full extent. Accordingly, one gate of the fortress was surrendered to the Polish commissaries, and a promise given that the place should, in eight days, be entirely evacuated. The seraſquier kept his word, had a magnificent present from the republic; and thus Poland was once more put into possession of this important barrier.

It was after this event that the king proposed a visit to his German dominions; a point that was agitated with great warmth in the senate. Some objected, that his presence could not be dispensed with at a period when the resolutions of the diet required immediate execution; when it was necessary to repair the breaches made by the long confusion of

of the republic, and to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom in general. It was added, that the Saxon troops still remained in Poland, notwithstanding the assurances given by the king to the diet that they would be dismissed; and that if his majesty persisted in this neglect of his word, there could no longer be any dependence on the royal promise. These arguments were answered by the king's party, who insisted strongly on the necessity of his drinking the waters of Toplitz for the recovery of his health. The senate sat from the 12th to the 15th, and the result was to present the subsequent articles to Augustus; that he should send circular letters to all the palatinates, to signify the cause of his departure; that the two grand-mareschals should have the entire distribution of quarters for the army; that the general of Great Poland, appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Porte, should have fifty thousand crowns from the treasury; that two thousand florins should be given to the envoy from the republic to the cham of Crim Tartary, with the present of ten thousand ducats promised to the cham of Little Tartary; that the treasurer should continue collecting the public revenues; that the deputies from the army should have a certain gratification proportioned to their services; that settling the arrears due to the great-generals should be referred to a diet; that a certain sum should be applied for putting the frontier in a state of defence; and that a regency should be appointed during the king's absence. Having adjusted all these points to the satisfaction of the senate, Augustus left Warsaw with a small train, and arrived at Dresden before the close of the year.

The king repairs to Saxony.

The king had scarce reached his electoral dominions, when repeated letters from the senate, primate, and nobility, desired his return to Poland. Not only the war which broke out in Holstein, and the storms that were gathering in Sweden and Denmark threatened danger to Poland; but the aversion of the Poles to the Saxons required the presence of the monarch to restrain it within the bounds of decency. Saxon blood was every day spilt in some of the palatinates, and the army loudly menaced revenge. Even the nobility of the provinces where they were quartered, frequently declared they would mount on horse back to drive those intruders out of the kingdom. In consequence of this animosity, the unhappy foreigners were under the necessity of perpetually shifting their quarters, to avoid the effects of these discontents and jealousies. Augustus, at such a distance, could not possibly apply the proper remedies to these evils; yet they appeared extremely

dangerous

dangerous to the constitution. His presence at Dresden was equally necessary as in Poland: certain schemes he had formed for the recovery of Livonia rendered it necessary to procure a large supply from the states of the electorate, an aim which could only be accomplished by his own immediate influence. This subsidy was granted, and Europe was astonished to see the storm suddenly break out when it was least expected; and a Saxon army, instead of assisting the Danes in Holstein, turn suddenly to Livonia, carry the fortress of Kober by storm, and form the blockade of Riga (A). Nothing could be more unprovoked and wanton than this attack, of which the king had not given the slightest intimation to the senate or council of Poland. He acted wholly in the affair of Livonia as elector of Saxony, though in that quality he had no claim upon the province. In fact, Patkul, a Livonian nobleman, whom we have had repeated occasion to mention, was the author of this expedition, which ended so fatally to himself and to Augustus. He represented the facility with which this country might be conquered, because the nobility and common people were equally incensed against the tyranny of the Swedish government. The king of Sweden exclaimed against the perfidy of Augustus; but he resolved to defer his vengeance until he had brought the king of Denmark to reason.

He invades Livonia.

In the mean time the court of Saxony thought it necessary to give some colour of justice to their invasion of Livonia, which all the powers of Europe ascribed to the king's ambition; to supply, therefore, a declaration of war, count Fleming, the Saxon general, published a manifesto, after he had reduced some places in Livonia, and committed several acts of hostility. He pretended that his court had received certain advice that the king of Sweden had formed a design of attacking the Saxon army, as soon as the war in Holstein should have left him at liberty to turn his arms from that quarter; and that he (the Saxon) entered Livonia only to frustrate that project, by taking

(A) It must be observed that the czar of Muscovy, the king-elector of Poland, his Danish majesty, and several other princes, had secretly conspired to ravish from Sweden those conquests she had made under the famous Gustavus, Christina, and Charles X. and XI. The reigning prince was a minor, who had yet exhibited no proofs of his capacity. Augustus offered to assist the king of Denmark with eight thousand Saxons; but being refused a passage by the court of Berlin, he suddenly turned his strength towards Livonia, and expected he should easily recover that province, which would render him extremely popular in Poland.

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poſſeſſion of ſuch poſts as were neceſſary to his ſecurity. He offered his protection to the nobles, burghers, and peaſants; but at the ſame time declared, that whoever diſobeyed his orders ſhould be conſidered as rebels, and puniſhed capitally. The public ſaw through the thin diſguiſe; they penetrated into the ambitious views of the Poliſh monarch; but no power offered to aſſiſt the Swede, whoſe ſafety depended wholly upon his own activity and valour. All men agreed that Auguſtus had all the reaſon imaginable to expect ſucceſs, conſidering that Sweden was governed by a minor, and engaged in actual war with a powerful monarchy, always her rival, and frequently her conqueror. Auguſtus flattered himſelf upon the aſſurances of Patkul, that the Livonians would receive his general with open arms, and expreſs the utmoſt eagerneſs to break thoſe galling fetters in which they were held by the Swediſh government; and it was matter of the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to him, that Fleming's manifeſto produced no other effect than that of bringing over ſix obſcure gentlemen to his party. Fear, indeed, and not affection for the Swedes, would ſeem to have operated on the minds of the inhabitants; they lamented the loſs of their liberties, but they had not ſpirit to exert themſelves in ſhaking off the yoke. They had frequently experienced the valour of the Swediſh forces, and regarded a handful of Saxons but as a feeble barrier againſt the vengeance of veterans, trained under the celebrated Guſtavus Adolphus, and that liſt of Swediſh heroes formed by the German war. In vain did Fleming detach parties of horſe and foot up and down the country, offering peace or war: ſcarce any one moved from his habitation, or if he did, it was only to retire at a greater diſtance from the invaders; and there were ſome of the nobility who had the courage to mount on horſe-back, and endeavour to perſuade their countrymen to drive the Saxons out of the province [d].

Foiled in all his attempts to raiſe the nobility and peaſants againſt Sweden, Fleming applied himſelf to the governor and magiſtrates of Riga. Diſappointed in his expectation that the city would ſurrender on the firſt ſummons, he now made uſe of promiſes, and endeavoured to corrupt thoſe whom he could neither perſuade by arguments, nor intimidate by threats. Proving equally unfortunate in this attempt, he put himſelf at the head of two thouſand horſe, and once more ſtrove to engage the nobility in the king's intereſt; but he made no progreſs in his

[d] Fontan. cap. vi.

deſign;

design; while the Swedish governor of Riga profited by the delay, and put himself in a better posture of defence. In the fortress of Dunnamunde he placed a strong garrison, kept up a brisk fire from his artillery, and even ordered a sally to be made, but with little success. Next he set the suburbs on fire, that the houses might not cover the enemy's approaches, and was upbraided with cruelty by Fleming, who wanted to establish some degree of popularity by rendering the conduct of the enemy odious. Dalberg, A.D. 1700. the governor, however, made answer, that what he had done was agreeable to the laws of war, from his ignorance of which Fleming exclaimed, and he was ready to vindicate his conduct in proper time and place before those who were judges. His cool sarcastic reply so irritated Fleming, that he determined to bombard the town, and had erected a battery for that purpose, though he had been just reproaching the governor for burning the suburbs in his own defence: however, before the battery began to play, Augustus sent orders that the town should not be laid in ashes, until every other method was first tried. This injunction obliged Fleming to alter his purpose, and begin his operations with battering Dunnamunde, which commanded the passage of the river, and enabled the besiegers to supply themselves with all manner of provision. It was cannonaded with great fury for six days, when a breach was effected and stormed. The Saxons fought with the utmost intrepidity; but they were repulsed after an obstinate conflict, and driven headlong from the walls, with the loss of general Carlowitz, and six hundred soldiers and inferior officers. Fleming knew the valour of his troops, and resolving not to give the enemy time to repair the breach, he detached two thousand fresh forces, who advanced under the cannon of the fort, and renewed the assault with the utmost magnanimity. The commandant had lost his best officers and soldiers, and the bulk of the garrison was now composed of raw undisciplined persons, forced into the service. No dependence could be placed in their defence; he therefore thought it more adviseable to capitulate, than, by a fruitless resistance, run the hazard of being put to the sword, by troops who resolved to conquer or perish in the breach. Accordingly, a flag of truce was displayed, and he obtained honourable conditions. *Dunnamunde fort taken.*

Fleming was now in possession of an important out-post, on which depended, in a great measure, the fate of Riga; it was, therefore, expected he would prosecute the siege with redoubled spirit. A reinforcement of troops, of cannon, and of military stores arrived, the army was in high spirits,

the besieged despaired of relief, and every circumstance contributed to insure success; yet he contented himself with blocking up the city more closely, and repeating his summons to the governor, by whom it was despised. This conduct was suggested by an unseasonable parsimony; both the king and his general were of opinion they should be able to induce the inhabitants to revolt against Dalberg, and thereby save the consumption of blood and treasure consequent on a regular siege. In a second manifesto which Fleming published, in obedience to the king's command, he offered his protection to those who should throw off the Swedish yoke, and granted all the immunities of commerce to all the towns, and even to Riga, provided the obstinacy of the inhabitants should not compel him to more rigorous measures.

In this train were the affairs of Livonia, when the king returned to Warsaw, and gave orders that the Swedish envoy should immediately quit the Polish dominions; an affront which he drew upon himself, by insinuating to the senators that the Livonian expedition implied a design dangerous to the liberties of the republic, and that Augustus had in view the extension of the royal prerogative, not of the dominions of the republic. The king's whole policy was directed to effect a rupture between Poland and Sweden, in order that he might profit by the secret treaty concluded with the czar, by which it was proposed to deprive the young Swedish monarch of Livonia, and all the lands he possessed between the gulf of Finland, the Baltic, Poland, and Muscovy. The czar was now enabled to pursue the object of this alliance, by concluding a truce for thirty years with the infidels, and the king laboured to bring the republic into his views; but he feared the result of a general diet, as the Poles in general expressed an aversion to a rupture, before the nation had recovered the losses consequent on the late scene of confusion and discord. He flattered himself that he should meet with less opposition from a grand council, and therefore determined upon this method of obtaining the approbation of the republic, though less constitutional and valid than the resolutions of a diet. Even here he was very near sustaining the mortification of a disappointment; for several of the members who composed this assembly expressed their dislike of the Livonian expedition, and the intended rupture with Sweden, by absenting themselves, while others came with great reluctance to Warsaw, with full resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of their sovereign. The meeting was far from being numerous; but there appeared a suf-

a sufficient number to justify the council in proceeding to business. Accordingly, they immediately begun to deliberate on the expedition to Livonia, and the consequences to the republic of a rupture with Sweden. Augustus presided, and opened the council with a speech, setting forth the affronts sustained by the Saxon troops, who were employed in fortifying the gate of Polonga. "I thought it, said he, my duty to revenge these indignities, and the injury regards the Polish nation, as well as the elector of Saxony. As sovereign of both countries, I am interested, but my design in fortifying that gate, was its peculiar importance to the republic; you are therefore obliged to concur in my revenge, and cannot possibly excuse yourselves from assisting me, without betraying the honour and rights of the kingdom. In pursuing the dictates of the revenge here pointed out, the republic will recover great part of her ancient territory, and remove at some distance a neighbour that hath been the constant source of trouble and chagrin." He concluded with an apology for not assembling the diet, which was deferred, he alleged, on account of the dissensions that prevailed in the provincial diets; and he declared, that if a diet should be judged necessary, he was ready to give his assent, in order that a final resolution might be taken respecting Livonia, which he promised upon his royal word should immediately be restored to Poland, upon its coming into his possession. The specious eloquence of Augustus could not prevail; a majority refused to declare their sentiments, and recommended assembling a diet. Others alleged, that the indignity mentioned respected the Saxons only, glanced but very obliquely on the king of Poland, and scarce at all upon the republic, since it was in quality of elector of Saxony, and not as head of the republic, that Augustus had sustained any part of the affront. They added, that the affair was of too little consequence to occasion a rupture between two nations, in which thousands might perish. States, like individuals, must bear with lesser evils to avoid greater; and the misconduct of the governor of a remote province was certainly not to be ascribed to the Swedish administration, before complaint was made and satisfaction demanded. Should the king of Sweden vindicate the insolence of his servant, after the fact had been made evident to him, it would then be time enough to think of hostile measures. A few of the senators would willingly have obliged the king; but they dreaded the thoughts of having a prince at the head of his own troops in the heart of a republic, whose treasures and forces were quite exhausted. Upon

The king endeavours to gain the consent of the republic to a rupture with Sweden.

the whole, it was evident to Augustus, that the council would not consent to the rupture proposed, and he was sensible he should meet with still greater opposition from a diet; he therefore declared his intention of acting agreeable to his engagements with the czar and king of Denmark, which had been ratified by the republic, without farther consulting men who paid no regard to the faith of treaties, or the royal honour.

When we consider that many of the senators and principal nobility were in the king's interest, we shall be the less surprised at the boldness of this resolution. The primate, from whom he had reason to fear the strongest opposition, took his part, and thought it reasonable to wink at some irregularities in the manner of coming to a rupture with Sweden, on account of the benefit the republic would derive from the conquest of Livonia. On the other hand, the bishop of Cujavia, until now attached to every measure proposed by Augustus, made the strongest opposition to a scheme upon which the king had fixed his heart; perhaps for this reason chiefly, that it was espoused by his inveterate enemy. He not only refused appearing at the council, but he likewise wrote to Augustus, telling him plainly, that his attack on Sweden was a gross violation of the rights of nations, and of equity, which the Almighty would not fail to punish, if he did not make proper atonement; a judgment which would seem to be dictated by the spirit of divination. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, and the general dissatisfaction of the nation, Augustus went soon after in person to Livonia, to invigorate the operations by his presence, and commence in form the siege of Riga. Fleming had returned to Warsaw, to solicit a reinforcement of troops and a supply of money, and, during his absence, hostilities had entirely ceased, except the accidental exchange of a few cannot-shot; but the king's arrival infused new life and spirits in the besiegers, and the reinforcement which he brought of ten thousand men, enabled the army completely to invest the city. Several previous motions, however, were requisite. The king found that Fleming had neglected taking possession of the most advantageous posts; he therefore crossed the Duna with the rear of the army, and seized an eminence overgrown with trees and bushes, which served effectually to cover his artillery. The rear-guard was left on the opposite side, to prevent surprize; and here he directed that the enemy should be driven from a rising ground, on which he proposed erecting a battery. All these orders were executed with success, while general Welling, a Swede, had been

He sets out in person for Livonia.

been collecting an army of ten thousand Finlanders, with which he encamped at the distance of half a league from Riga. Imagining that the Saxons were much less numerous than they actually were, he quitted his intrenchments, and Augustus artfully kept up the delusion, by opposing him for two days with very small detachments, by which he drew the Swede into an engagement, that had near proved fatal to his whole army. As soon as Welling had advanced within musket-shot, he was saluted with a storm of bullets from batteries concealed among the woods and bushes; and had he not immediately sounded a retreat, must have been entirely cut in pieces. Encouraged by this advantage, the Saxons descended from the eminences, and pursued the enemy. Welling for a while persisted in his error of believing the king's army less numerous than it was; but after he was surrounded, and his mistake discovered, he fought with the utmost intrepidity, and made good his retreat with the loss of not more than six hundred men.

Gains an advantage over the Swedish general.

Augustus now determined to attack the Finlanders in their intrenched camp; but Welling did not chuse to run the hazard of being stormed, and exposed to the fire of so fine a train of artillery; he therefore decamped without beat of drum, and retired farther into Livonia, with intention to seize all the passes by which the Saxons could plunder the country, having first strongly reinforced the garrison in Riga, which was now deprived of the army that for some time prevented the king of Poland from making regular approaches. The king now finding that all obstruction was removed, invested the city with his whole army, summoned Dalberg to surrender, and was answered by that brave officer, "That he hoped his defence would merit the esteem of so great a monarch." It was, indeed, less the king's inclination to besiege the place than to terrify the inhabitants by menaces, or engage them to submission by promises. When he saw the governor was inflexible, he applied to the people, and sent back thirty of their fellow-citizens, giving them their liberty on a promise that they would use their influence with the burghers of Riga to avoid the effects of the king's indignation. The example of the governor would seem to have animated the inhabitants; they determined to defend the place to the last extremity. So that Augustus made preparations for bombarding the city, and had actually thrown some shot and red-hot bullets, when the Dutch envoy interposed, and threatened vengeance to the republic, if he persisted in the resolution of destroying a town which was filled with the

Forms the siege of Riga.

merchandize of the United Provinces. Whether this declaration operated on the mind of Augustus, or he did not chuse to encounter the Swedish army, which was now in full march from Holstein, is what we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he raised the siege, and deliberated on the means of fulfilling his engagements with the czar in a manner less hazardous. This prince had already declared war against Sweden, advanced at the head of a vast army to invest Narva, and was on the point of coming to blows with Charles XII. then in full march with a handful of forces to the relief of that city. Happily for the czar's reputation, he was not present when the Swedish monarch, with no more than a detachment of eight thousand men, forced the Russian intrenchments, and defeated, with prodigious slaughter, an army of ten times their number. A stroke so unexpected involved Augustus in great perplexity; for he now saw his ally, on whom he depended so much, crushed just as he was meditating a blow against the common enemy, and the young king of Sweden changed from a prince of no very distinguished talents, to a hero equal to the most glorious of his predecessors. It is probable that he would now have listened to the proffered mediation of the emperor and French king, but it was now too late; Charles having routed the Russians, determined to revenge himself on the Saxons, and was accordingly preparing to invade Poland, but the season was too far advanced. The Saxon army, under colonel Schulenburg and general Stenau, having reduced fort Kokenhausen, by which conquest they secured a communication with Russia, covered Courland, and facilitated the establishment of a magazine, was now distributed in winter-quarters.

But is forced to relinquish the enterprize.

All Europe stood astonished at the conduct of Augustus; no reasons could be assigned for his endeavouring to involve the republic in a dangerous war, with a powerful nation, on account of a province which he was to share in conjunction with the czar of Muscovy, the ancient enemy of the republic. Giving the czar footing in Livonia, they foresaw, would only be drawing him so much nearer the frontiers of Poland, and enabling him on the first opportunity to pour his forces into the different provinces of the republic; but it was not considered, that to give employment to a set of factious nobility, at perpetual war with each other, was bringing a very important advantage to Poland and Augustus. The two principal noblemen had renewed their dissensions in Lithuania, and were at the head of hostile armies, desolating each others lands with

Affairs of Lithuania.

the

the fury of barbarians. The reconciliation effected between Sapieha and Oginski was but of short duration; the party of the latter was now headed by the prince Wiesnowniski, and amounted to six thousand men, who were opposed by two thousand of the faction of Sapieha. A battle ensued; the Sapiehas, incensed at the destruction of their lands, marched up with a few pieces of cannon, and attacked the enemy with the utmost fury and intrepidity, and were received with proportioned valour. The conflict was obstinate and bloody; victory was long disputed, but at length declared openly for Oginski, who not only remained master of the field, but obliged the enemy to retire in confusion, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a great number of prisoners. Near a thousand men perished on both sides, and the battle was followed by a scene still more dreadful, as it was transacted in cold blood, which equally evinced the perfidy and the inveterate animosity of the parties. Among the prisoners were the son of the great-general Sapieha, and the starost of Bressau, who capitulated for their lives; nevertheless, on their arrival in the camp of the conquerors, they were cut in pieces by their exasperated enemies, contrary to all the rules of war, as well as in contempt of every dictate of humanity. Nothing could be more distracted than the situation of Poland, rent with civil faction, on the eve of a war with a formidable external enemy, the republic in opposition to the king's measures, the electorate of Saxony exhausting its treasures and spilling its blood in conquering a province which the Poles despised, merely because they would owe no obligations to a people they detested; in a word, all the departments of the state in opposition to each other, the finest provinces desolated, and the inhabitants massacred without compunction. Such was the inauspicious dawn of the reign of the Polish monarch, who was doomed to still greater misfortunes.

When the new year commenced, it was expected that the diet would assemble, restore the public tranquillity, and in particular apply proper remedies to the fatal disorders in Lithuania. These hopes, however, soon vanished, in consequence of a meeting of the senators, wherein it was resolved that the diet should be deferred, on account of several difficulties that were foreseen. The affairs of Lithuania were entrusted to the king's discretion, who was requested to march the Saxon army into the duchy, and take upon himself the protection of the crown-general and the house of Sapieha, which had been grievously oppressed ever since the late unfortunate action. This resolution facilitated all the projects formed by Augustus, which were

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Resolution of the Polish senate.

chiefly directed to support the war in Livonia, and the family of Sapieha in Lithuania. Putting off the diet, because it would probably oppose a rupture with Sweden, tended to enable him to execute his engagements with Muscovy, and the march of the Saxon army into the duchy absolutely put Lithuania in his power. He did not fail to embrace the favourable conjuncture; and, not doubting but the Swedish conqueror would push his advantage, and fall upon the Saxons, he used every method of encouraging the czar, and enabling him again to take the field. It was now agreed that the allied monarchs should have an interview, to concert a plan of operations, and Birzen, a small town in Lithuania, was fixed upon for the place of meeting: here the czar and Augustus met, and plunged themselves in the most riotous pleasures, as if their dominions had been in profound peace, and the sole intention of the interview was to make trial of the strength of their constitutions, and their several inclinations for the most shameful excesses. For the space of fifteen days the princes were in a perpetual state of inebriation, Augustus indulging the humour of his savage ally, and that passion which, during his whole life, he entertained for drinking strong liquors; however, in the midst of these tumultuous, beastly joys, the king-elector presented the czar with a plan of warlike operations, which they were to execute in concert. It was eagerly embraced by Peter, who perfectly well comprehended, at the first glance, the benefits which would redound from it to his country, as it was the certain method of training the Russians to the art of war. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the czar stipulated to bring two hundred thousand men into the field by the month of June, to send fifty thousand men into Poland, to be instructed in the military art, to pay three millions of rixdollars in the space of two years to the Polish monarch, with some other articles of less importance. In return, Augustus consented to furnish fifty thousand Germans, who should instruct the Muscovites, and to maintain besides, in Poland, Saxony, and the frontier, a body of twenty-eight thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Livonia, Ingria, and Finland, were the scenes destined for their warlike operations.

Interview between the czar and Augustus.

This treaty and plan having been mutually signed, Augustus returned to his Polish capital, to prepare matters for the execution of his engagements; but here he met with a variety of obstructions, some of them quite unexpected and unforeseen. Murmurs were not only raised against the Saxon troops, though the senate had expressly requested they should be employed in Lithuania, but Augustus was taxed

taxed with having neglected the promises made at his coronation; and in particular, the discharge of several considerable sums on account of the republic. The prorogation of the diet was another grievance of which the nobility loudly complained, especially in the provinces, where the clamours were much louder than about the court and in the capital. Petty diets were held in divers places: the diet of Great Poland resolved to send a deputation to the king, to demand that he would assemble the general diet in the month of May ensuing, instead of September, as had been proposed at the council of senators; that he would terminate the civil divisions in Lithuania; that he would dismiss the Saxons; that he would conclude a solid peace with Sweden; and, lastly, that he would protest against the title of king of Prussia, and the coronation of the elector of Brandenburg, so highly injurious to the republic. Augustus was forced to receive this deputation with the utmost complaisance, and to promise indirectly almost every article of their demands. The first step taken to satisfy the deputies was the assembling the diet on the 30th of May at Warsaw; for Augustus was sensible that the provincial diet of Great Poland had expressed the sentiments of the whole republic. As the Lithuanians objected to Sapieha's being honoured with that distinction, the staff of marescbal was deposited in the hands of the nuncio of Posnania, which was the only measure embraced with unanimity: every other proposition was opposed and disputed with uncommon vehemence. A motion, that the king should be addressed with the usual formality, first indicated the sentiments of the diet. Instead of deliberating on this proposition, the deputies began with urging their grievances, all of which they attributed to the king's breach of the engagements he had entered into at his coronation, and the residence of the Saxons in Poland, whence arose damages to the republic estimated at twenty millions. Some went so far as to insist upon reparation from Augustus, and a positive promise that the foreign troops should immediately evacuate Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, and Courland. This last proposition was opposed: however, it was voted by a majority, that a remonstrance, requiring the dismission of the Saxons, should be presented to the throne. A deputation accordingly waited on Augustus, and, besides the articles stipulated, made a demand that peace should be concluded with Sweden, an end put to the divisions in Lithuania, and all foreign ministers removed from his person, or at least from the Polish councils; notwithstanding he was allowed by the pacta conventa to retain a certain number of Saxon senators.

Deputation to the king. March 20.

The diet assembles.

Augustus

Augustus declared, that he was ready to dismiss his Saxon troops, provided the republic would secure him against the designs of the Swedish monarch; but this answer did not prove satisfactory. He was required to fix the time for the departure of the Saxon troops, immediately to interpose the royal authority to quiet the dissensions in the great-duchy, and to remove general Fleming from the office of master of the horse in Lithuania. The nuncio of Posnania was charged with this commission to the king: he delivered the request of the diet: and had for answer, that his majesty would issue writs for the meeting of another diet in the month of December, and that he would dismiss the Saxons as soon as peace should be concluded with Sweden. The answer was by no means sufficient to quiet the diet; yet it is remarkable, that this assembly broke up without ever taking it into consideration, without murmuring, or offering any renewal of their complaints [e].

The diet breaks up.

In the mean time the active Swedish monarch was taking measures to disconcert the projects formed by Peter the Great and Augustus. A spy, whom he maintained at Birzen, gave him information of all that had been transacted at that conference; and he now took the resolution of attacking the Saxons, who were encamped on the Dwina, before they should be reinforced by the expected succours of Russians and Cossacks. At the head of fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, he crossed the river in the teeth of the enemy. The Saxons, commanded by the duke of Courland, made some resistance, but were in the end defeated, and forced to take shelter under the cannon of Birzen, after having blown up the fortifications of Kokenhausen, which they had lately taken great pains to fortify.

The Saxons defeated, and the consequences.

This single advantage inflamed the victorious Charles with the desire of pushing his designs far beyond the revenge which he at first meditated. Several neutral powers interposed, and offered their mediation to effect a reconciliation between Sweden and Poland; but Charles declared he had not leisure to give audience, and could not, in fact, enter upon negociations before the end of the campaign, by which time he hoped to be able to dethrone Augustus. Vast and ideal as this project appeared, it was justified by the event; and, indeed, a variety of circumstances concurred in rendering the issue of the war unfortunate to the Polish monarch. When the news of the defeat of the Saxons arrived at Warsaw, the court was overwhelmed

[e] Parthen. lib. iv. vol. i.

with

with terror and despondency, while all the republicans rejoiced at it, as an event extremely advantageous to Poland. Apprehending that the republic had nothing to fear from the Swedish arms, they congratulated themselves on the prospect that the kingdom would at length be delivered from those hated foreigners, who preyed upon her vitals, and alone basked in the smiles of the sovereign. The primate wrote a letter to the Swedish monarch, reminding him of the constant affection and good faith of the republic towards the crown and states of Sweden, explaining the opposition made by the diet to the present unhappy rupture, and requesting his majesty not to violate the treaties subsisting between the two kingdoms by any attack upon the frontiers or privileges of the republic. A deputation from Lithuania addressed this prince in similar terms, assuring him of the strict regard which the duchy would pay to the treaty of Oliva, and the scrupulous delicacy with which the Lithuanians would decline every measure that might give umbrage to so great a monarch. These submissions served only to exalt the pride of the Swede, who told the Lithuanian deputies, that he could not see how the republic had so inviolably preserved her friendship for Sweden, as she must in some measure be deemed accessary to the measures of her sovereign, who could neither maintain a foreign army, nor of consequence begin hostilities, without her consent. His answer to the primate was more gentle: he expressed no resentment against the republic; on the contrary, he even declared his inclination to maintain a good understanding between the two nations; and desired that the Poles would not take umbrage at his quartering his army in Courland, which was a necessary consequence of the share which duke Ferdinand took in the ambitious designs formed by the elector of Saxony. He hinted at the breach of the engagements entered into by Augustus, his encroachment on the liberties of the Polish constitution, the oppressive conduct of the Saxons, and his readiness to assist the diet in the defence of their laws and privileges.

Augustus was sensible of the dangerous effect which this letter, improved by the address of his enemies, might work upon the minds of the Polish nobility, and, therefore, determined to gain their confidence by a sacrifice the most grateful to those staunch republicans. Immediately he issued orders for dismissing the Saxons, and thereby roused the states to a just sense of the dangerous designs of the Swedish monarch, and a resolution to defend the person and dignity of their sovereign with their lives and properties.

The primate's artful conduct.

ties. Even the primate, who had entered into a correspondence with Charles, was moved by this instance of the regard which Augustus paid to the inclinations of the Poles; and wrote circular letters to all the palatinates, in which he observed, that as the king had withdrawn his hereditary troops from Courland and Lithuania, it was the duty of the republic to provide for the security of his person and dignity, as he had left himself destitute of forces, from a desire of removing the jealousy entertained by the Polish nation. "The danger (said he) is not remote, or on the frontiers, but in the heart of the republic; therefore there is no time left for tedious deliberations." In this manner did this artful prelate temporize, and ballance between his private interest and his duty to his king and country. On the defeat of the Saxons he expected nothing less than that the king of Sweden would have penetrated into the heart of Poland, and, therefore, he paved the way to his favour: as soon as he found that Augustus had gained the confidence of the republic, by the dismission of the foreign troops, he relinquished the Swede, and paid his court to his own natural sovereign, advising the palatinates to a measure upon which he expected they would enter without his persuasion, and even contrary to his inclinations. The future conduct of this ambitious cunning ecclesiastic is the best comment on the policy which he pursued on this occasion. The archbishop's circular letters were seconded by others from the king, in which he threw himself entirely upon the Poles, not doubting but their zeal and loyalty would fully compensate the loss he sustained by the dismission of his hereditary troops. These letters were answered by the palatines of Cracow, Lublin, and Sandomir, by a deputation to the king, expressing their readiness to lay down their fortunes and lives in his service: several other palatinates declared all who did not employ their utmost influence and power in preserving the honour, dignity, and person of their king, traitors both to their king and country. Every day brought fresh assurances to the court, that the pospolite would mount to oppose the Swedes, and every attack on the royal authority, or the privileges and honour of the republic. Even the senate came to the resolution of declaring war upon Charles, if he continued to aspire after conquest; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train to answer the most sanguine wishes of Augustus. However, the state of affairs in Lithuania, threatened to throw all things again into confusion.

Augustus

Augustus had no sooner dismissed the Saxons than the family of Sapieha discovered they could no longer rely upon his protection against their powerful enemies. It was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to some other prince, whose authority might screen them against Oginski's schemes of revenge, and the most natural was the Swedish monarch, the vicinity of whose forces afforded a certain prospect of speedy relief. With this view they entered into a treaty with Charles, and engaged to favour his designs with all their interest; an engagement which obliged the Oginski faction to throw themselves into the arms of Augustus, and entirely renounce their principles, merely in opposition to their rivals. They sent deputies to Warsaw, offering to support the king at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; at the same time declaring, that they had never opposed his government, but only the ambition of the Sapiehas, whose false information had misled his majesty, and filled him with suspicions and prejudices against his most loyal subjects. This sudden change of parties soon produced hostilities between the Swedes and Lithuanians. Charles detached two hundred dragoons to the assistance of Sapieha: they took post at the pass of Kroling, were attacked by Oginski at the head of two thousand men; but through the gallantry of their conduct, they repulsed the Lithuanian chief. This victorious detachment was reinforced by two thousand Swedes, under the conduct of a Scottish officer, who had orders to push Oginski with the utmost vigour; and, in a few days, the king in person entered the duchy, at the head of the horse-guards and a strong corps of grenadiers. By this time Oginski had assembled an army of near fifteen thousand men, with which he might have made head against the Swedish monarch, had he not imprudently weakened himself at this critical juncture, by detaching a strong party to desolate the lands belonging to the chancellor Radzivil, who had taken part with his enemies. This step rendered him an easy prey to the Swede, who now attacked him with such impetuosity as soon obtained a victory; after which Charles, without hesitation, quartered his forces in the duchy of Lithuania and the province of Samogitia. To this advantage was added the surrender of Dunemunde fort, which Caunitz, the governor, was forced to deliver into the hands of the Swedish general Dalberg, after having withstood a tedious blockade, and the utmost extremities for want of provision.

Revolutions in Lithuania.

At this time the diet was assembled, agreeable to the promise made by Augustus; and it was apprehended, from the

The diet assembles.

the different and almoſt contradictory inſtructions given to the deputies, that great heats and violent debates would enſue. Some were charged not to enter upon any buſineſs before a mareſchal ſhould be regularly elected; while others were inſtructed to pay no regard to this circumſtance, but to oppoſe every other propoſition, until the affairs of Lithuania ſhould be placed upon a proper footing. A few of the deputies had orders to inſiſt that the Sapiehas ſhould be declared traitors, and enemies to their country. One point, out of the multitude which were propoſed, met with univerſal aſſent; and this proceeded from the motion of the nuncio of Ruſſia, that the king ſhould be aſked, by a ſolemn deputation, whether it was in fact agreeable to him, that the differences of the grand-duchy ſhould be accommodated? It is not ſurpriſing that the king was ſhocked with a queſtion which tended to throw ſuſpicions upon his honour: however, he kept his temper, and anſwered the deputies with great moderation, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to compoſe the troubles of Lithuania; but as they proved inadequate, he hoped the republic would apply more powerful remedies to a diſorder which required all their attention, as it ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of all government, and the ſubverſion of the Poliſh conſtitution. To two other propoſitions, implying a demand that he would puniſh the authors of the Livonian expedition, and diſmiſs the Saxon troops quartered in Mazovia, he anſwered, that the expedition againſt Livonia was undertaken in conſequence of the pacta conventa, to which he had ſworn. By theſe he was engaged to attempt the recovery of the provinces which had been wreſted from the republic; and as to the Saxons in the province of Mazovia, he declared his ignorance; but promiſed, that if any foreign troops were found in the province, they ſhould be ſpeedily diſmiſſed.

The next propoſition made to Auguſtus was, that he would again ſet on foot the treaties commenced relative to the affairs of Lithuania; and that a preciſe time ſhould be fixed for a conference between the deputies of the diet and thoſe of the ſenate: to which his majeſty made a ſatisfactory reply by nominating the commiſſioners, and referring the reſt entirely to the diet. Accordingly the conferences opened, and the great points debated reſpected a general amneſty, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of Sapieha. The Lithuanians oppoſed the latter, and the houſe of Sapieha the former: however, it was at length agreed, that the family of Sapieha ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all its eſtates, offices, dignities, and prerogatives; that

all

all hostilities and damages committed, or sustained by either party, should be forgot, and pardoned by a general amnesty; and that the dispute between the houses of Sapieha and Radzivil, about the tuition of the princess of Newburg, should be referred to arbitration. The accommodation was signed, and reported to the diet. Several motions were made by divers members, and it was proposed to send an embassy to the king of Sweden; but, instead of deliberating upon this subject, the assembly broke up tumultuously on the 7th day of February, to the great disappointment of those who expected to build their own fortunes on the public disturbances; and also to the mortification of the king, who hoped he had gained the confidence of the diet by his ready dismission of the Saxons; a measure which he now began with reason to repent. Public business was transacted by a general council, to which the king made overtures that were rejected. He commissioned the palatine of Marienburg to acquaint the council, that he would advance to the army two quarters arrears out of his own coffers, provided he might have the assistance of the Polish forces against the Swedes; and he demanded permission to recall twelve thousand Saxons, until the Polish army could be sufficiently augmented to make head against the public enemy, whose ambitious views appeared sufficiently evident. The council referred to an answer to be made by the primate, who now again resumed his correspondence with the king of Sweden, and easily evinced his partiality in the manner of his reply. As to the payment of the army, that, he said, would be an unnecessary expence to his majesty, since the troops could not act without the consent of the republic; and, with respect to the return of the Saxons, it would prove the surest means of exciting fresh troubles in the kingdom. Augustus, besides, put a variety of other questions to the council, which sufficiently demonstrated the difficulties that attended his situation. He asked, what means the council proposed for driving the Swedes out of Lithuania? Whether they resolved to grant an audience to the czar's ambassador? What security they had provided for the royal person, and the dignity of the republic, in case the king of Sweden advanced farther into the Polish dominions? and, What funds were provided for the support of an army, and the expences of the artillery and ammunition? An answer was made by a resolution taken to mount the pospolite, that the republic might be able to defend herself, in case of necessity; and the king was advised to apply to the powers who were guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to give audience

A.D. 1702.

audience to the czar's ambaſſador, and to appoint proper perſons for an embaſſy to the king of Sweden.

Deputation to the king of Sweden.

In conſequence of the deliberations of the council, an embaſſy, compoſed of five ſenators, ſet out to attend the Swediſh monarch in Lithuania; but Vander Sacken, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had ſent to notify the embaſſy to the king of Sweden, was put under arreſt by that prince, becauſe he had neglected to procure a paſſport from the primate and ſenate, and was therefore conſidered as the emiſſary of Auguſtus. The ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect; but Charles told them he would hold the conference at Warſaw, and accordingly began his march, publiſhing a manifeſto by the way, in which he declared that he would not quit Poland until he had driven his enemy from the throne, and eſtabliſhed a ſucceſſor. He invited the Poles to join him, and aſſured them that his intention was to preſerve their liberties. He even endeavoured to demonſtrate that the intereſts of the republic and of Sweden were directly ſimilar, and ought to unite both nations in promoting his deſigns. He proceeded to Warſaw with great rapidity, and Auguſtus left that city four days before the arrival of the Swedes. Before his departure he ſummoned a council, and procured a reſolution, that the crown-army ſhould take the field, and aſſemble by the end of the month of May in the neighbourhood of Leopold, where the king might be allowed to join it with the ſix thouſand Saxons, ſtipulated for his guard by the pacta conventa. It was however inſiſted, that not only the Poles but the Saxons likewiſe ſhould be under the command of the crown-general; and that the foreign troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, as ſoon as peace was concluded. At the ſame time the king publiſhed his univerſalia, or writs, for aſſembling the poſpolite by the middle of the month of May, and ſent orders to Saxony for the immediate march of his hereditary forces; but, whatever expedition he uſed, his enemies were at the gates of the capital before the troops could aſſemble. Warſaw ſurrendered without a blow; and this event was followed by a private conference between the artful primate, attended by the equally perfidious great-treaſurer, and the king of Sweden. It was even affirmed, that Auguſtus ſo far deſpaired of being able to reſiſt his victorious enemy, that he endeavoured to ſet on foot an accommodation, by means of the witty and beauteous counteſs of Konigſmark, who made a viſit to Charles in his camp; but was refuſed an audience.

Although the plan for depoſing Auguſtus was concerted, as moſt people imagined, by the primate and treaſurer at the

the interview with Charles, greater difficulties now ſtarted up than had been foreſeen. A Saxon army was come to his relief; and the palatines of Cracow, Siradia, Great Poland, Volhinia, and Sandomir, were arming in defence of the monarch. Already he had collected twenty-two thouſand men, and the poſpolite was preparing to mount. With this force he reſolved to come to action, and accordingly began his march in purſuit of the king of Sweden, who was equally forward to engage, though inferior in numbers. Near Gliſſow the two kings met, a bloody battle was fought, and Auguſtus being entirely defeated, fled before the conqueror to Cracow; the inhabitants of which had the courage to ſhut their gates in the face of the victorious Swediſh army. The king of Poland had on this occaſion diſplayed great valour and military ſkill: he fought like a prince who merited a crown, and knew the value of the regal dignity. *Battle of Gliſſow.*

A bruiſe which Charles received by a fall from his horſe, prevented his proſecuting his advantage, and furniſhed Auguſtus with the means of convoking a diet, re-aſſembling the ſcattered remains of his army, procuring a reinforcement of eight thouſand Saxons, and of being joined by part of the poſpolite of Little Poland. This aſſembly proteſted againſt the manifeſto which had been publiſhed by the king of Sweden; determined to ſupport Auguſtus on the throne, and ſent deputies to the palatinates of Great Poland, to deſire their concurrence with the reſolutions taken by the provincial diet of Sandomir. The ſpirited conduct of this province produced no effect in Great Poland, where the civil diſorders ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as unanimity was become neceſſary. Inſtead of entering upon meaſures for the protection of the ſovereign and the republic, the nobility were on the point of coming to blows with each other, thereby cutting off not only all proſpect of being able to reſiſt the common enemy, but endangering the entire ſubverſion of the government. A few propoſed imitating the example of Sandomir, and forming a confederacy in favour of Auguſtus; others propoſed declaring for Charles; a third party thought it better that the aſſociation ſhould take place, for protecting the liberties of the republic againſt all encroachments; and a fourth gave their opinions againſt all parties and confederacies, which they ſaid ought to depend on contingencies. This ſpirit of diſſenſion, and an apprehenſion that the king of Sweden would think the embaſſy was not ſufficiently authorized to treat of an accommodation, determined Auguſtus to appoint a new aſſembly of the ſenators. This

meeting was held accordingly; and the primate had an audience of the king, who, not yet entertaining any well-grounded suspicion of his fidelity, gave him leave to send an express with propofals of peace to the Swedish monarch. The prelate wrote to that prince in terms extremely pathetic; but with a coldness for king Augustus, which plainly declared his sentiments. All that he said respected the republic: the king's affairs he referred to his agent, who accompanied the express. The embassy set out for Cracow, where the Swedish monarch resided; but was refused an audience, under pretence that his Swedish majesty could not determine whether he was at war or peace with the republic. However, both Charles and his minister count Piper answered the prelate's letter; and the terms in which they expressed themselves gave Augustus some light into the ambiguous conduct of that prelate.

The Polish envoys are refused audience.

When it was known that the embassy had been denied audience, a new council was assembled, and fresh instructions were given to the ambassadors to repeat their request of being admitted to a conference. The deputies obeyed their instructions, but met with another refusal; Charles was now recovered from his late disorder, and resolved to pursue his military operations, which he knew would cut off all altercation, and bring matters to a speedy issue. Leaving a sufficient garrison at Cracow, he put himself at the head of his army, and advanced to Warsaw by slow marches; upon advice of which motion, the king of Poland made haste to join the Saxon army quartered in Prussia. On his arrival at Thorn, he summoned a council secretly, and then passed on to Dresden, resolving to return by the day fixed for the meeting. What his intention was in going to Dresden is not clear; but the hurry in which he came back to Prussia proved fruitless. Neither the primate, the great-general, nor some of the principal nobility, attended the council, and the few who came were embarrassed and divided in their sentiments. Nothing, in short, met with unanimous consent, except a proposition to acquaint the king of Sweden, that the republic had resolved to accept the emperor's mediation, and to declare war in case he refused to accept so equitable a proposal. For some time the court of Vienna had laboured to effect an accommodation; and Augustus, to facilitate the designs of the aulic council, had detached eight thousand of the Saxon troops to his imperial majesty, perhaps, indeed, with a view of biassing the mediator. All however that count Zinzendorf could urge produced no alteration in Charles; he rejected the offered interposition, and determined upon receiving no other

other conditions than a formal abdication of the crown of Poland, signed by the hand of Augustus himself.

About this time a circumstance occurred which more than ever inflamed the resentment of the Swedish monarch, and likewise involved the republic in disputes with the court of Versailles. Augustus had seized upon the French envoys going to Warsaw, one to the king of Sweden, the other to the republic. The latter had been ordered to quit the dominions of Poland; but he replied to the messenger sent by Augustus, that he was ambassador to the states of the republic as well as to his majesty. The news of this event no sooner reached the court of France than all the Poles in that kingdom were laid under arrest. The marquis de Torcy wrote to the primate, complaining in the most bitter terms of the gross infraction committed on the law of nations, and demanding to know whether the envoys had been confined by the republic's consent, or only by the king's orders? The primate, in consequence of this expostulation, wrote to Augustus, in a manner that shewed how much he disapproved of his conduct. "I cannot, says he, carry my respect for your majesty so far as to vindicate an action which all men of honour must condemn." He then deplored the unhappy state of the republic, always doomed to share in the punishment however guiltless; and concluded with observing, "that sad experience ought to have made the king better acquainted with the characters of those blind guides, who, instead of conducting him to the temple of glory, were hurrying him on to the pit of ignominy and destruction." Augustus answered this letter, and evidently shewed by the ironical sarcastic turn of his expression, that he at length suspected the zeal of the primate. "I beseech you, said he, my good cousin, neither to strain too far your complaisance or your dissimulation upon my account: let each of us preserve that power which is vested in us by the constitution, and do you remember that while I am king you are nothing more than a simple archbishop." Augustus however condescended to explain the motives upon which the ambassadors had been arrested, and declared that a full account of the affair was sent to Versailles, which he doubted not would fully justify his proceedings [a].

Augustus arrests the French envoys.

Altercations with the primate.

Upon this occasion it was that the primate, of his own authority, ventured to summon a great council of the senators, for which purpose he published circular letters in the same style as if he had been pro-rex during an inter- A.D. 1703.

[a] Font. cap. v.

regnum. In these letters he passionately lamented the decay of public spirit in the republic, and the indifference with which the Poles beheld the ruin of their country, as if no regard for law, justice, or liberty remained, and every spark of valour and virtue had been extinguished. After much declamation on the degeneracy of the times, and the dangerous situation in which Poland stood on the very brink of destruction, he added, that in discharge of his conscience, in pity to his country, and in order to express his zeal for the public service, as well as by virtue of the authority vested in the archiepiscopal dignity, he took upon
Feb. 15. him to require a meeting of the senate at Warsaw, to concert means for the preservation of the state at this critical juncture. Few, however, of the nobility paid any regard to these circular letters, some refusing to admit the primate's authority, while others pleaded that while the citadel was in the hands of the Swedes, they could not declare their opinions freely; and the prelate was under the necessity of putting off the council to a more seasonable opportunity.

The archbishop's disappointment afforded cause of triumph to Augustus, and, indeed, his affairs immediately assumed a more promising aspect. Several provinces assured him of their zeal and loyalty by deputies sent to Marienburg, in which city the king had for some time resided. Many of them advised him to publish his universalia for assembling a general diet; but Augustus, apprehending the consequence of divisions among the nobility, contented himself with issuing writs for a general council of the senate to be held at Marienburg. The letters published on this occasion were replete with a variety of truths, which bore hard upon the character of the Swedish king: they accordingly gave great offence to that monarch, and extinguished every sentiment of peace in his mind, if he ever entertained thoughts of an accommodation. But this circumstance gave little uneasiness to Augustus, who saw himself rising in the esteem of the nobility and senate, many of whom he entirely gained over to his interest by his caresses, promises, blandishments, and that easy politeness of which he was so great a master. The senatus-concilium met, the assembly was numerous, and the first resolution taken evinced the influence which Augustus had established. It was decreed, that as the republic had been equally injured by the pretended friendship of the king of Sweden, and by his avowed enmity, that prince ought therefore to be considered in the latter capacity;

A council assembled at Marienburg.

that

that the resolution of the diet of Sandomir should be confirmed, for uniting the whole republic against Sweden; that the nobility and a general diet should be summoned to assemble in the open field; that all assemblies held by the primate should be deemed illegal and a violation of the constitution; that orders should be issued to the generals of the army to oppose the Swedes; and that the assembly should stand by the king, and venture their lives and fortunes in his service. A motion that a confederacy should be formed for the security of the regal dignity and the republic, met with opposition. The primate had raised a party to frustrate this measure, and now he demanded satisfaction for the injury done to his character and dignity by the decree of the assembly, insisting that in the present circumstances of affairs he was vested with a legal authority to summon a council of the senate. To assert his right he appointed the 16th day of April for a council at Warsaw, and expected that the senators who attended the king's writs would pay the same obedience to his, as soon as the council at Marienburg should be dissolved. Thus the primate once more declared openly against the king, and set at defiance the regal dignity. Two parties were formed, which denied each other the right of acting in the name of the republic. Augustus could allow the primate no authority, and this opinion seemed to be founded upon the true constitution of Poland, by which the primate had no other authority than that of first senator and his spiritual prerogatives, except during an interregnum; while, on the other hand, the prelate declared the resolutions of the councils held by the king were illegal, until he gave his assent [b]. In a word, it was apparent that the primate had declared tacitly for the king of Sweden; that all hopes of peace were vanished; and that the two kings would now exert their utmost ability to drive each other out of Poland.

Already Augustus had an army of fifty thousand men at his disposal. The Lithuanians under Oginski amounted to thirty-five thousand men; the remainder were Saxons, upon whom Augustus knew he could depend. The czar had indeed engaged to send an army of a hundred thousand men into Lithuania; and had he executed his promise, the king of Poland would have been in a condition to secure the dignity of his crown, and avenge himself of the Swedish monarch. But no danger moved Charles; camps were perpetually shifted, and a kind of emulation arose

[b] Parthen. lib. iv.

who should prove the most successful in ruining the territories of the republic. Mutual declarations and recriminations now passed, which more than ever confirmed Augustus in the opinion that the primate had acted treacherously, by concerting matters with his rival, and that it would be necessary to assemble a general diet. While he was preparing to issue writs for this purpose, the king of Sweden attacked the Saxons encamped at Paltusk, and obtained an easy victory, after an engagement in which Augustus lost near two thousand men, either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners, together with all his cannon and baggage; general Stenau, who commanded them, escaped with the utmost difficulty. Charles pursued his advantage, penetrated into Prussia, blockaded Thorn, and put garrisons into Graudentz and the little town of Strazburg, which opened its gates without any shew of resistance.

The Saxons are defeated.

Though this victory produced nothing decisive, it nevertheless more than ever confirmed the primate in his attachment to Sweden, which he found the republic and Augustus would never be able to resist. Yet he acted with the utmost circumspection, and such duplicity, that he reinstated himself entirely in the opinion of a great number of the nobility, who had entertained suspicions unfavourable to his character. While the diet was sitting at Lublin he wrote a letter to Charles, accusing him of a breach of the privileges of the republic, and insisting upon his withdrawing his forces from Prussia; but he at the same time took care that his letter should be intercepted, and produced at the diet, by which artifice he gained the reputation of a strenuous patriot, who had been grossly misrepresented by evil-disposed persons. Having thus paved the way for a good reception from that assembly, he set out for Lublin, attended by a great retinue of nobility and gentry, and was met on the road by several members of the diet. Such deference was shewn this hypocrite, that the diet returned his letter sealed up; but he was denied audience of the king, until he had taken the oath to which the members of the council at Marienburg, and the diet at Sandomir, had sworn.

Diet at Lublin.

The diet of Lublin had been opened by the king in person, on the 25th day of June; and now that the primate and his friends had taken all the oaths required, it was hoped the basis of concord and unanimity was fully established; yet there arose several debates, which rendered it necessary to prolong the session for three days beyond the usual period. Before this time was expired, the diet had agreed upon certain resolutions, couched in six articles to the following

following purport: that the crown-army ſhould be augmented to thirty-ſix thouſand men; and that the Lithuanians, including the Saxon auxiliaries in that duchy, ſhould be increaſed to twelve thouſand. To maintain this force a poll-tax was laid upon the Jews, and a duty upon all made liquors. By the ſecond article, the king of Sweden was allowed ſix weeks to give his final reſolutions relative to peace or war. The third article allowed the ſame ſpace of time to the houſe of Sapieha, to return to the duty which it owed to the king and republic; in default of which all perſons of that family were to be declared traitors. The fourth article annexed ſevere penalties to any mention of declaring the throne vacant. The fifth veſted the king with a power of forming ſuch alliances as would be neceſſary to the ſecurity of the crown and ſtate, in caſe the Swediſh monarch ſhould perſiſt in his ambitious deſigns: and by the laſt article a tax was laid upon all the water-mills in the kingdom, to ſatisfy the king of Pruſſia's claim upon Elbing. The laſt act of the diet was to prepare an inſtrument to unite the ſeveral members of the republic, under the title of the Mutual Proteſt and Agreement of the ſeveral Orders of the Kingdom; but the effects of this inſtrument of coalition were fruſtrated by the conduct of the nobility of Great Poland, where it would ſeem the primate had gained an aſcendant. The nobility of this province had entered into a confederacy to prevent the ruin of their country, and to preſerve their liberties; and the king of Sweden took advantage of this circumſtance to invite the reſt of the republic to join in the confederacy, by whom he hoped to augment the diviſions of this already diſtracted kingdom. He publiſhed a manifeſto, offering his protection to all ſober-minded well-diſpoſed perſons, and threatening vengeance to all who adhered to the pernicious aſpiring ſchemes formed by king Auguſtus, whom he now diſtinguiſhed only by the title of elector of Saxony. The confederates were cheared and animated by this declaration, which encouraged them to demand peace of the king of Sweden by a deputation. The deputies were well received; but Charles told them, in a reſolute tone, that the depoſition of Auguſtus muſt be the preliminary condition of his compliance with their requeſt.

Auguſtus declares the confederates traitors.

The meaſures taken by the nobility of Great Poland gave great offence to Auguſtus, who declared in a rage, that henceforward he ſhould treat them as traitors; but this paſſionate denunciation, inſtead of intimidating the confederates, ſerved only to augment the number of his enemies. A variety of palatines joined the confederated no-

bility, and Auguſtus was daily abandoned by ſome of the lords in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence. To complete his embarraſſment, the Saxon troops were too few to face the Swedes, and too much diſpirited by their late defeats to think of coming again to action with an enemy whom they regarded as invincible. The crown-army, relaxed in its zeal for his ſervice, and attachment to his perſon; the primate's intrigues added to his perplexity, and he now began to entertain the idea of taking refuge in Saxony, under pretence of viſiting his hereditary dominions. The primate oppoſed this reſolution; but Auguſtus ſuſpected his ſincerity, and believed that the artful prelate had his own deſigns, and was actually in a conſpiracy againſt his life and liberty.

Thorn taken by the Swedes.

Matters were now drawing towards a criſis. The Swedes were eager to come to a deciſive engagement, and Charles indulged their ardor, by turning the blockade of Thorn into a regular ſiege. Trenches were formed, batteries erected, and the Swediſh cannon played ſo furiouſly, that in a few days the city was reduced to rubbiſh. By the 14th of October the governor was forced to ſubmit at diſcretion to the conqueror. Charles thought of diſmantling the place; but the inhabitants redeemed their walls and gates at the price of forty thouſand crowns. The cities of Dantzick and Elbing were chaſtiſed for the ſpirit the magiſtrates had ſhewn in refuſing a paſſage to a body of Swedes; and Auguſtus oppoſed all theſe military operations only by a fruitleſs council of ſenators, whom he aſſembled at Javarow. Here the king propoſed renewing the alliance with the czar, his only remaining reſource; a ſtep to which he was impelled by Patkul, who had now entered the ſervice of that prince, and was authoriſed by the diet at Lublin; but the grand-mareſchal of the crown, and ſeveral ſenators, proteſted againſt ſending an embaſſy to Ruſſia, leſt it ſhould put an entire ſtop to the negotiations with the king of Sweden. Nor was this the only mortification he ſuffered; for the council paſſed an act, in which they decreed, that the regal authority was ſubordinate to the power of the diet; upon which Auguſtus broke up the aſſembly in diſguſt, repaired to Cracow, and, after a ſhort ſtay in the capital, ſet out privately for his electoral dominions. His departure furniſhed the primate with the faireſt opportunity he could wiſh to execute his deſigns: he ſummoned an aſſembly at Warſaw on the 14th of January, to which the Swediſh commiſſaries were invited. There, by dint of addreſs and intrigue, he procured a reſolution, ſigned by himſelf, the biſhop of Poſnania, nine palatines, and the caſtellan

castellan of Plosko, declaring Augustus fallen from all right and title to the crown of Poland, for having violated the liberties of the people, who by the pacta conventa were thus far discharged from their oaths of obedience, and engagements of fidelity and allegiance. A decree likewise passed to seize upon the revenues of the crown; the primate proclaimed an inter-regnum, and the king of Sweden recommended prince James Sobieski as a proper successor to the deposed Augustus. Severe and unexpected as this stroke certainly must have been, the unfortunate monarch was not discouraged; he still hoped that some favourable change of circumstances, the tyrannical spirit of Charles, the inconstancy of the Poles, his own perseverance, the valour of the Saxons, and the interposition of the maritime powers, whose interest it was to check the aspiring views of his enemies, might effect a change in his affairs. He regarded the confederacy as a faction founded upon caprice, which would break and dissolve with the first shock of disappointment; besides, the whole association were too inconsiderable a part of the republic, to pass decrees which should be deemed legal and decisive. They were likewise divided about a successor, some supporting the claim of James Sobieski, while others espoused the pretensions of prince Lubomirski, each party being just sufficiently powerful to embarrass the competitor, without gaining the point it proposed for itself. However, effectually to remove the candidate who bid fairest for success, Augustus fell upon means to seize on prince James Sobieski in Silesia, whom he caused to be conducted prisoner to Saxony; a measure which gave birth to loud complaints against his justice, though in fact it ought to be regarded as an act of necessity and self-defence. Constantine, the second son of the late monarch, was likewise surrounded in the neighbourhood of Breslau, and confined in the citadel of Leipsick; while Alexander, the youngest, and all the enemies of Augustus, were appealing for redress to the emperor, in whose dominions the violence was committed. It required no very extraordinary abilities to apologize to the court of Vienna, as it was evident that both princes had been proposed as candidates for the crown; besides, the emperor looked with a jealous eye on the progress of Charles, though the circumstances in which he then stood would not admit of his coming to expostulations.

Augustus deposed by the confederates.

Such was the state of Poland and Augustus, when the palatine of Culm was sent ambassador to the czar of Muscovy, charged with a commission to enter upon the strictest amity with that prince, and give him a minute account of the

A D. 1704.

His treaty with the czar.

the situation of the republic. The palatine conducted the negociation with so much address, that a treaty, offensive and defensive, was signed; all the advantages of which were on the side of Poland, with a view of regaining the affections of the republic. It was agreed, that no separate peace should be concluded by either of the contracting parties; that all conquests made in the Ukraine should belong to Poland; that the places in Livonia, already subdued by the Russian arms, together with what might hereafter be conquered, should be restored to the republic, without any reimbursement of the czar's expences; that this prince should support, at his own charge, twelve thousand men, to be at the devotion of Poland; that he should pay a subsidy of two millions of florins annually, during the war, to the republic, exclusive of his private subsidies to Augustus; and, lastly, that when the enemy were driven out of the territories of Poland, the war should then be carried, with the utmost vigour, into the Swedish dominions. The above articles were immediately published, to evince the good intentions of Augustus towards the republic, the disinterested conduct of the czar, and the happy consequences of an embassy which had been strongly opposed by a body of the nobility assembled at Javarow; but, by a secret agreement between the two monarchs, Augustus promised to repay the czar's expences as soon as he should be quietly reinstated. Besides, Riga and certain other places, essential to the execution of the plans formed by the sagacious Peter, were to be the price of his friendship to the distressed king of Poland. The effects produced by the publication of this treaty answered the most sanguine hope of Augustus, who determined to return to Poland. He arrived at his capital in the month of February, and held a council of the senators, in which were annulled all the decrees of the assembly summoned by the primate at Warsaw in the preceding year; and a declaration was published, whereby the confederates were made traitors to their king and country. This fruitless, though spirited step was succeeded by a remonstrance to the diet then sitting at Ratisbon, in which the confederates were called rebels, and the primate was treated with very little reverence for his sacred function; but it produced nothing in the king's favour. However, this disappointment was ballanced by the fortunate accident of intercepting several letters, wrote by the primate, and the palatines in his interest, whereby a clear discovery was made of their designs, and of the dark intrigues and abominable duplicity

He returns to Poland

duplicity of that prelate, which extremely enraged the whole senate [m].

The archbishop was not to be discomfited by such accidents; he was far from blushing at the length to which he had pushed his animosity against his legitimate sovereign; on the contrary, he claimed a great deal of merit from this circumstance, as he alleged it was the most efficacious and speedy method of determining the Swedes to quit the dominions of the republic. This defence he corroborated with a direct accusation of Augustus, whom he taxed with several gross violations of the liberties of Poland, and a design to subvert the constitution, by rendering himself absolute, and the crown hereditary in his family; a charge not entirely void of foundation, as Augustus had certainly entertained ambitious schemes, though he had never met with the opportunity of putting them in execution. Little regard indeed was paid to the assertions of either by the few moderate persons who remained; as they were thought to be prompted by faction, dictated by prejudice, and urged by the spirit of animosity and malignity; yet the violent proceedings of the confederates gave more reputation to the cause of Augustus. In conjunction with the primate they sent a deputation to Charles, proposing a treaty: to which that prince assented, on condition that nothing should be stipulated in favour of Augustus, and that a new king should immediately be elected; an answer which exactly corresponded with the primate's wishes, which led him into such excesses as induced a variety of members to quit the confederacy, because they perceived that the object in view was not the good of the republic, but only the gratification of the primate's ambition and resentment.

His affairs seem to revive.

It was imagined that this secession would have greatly disconcerted the primate; however, he went on with his designs, and summoned the diet of election to meet at Warsaw on the 19th day of June ensuing. To the primate's writs the king opposed his universalia, requiring a diet to meet on the 8th day of the same month; and he expected the assembly would be numerous, as a great many of the nobility remained firm, and several palatines had lately deserted the confederacy. Even the pope's nuncio came to reside with Augustus, after having in vain exhorted the primate and his party not to promote the ambitious views of a heretic prince, against their religion, king, and country. Though Augustus found himself surrounded by

[m] Font. cap. vi. Parthen. lib. v. tom. ii.

friends

friends in his own capital, the approach of general Renschild gave him so much disquiet, that he was forced to quit Cracow, and take the route of Sandomir, the palatine of which province had always been his strenuous friend. Even here he found himself in danger; he was pursued by the Swedish general, and his force being unequal, he crossed the Vistula, and marched along the banks of that river, as low as Petrowina, at which place he formed a bridge of boats. Here he was joined by so considerable a body of Saxons, that he thought himself in a condition to face the Swedes, who were reported not to exceed three thousand, though in fact they amounted to ten thousand men, and were in full march to give battle when Augustus found his mistake, and took measures to extricate himself out of the perplexity into which he had been led by false intelligence. Immediately he crossed the river, and cut down the bridge of boats; but the precipitation was so great, that some hundreds perished, though not a blow had been exchanged with the enemy until the rear was almost got over, when the Swedes arrived soon enough to take one of the king's pages and a few more prisoners. The next day was spent in cannonading each other to little purpose across the river. Renschild at length perceiving that he could not force his passage, or bring Augustus to an action, drew off towards Warsaw, and encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, with a view of influencing the diet of election.

He is pursued by the Swedes.

He declines coming to action.

This motion furnished Augustus with an opportunity of returning to Sandomir, where he had appointed the diet. From this meeting he entertained great hopes, which were heightened by the prospect of being joined by seven thousand Saxons, whom he had recalled from the imperial service, and ten thousand more he gave orders should be levied; hopes which soon proved delusive, howsoever well they seemed to be founded. His ill-fortune prevailed, and Augustus became a memorable example of the vanity and uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments. The vigour of his own genius sometimes raised him above his misfortunes only to plunge him the deeper in despair. The diet, which had now met, deliberated on the means of restoring the public tranquillity; and the first step was to enter into a confederacy, founded upon the resolutions of the diet of Lublin. It was next decreed, that all that had been transacted at Warsaw, relative to deposing Augustus, should be declared illegal and void; that whatever Piasto or native should be elected, should be declared an usurper and traitor; that the primate and bishop of Posnania should be declared authors of the conspiracy to dethrone the king, and

Augustus returns to Sandomir, and holds a diet.

and traitors to their country; that a month ſhould be allowed to the crown-marſhal and other partiſans of the revolt, to renounce the confederacy, return to their duty, and avoid the juſt puniſhment of their crime; that the marſhal of the diet and new confederacy formed by the king ſhould be guarantee and ſponſor for the payment of the crown-army; that the garriſons ſhould henceforward receive their orders from him, and not from the crown-mareſchal; that all treaties with foreign powers, tending to make a diverſion againſt Sweden, ſhould be approved, provided however that they ſtipulated nothing contrary to the intereſt of the republic, by the diſmemberment of her provinces; and laſtly, it was reſolved, for the more effectually carrying theſe ſchemes into execution, to aſſemble the poſpolite.

Account of the ſtate of affairs at Warſaw.

Though the proceedings at Sandomir gave little uneaſineſs to the confederates at Warſaw, yet the diſſenſions among the members had almoſt diſſolved the aſſociation. Loud complaints were made againſt the conduct of the Swedes, who under the name of guardians of the liberties of Poland, plundered the people, and raiſed heavy contributions, equally on the peaſants, gentry, and nobility; even the church-lands and the clergy were not exempted from ſacrilegious ravages of thoſe barbarous heretics; but the primate excuſed the king of Sweden, by alleging that his army muſt have ſubſiſtence, and in the preſent unſettled ſtate of the republic, he was purſuing the only method which could anſwer that purpoſe; namely, the quartering his troops on the lands of the enemies of Sweden and the republic. The 12th day of July was fixed for the new election; and every previouſly requiſite meaſure was taken by the diet of Warſaw, which opened on the 14th day of June, with all the uſual formalities. Fifteen palatinates, the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular ſenators, with divers ſtaroſts and caſtellans, were preſent, and a marſhal was choſen without oppoſition. But this harmony was of ſhort duration; for a great number of members inſiſted upon the execution of the king of Sweden's promiſes, and the ceſſation of thoſe grievous contributions which impoveriſhed the country, before the diet ſhould proceed to any other buſineſs. Warm debates enſued; and, by way of moderating the heats of the contending parties, it was thought proper to adjourn for ſeveral days; a meaſure which highly delighted the primate, as he hoped it would pave the way for the prolongation of his own authority, and furniſh him with more time to look out for a ſucceſſor to the crown that ſhould be his own creature in every reſpect. The candidates mentioned on this occaſion were, prince Ragotzi of

The candidates for the crown.

of Transilvania; the elector of Bavaria: the duke of Mantua; Lubomirski, grand-marshal of the crown; Sapieha, the great-treasurer; Radzivil, the great-chancellor of Lithuania; and count Leczinski, palatinate of Posnania. All these candidates were disagreeable to the primate, who still retained his affection for the prince of Conti, and would now again have nominated him for a competitor, but for private considerations, and because he thought that prince would not brook dependence on a subject. Prince James Sobieski's imprisonment was an insurmountable obstruction to his claim. The Swedes, therefore, proposed the younger brother, Alexander, who had the generosity and wisdom to refuse a dignity which of right appertained to James or Constantine, who were both his seniors. Charles consulted the primate on the characters of the Polish candidates, and found that prelate strongly prejudiced against them all, though he could only object his youth to the palatinate of Posnania. Accordingly Charles declared in favour of the latter, and all the rest of the competitors became sensible that their opposition would be fruitless. For this reason Lubomirski refused being present at the election, saying, that he did not chuse to assist in person at the funeral of his country's liberty. Three palatinates, and several others of the nobility, acted in the same manner. The primate himself was disgusted at seeing Charles dictate with so high a hand; he refused attending on the 12th, and desired that the election might be deferred for two days; but the Swedish count Horn paid no regard to his remonstrance, and went accordingly to the szopa, declaring that the election must be concluded that day, if he staid till midnight. He pressed the bishop of Posnania to nominate a king; and the bishop, who expected the request, and was wholly in the Swedish interest, poured forth his eloquence in persuading the assembly to proceed to business, without regard to the absent refractory members. He was opposed by the deputies of Podlachia, who continued in the szopa only with intention to obstruct the election by spirited protests. At first they were terrified by the concourse of Swedish officers and soldiers who surrounded count Horn; but they ventured to remonstrate upon this head, and complained of the violation of their privileges, by the undue influence exerted over their opinions and voices. Horn however persisted; the day was almost consumed in invitations to the primate and absent members to attend, and upon their refusal the marshal of the diet observed, that as without their concurrence it would be impossible to come to any valid resolution, the election ought to be deferred till the time proposed by the recusants.

It

It was the business of Sweden immediately to determine the matter; count Horn, therefore, requested the bishop to proceed to nomination; upon which the Podlachians again interposed; one of their number, the deputy Icrozalski, rose up, and made a speech full of fire and spirit, to the equal astonishment of the Swedes and Poles: "Are we assembled, said he boldly, to act in concert for the ruin of Poland, whose glory and safety depend wholly on the freedom of the people and the liberty of the constitution? Let our independence be our first care, then let us think of an election. Shall we call that resolution legitimate, which springs from fear of being hewn down by the troops of armed foreigners, who surround us, and insult the dignity of the republic by their presence? Let our laws be treated with the respect due to them, and I shall be the last to oppose the election. As I am under no engagements but those dictated by conscience and the love of my country, I will refuse my consent to no measure which proceeds from a sincere inclination to serve the republic; but even this must be done agreeable to the constitution, and without constraint. I am besides well disposed to elevate to the regal dignity a noble lord now present, who hears me speak, and who I know respects me on account of the regard I shew for Poland, though contrary to his particular interest. Let him ascend the throne agreeable to the established laws, and he will find in me a loyal, faithful subject; otherwise I profess myself his enemy. Let us not place our timidity upon record, and transmit to our posterity the infamous submission we pay to a foreign prince. Let us dare nobly to declare against all violence; let us not weaken the authority of the primate or senate, lest our government should become either despotical or monarchical. If we destroy the partitions which divide the several departments of the state, the consequence will be fatal, and we shall become the slaves of a tyrant, or of our own passions. Let us observe the forms prescribed to this assembly, and I will give my assent to every salutary resolution. They are mistaken who imagine they shall trample upon our liberties without opposition; while they persist in this opinion, I protest, as deputy of Podlachia, against all that shall be transacted." Icrozalski was seconded by the other deputies of the province, and count Horn was considerably embarassed with so bold and unexpected a declaration. He stormed, he threatened, he ordered the troops to reduce the Podlachians to reason; but nothing could shake their constancy, which seemed to improve from opposition. "Here, said they, let us sacrifice our lives to the freedom of our country; we prefer

Bold speech of the deputy of Podlachia.

Staniſlaus elected king of Poland.

prefer death to the loſs of liberty." At laſt the biſhop of Poſnania, perceiving they could not be gained by threats or promiſes, cried out with a loud voice, "Long live Staniſlaus Leczenſki, king of Poland elect." The nomination was echoed by the Swedes in the train of count Horn, the Swediſh ſoldiers who ſurrounded the ſzopa, the friends of the palatinate, and a few of the nobility; but the Podlachians entered their proteſt in form, and retired. Such was the election of Staniſlaus, raiſed by the influence of a foreign power to the throne, without ſwearing to the pacta conventa, or paſſing through any of the forms which conſtitute a legitimate election in Poland. He ſaw the liberty of his country deſpiſed; but he was the neceſſary tool of Sweden, and probably lamented the ſad ſituation of Poland, though he made the preſent circumſtances ſubſervient to his ambition. It may fairly be alleged in his vindication, that Charles of Sweden, and not Staniſlaus, was the author of all the unconſtitutional ſteps taken in this extraordinary election. The Swede regarded the republic as a conqueſt, and thought he had an abſolute right to diſpoſe of the reward of his own valour; nor is it ſurpriſing, that a prince of his diſpoſition, born under a deſpotic government, as Sweden certainly was at that time, flushed with conqueſt, and the inveterate enemy of Auguſtus, ſhould pay little regard to tedious forms, which only retarded the extenſion of his conqueſts [a].

SECT. X.

Containing the Hiſtory of Poland, to the Reſtoration of Auguſtus.

STANISLAUS LECZINSKI.

STANISLAUS was no ſooner raiſed to the throne, by the voice of a faction, than the primate and his party were terrified into ſubmiſſion by the dreadful menaces of the Swediſh monarch. He made his homage accordingly, and congratulated him, with a good grace, on the ſucceſs of a meaſure which he had oppoſed with all his power; not from any reſpect to the conſtitution of the Poliſh government, but from private views. His example was followed by the marſhal of the confederacy, and the intereſt of the young king daily gained ſtrength.

[a] Parthen. lib. v. Volt. Mem. chap. iv. Fontain. chap. vi.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus was all this while at Sandomir, where he ſoon received the news of the election. His chagrin and diſappointment were very great; for, though he was ſenſible of the enmity of Sweden and the bitterneſs of the confederates, he relied upon their diſſenſions, and was in hopes the number of the candidates would prove an inſurmountable obſtacle to deciſive reſolutions. When he found his expectations diſappointed, he aſſembled in the city Kamir the ſame ſet of adherents, who had formerly compoſed the diet of Sandomir, and formally proceeded to declare king Staniſlaus, and all his party, traitors to their king and country; an impotent reſolution, unſupported by an adequate military force. By this time he had ſufficient cauſe to repent the deference which he paid to the liberties of the republic, and the great circumſpection he had uſed in order to avoid diſobliging the few Poles who continued faithful to his ſervice. It was this conſideration which had prevented his ſtrengthening himſelf with the forces of Muſcovy and Saxony. A treaty had been formed with the czar, whereby a conſiderable number of his troops were to have entered the territories of the republic, and orders had been diſpatched to make new levies in Saxony; but Auguſtus neglected to take the advantage which his ſituation allowed, and even required, becauſe the introduction of foreign troops was diſagreeable to the Poles. This complacency for a people, who, notwithſtanding all the zeal which ſome of them profeſſed for his intereſt, were unable to ſecure him againſt the violence of the Swediſh monarch, was now, when too late, condemned as ill-judged and unſeaſonable. Still, however, a great part of the nation would have declared in his favour, but for the Swediſh detachments, which overſpread the country, and kept the inhabitants in continual awe and terror. A body of nobility, who had taken arms for his ſupport, were now routed and diſperſed by the Swedes; and the primate with his friends, who had oppoſed the election of Staniſlaus, obeyed the nod of the Swediſh king, and paid their homage to the new ſovereign. Pruſſia was compelled to yield to the laws impoſed by the Scandinavian hero, and the magiſtrates and burghers of Dantzick, who had been ſtrenuous ſticklers for Auguſtus, were forced to bow the neck and ſubmit to kiſs the rod of tyranny and power. Count Steinboek had for ſome time blocked up this city, and the Dantzickers thought themſelves happy in being relieved by ſuch eaſy conceſſions from the terrors of a hoſtile army, and the revival of an ancient claim made by the houſe of Guldenſtiern.

Auguſtus receives the news.

Situation of Auguſtus.

He seizes upon Leopold.

In the midst of these sources of despondency Augustus had fortunately made himself master of the city Leopold by a well-concerted stratagem, by which means he was reinforced with the Polish garrison, who readily embraced his cause, and acquired a large train of artillery, of which he was in great want since the last defeat of the Saxons. There he was when advice arrived that a body of sixteen thousand Russians, and four thousand Cossacks, had crossed the Boristhenes, and only waited for orders to commence hostilities against the Swedes. Besides, the Saxon levies at length arrived, by which Augustus found himself in a condition to make detachments to check the ravages of the enemy. As a farther addition to his apparent change of fortune, prince Wiesnowiski united his endeavours with those of Oginski to reduce Lithuania under his obedience, and was opposed by the Swedish general Lewenhaupt and the house of Sapieha, with a great vicissitude of fortune. Prince Wiesnowiski had under him an army amounting to twelve thousand men, composed of Saxons and Lithuanians; with this force he encamped on the banks of the Dwina, where he was vigorously attacked by the Swedish general, at the head of seven thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, completely defeated: however, he made good his retreat, and secured the shattered remains of his forces under the cannon of Riczen.

Several battles fought between the Swedes and Saxons.

This was a severe blow to Augustus, just as his hope began to revive; but it did not discourage Wiesnowiski from attacking a detachment of five thousand Lithuanians under the conduct of Minski. The onset was furious, the Lithuanians were defeated, and one party saved themselves by flight in Courland, while the other joined Stanislaus in Russia. His triumph, however, was of short duration; Minski, reinforced by a body of Swedes, fell upon Wiesnowiski unprepared, and forced him to yield up the laurels he had so lately acquired. This advantage on the side of the Swedes and Stanislaus, was soon followed by another more considerable, obtained in the neighbourhood of Posnania, where Schulenberg with seven thousand Saxons, attempted to surprise three thousand Swedes under general Meyerfeldt. The Saxon general had laid his plan with great address, and it is probable he might have executed it to his entire satisfaction, had not his designs been betrayed to the enemy by a deserter. This discovery determined Meyerfeldt to call in his detachments, and put himself in a posture of defence. The action began about day-break; Schulenberg attacked the advanced guard in person, and imagined by the silence that reigned in the camp

camp that his scheme remained a profound secret; but what was his astonishment in approaching, to find the enemy not only drawn up in battle-array, but greatly exceeding the number that had been represented! It was now too late to retreat, and he determined to rest the issue on the valour of his troops, and his own conduct. He poured in his fire, and was answered by the Swedes, who then rushed in sword in hand, and put his right wing in disorder. In his turn he defeated the enemy's right and center, and gained possession of the field of battle, while the Swedish colonel, Taube, was pursuing the Saxons right wing into a great forest where they had taken shelter. On this officer's return he joined Meyerfeldt, regained the field, drove the Saxons beyond Warta, and obtained an undoubted victory, though it is ridiculously disputed by some authors Though Schulenberg lost the honour of the victory, he gained the reputation of consummate prudence, and great personal valour, his defeat being entirely ascribed to the misconduct of the right wing, which suffered itself to be entirely separated from the main body, without attempting a re-junction. These defeats not only diminished the number of the king's troops, but impressed the Poles with an idea that the Swedes were invincible.

It was the earnest wish of Charles to come to a decisive action, which Augustus as industriously avoided, until he had procured such a reinforcement as might give him a chance for success. With this view he divided his army into small corps, in order, that if he should sustain defeats, they might not prove decisive. He quitted Sandomir with a design of drawing nearer to the Russian auxiliaries, who were advancing under prince Galitzin, for his necessities at length obliged him to surmount his fears of disobliging the Poles, by having recourse to foreigners. During his residence at Joroslaw, the Swedes advanced with design to attack him before the junction; but he avoided this blow by decamping, and placing all his baggage in Leopold, to which city, however, the king of Sweden soon laid siege. Augustus, not doubting but the garrison would make a vigorous resistance, embraced the opportunity of the king of Sweden's absence, put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, after a rapid and very extraordinary march, attacked Warsaw, where he was on the point of surprising his rival Stanislaus, and his inveterate enemy the primate. Having gained possession of the city, he immediately invested the citadel, into which count Horn had thrown himself with a body of Swedes. His garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men; but Augustus made his approaches

The king of Sweden besieges Leopold.

with such vigour, that, finding the place was not tenable, Horn set on foot a capitulation, and the conditions were accepted by the king of Poland. It was agreed that the Swedes should be prisoners of war. The other stipulations regarded the deserters, and the protection of the Swedish prisoners fom the insults of the Poles, Russians, and Cossacks.

Augustus takes Warsaw. Sept. 15.

Augustus was now regarded as a consummate general, whose genius had been depressed by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances. Yet would it have redounded more to his honour, had he used this last advantage with greater moderation. He entered Warsaw as a conqueror, and determined to make the city suffer for the homage it had done to his rival. The burghers were obliged to redeem their houses and effects at an enormous price, though in fact they had shewn no partiality to Stanislaus; and the grand palaces belonging to the primate, Lubomirski, and several of the confederated noblemen, were either plundered or destroyed. The booty was immense. The Hungarian wines alone, contained in the archbishop's cellars, was valued at a hundred and fifty thousand crowns. The bishop of Posnania, confined to his bed by sickness, was taken prisoner, sent into Saxony, and his house pillaged; but he was afterwards set at liberty by the intercession of the pope's nuncio, who insisted that the holy see alone could take cognizance of the crimes of so dignified a prelate.

Leopold surrenders to the king of Sweden.

In the midst of this triumph the news of the surrender of Leopold reached Warsaw, and threw a sudden chill on the spirits of the royal party. Charles had forced the city sword in hand, put great part of the garrison to death, raised prodigious contributions on the inhabitants, and spared the place at a price almost equivalent to its whole value. This ransom was levied with the utmost rigour, and the poor inhabitants were plundered of almost all their effects, because they were unable to pay in specie the sums stipulated. The booty carried off in wrought plate, cloths, silks, and other rich merchandize, was immense; but it turned to little account to the conquerors, who were obliged to leave great quantities behind, wherever they encamped, for want of the conveniency of carriage. A report which prevailed, that Charles was on his return to Warsaw, obliged Augustus to quit that city, and encamp at some distance, as he did not chuse to be inclosed within walls with a corps which entirely consisted of horse and dragoons. He was in his camp at Wisgrod, when advice arrived, that the czar of Muscovy had at length reduced Narva, and was preparing to reinforce the detachment under

der Galitzin. These events occasioned great joy; and the spirits of the royal party were likewise elevated by the junction of the Saxons, amounting to fifteen thousand men. This force united with the Russians and Cossacks, who exceeded thirty thousand men, gave Augustus a considerable superiority in numbers, but not in strength. The victory at Narva sufficiently evinced how little confidence he ought to repose on the Russian auxiliaries when acting against the Swedes. The Poles in his service could not be depended on, as they seemed to fluctuate in their principles. Even the Saxons consisted chiefly of new levies, made in a hurry. Scarce any of the new-raised troops had ever handled a sword or firelock; and many of them were too old, too weak, and infirm, to support the fatigues of a campaign. These were the reasons which induced Augustus to decline a battle. He passed the Narew on the approach of the Swedish monarch, and encamped at Pultousk, in which situation he was cannonaded from the opposite side of the river. Then he marched with the main body of his army to Rava, with intention to cover a detachment sent to invest Posnania, in hopes of getting possession of the family and treasures of his rival Stanislaus; but this scheme was frustrated by the foresight and vigilance of the enemy. General Brandt, with six thousand Saxons, laid siege to the place; but as Meyerfeldt, and two thousand Swedes, had reinforced the garrison, he made but little progress; and, indeed, formed little more than a blockade, as cannon were wanted to mount the batteries.

Disappointed in this design, Augustus divided his army into several corps: the main body of the Saxons was led by Schulenberg, who directed his march towards Posnania, with intention to join the detachment under general Brandt He was pursued by the king of Sweden, and followed so close by the cavalry, that every day produced a fresh skirmish. He had already traversed three palatinates in the face of a superior enemy, and was now arrived at Punitz on the frontiers of Silesia, where he resolved to halt, and refresh his troops, because he imagined he had considerably gained the start of the enemy. Here he was attacked by the Swedes under Charles and Stanislaus; the first, eager to gain a victory over so renowned a general as Schulenberg; the other, ambitious of displaying his courage, and shewing how well he merited the honour of governing a warlike people. It was a fair trial between horse and foot, the Saxons being entirely composed of infantry, while the bulk of the Swedes consisted of cavalry. We have, in the History of Sweden, described the order of

Battle of Punitz, and the celebrated retreat of Schulenberg.

this battle; it is sufficient to observe in this place, that the Swedes made five furious assaults, and were vigorously repulsed at every charge; notwithstanding which they made two more efforts, continuing the action until night furnished the Saxon with an opportunity of drawing off in good order, to prevent his being attacked next morning by the strong reinforcement which had now joined the king of Sweden. Though Schulenberg had received five wounds in the engagement, he continued his march with the utmost diligence to the Oder; and actually arrived on the banks of that river without any considerable loss, notwithstanding the Swedish army hung the whole way on his rear, and used every possible means of harrassing his march, and bringing him to an engagement. The greatest difficulty still remained. As he had neither pontoons nor boats, Charles made sure either of forcing him to fight at a disadvantage, or to surrender at discretion; but he did not yet know the extent of that general's capacity. Schulenberg gave orders to prepare floats, and, in the mean time, amused the Swedes with parties, which he had disposed in the surrounding houses, mills, passes, and eminences. While the enemy were thus employed he passed the Oder, at the expence of no more than fifty men, who, after a desperate action, suffered themselves to be taken prisoners for the safety of the whole army. The retreat was glorious; Charles spoke of it with admiration; confessed the superior address of the Saxon, and ever after took delight in mentioning the transaction as one of the finest exertions of military skill.

Although this retreat spread the fame of Schulenberg all over Europe, it produced no other advantage to Augustus than merely saving a part of his troops; and it evidently shewed his inferiority, at the same time that it displayed the capacity and extensive genius of his general. The fate of other parties was different, only because they were not under the direction of such an able commander: colonel Goltz, with a strong detachment, escorted twelve pieces of cannon, and some baggage: he was attacked by a Swedish corps, and after an obstinate conflict entirely defeated, with the loss of the whole convoy. However, a gleam of success still enlivened the gloomy fortune of Augustus: a party of his troops seized the palatine of Lencicia in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, and carried him prisoner to Marienburg, a circumstance which was deemed a considerable advantage, as that nobleman was one of the most enterprising, inveterate, and active enemies of the royal interest. The primate narrowly escaped sharing the

Palatine of Lencicia seized by the royal party.

same

same fate, by taking refuge in Dantzick, a step which produced an altercation between the king and that city. Augustus complained of the protection it afforded his enemies. He demanded that the magistrates should oblige the primate and his adherents to quit the city; should pay him the same sum of money they had paid to the king of Sweden, and surrender the original treaty between that monarch and the city of Dantzick; but no answer was made to this demand, the magistrates well knowing that he had neither power to enforce his menaces, nor to protect them against the Swedes, if they complied.

A still greater acquisition than the seizure of the palatine of Lencicia immediately succeeded the arrival of Augustus at Cracow; to which place he began his march in the beginning of November, at the head of his cavalry. The wife and children of Lubomirski had been taken prisoners in that capital, and saved from destruction by the king's generosity, which produced such an effect upon Lubomirski, that he desired nothing so earnestly as a reconciliation with Augustus, which was happily effected by the mediation of the pope's nuncio. He threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, and was graciously received. His whole apology consisted in exclaiming, "Forgive me, sire, I have been deluded." He immediately strengthened the royal party with a thousand men; and had a private audience of the king, in which were concerted measures for sustaining the efforts of the enemy. In consequence of these deliberations, Augustus set out for Saxony to make fresh levies, and procure supplies of money for the continuance of the war. It was during his residence in his hereditary dominions that the fruitless negociations were set on foot, respecting a peace with the king of Sweden, and the liberties of the princes James and Constantine Sobieski. Count Strathman, the imperial minister, laboured diligently to procure the enlargement of the princes; and count Horn, a prisoner on his parole, had made several journies to the Swedish camp, and back again to Augustus, with mutual proposals for a treaty; but neither point could be established. The princes rejected the conditions proposed; and Charles dictated with too high a hand to think of having his terms accepted. However, the distant prospect of peace induced Augustus to delay ratifying the treaty with the czar, which had had been made by the palatine of Culm. Indeed, his irresolution in this particular reflects no great honour either upon his spirit or his policy; as he submitted to real indignities, and humiliating mortifications, as well as the danger of losing a faithful and powerful ally,

Negociations.

merely to avoid giving offence to the Swedish monarch, and a few timid republicans, who, under pretence of preserving the quiet and tranquillity of the kingdom, suffered it to become little better than a conquered province of Sweden. Augustus had ministers at all the courts of Europe. The emperor, by means of count Zinzendorf, had made some overtures to Charles; but they proved fruitless: and as for the maritime powers, they were too intent upon the business of the Spanish succession to pay much regard to a dispute between two northern kings, which only affected them indirectly. The pontiff, indeed, stirred up by Lagnasco, that able negociator and faithful minister of Augustus, had issued briefs, expressing with what horror the papacy beheld the measures concerted by the rebel Poles with an heretic prince against their lawful sovereign; but the exhortations and denunciations of the pontiff were equally lost amidst the din of arms; and the spirits of all men were too violently inflamed to feel the influence of arguments, enforced only by the cold respect entertained for the head of the church. The primate and the bishop of Posnania were cited to appear in three months before the pontifical tribunal; and the latter, who was in custody of the nuncio, was actually sent thither: but the primate shut himself up in the Lutheran city of Dantzick, which he knew would protect him against the violent designs of pope Clement XI. However, he refused to anoint Stanislaus, or even to assist at his coronation, chusing not to carry his opposition too far against the pontifical decrees. This resolution he took in consequence of briefs sent to the papal nuncio, forbidding all the Polish prelates, under the canonical penalties, to assist at the coronation, and much less at the consecration of the new king. One of these was affixed upon the primate's gate in the night, and this he made a sufficient excuse for not complying with the request of the Swedish monarch, who was by no means satisfied with the apology, and therefore ordered a number of troops to be quartered on the lands belonging to the archbishop [b].

The pope sides with Augustus.

A.D. 1705. All this while Augustus remained in Saxony, where the preparations for continuing the war proceeded slowly. In all probability he wanted to see the event of the czar Peter's hostilities in Livonia, and of the pope's interception. Certain it is, he was now sincerely disposed to an accommodation. He had sufficiently experienced the power of the Swedish monarch, and the affections of the Poles, to know how little able he was to resist the former, or heartily to

[b] Parthen. lib. v. Font. cap. vi. Volt. ubi supra.

engage

engage the latter in his interest. He now, indeed, expected great things from Lubomirski, who appeared zealous to repair his former errors; but the ancient animosity which subsisted between him and some others of the friends of Augustus, had almost been attended with fatal consequences to the whole party. The council used their utmost endeavours to reconcile them; and they, at last, succeeded so far as to moderate the resentment which they could not extinguish. He had greater reason to entertain hopes from the spirited zeal of Smielgiski, who had dispersed the petty diet of Siradia, carried off the mareschal, and tore away the universalia of Stanislaus, which were fixed upon the gates of Warsaw. Had the power of this nobleman been in any degree proportioned to his zeal, courage, and activity, Augustus would have found in him a most valuable adherent; but his violent spirit served only to inflame and irritate. He traversed the country at the head of a small party of free booters, beat up the Swedish quarters, kept their troops in perpetual alarm, ravaged the lands, and carried off the cattle of the enemy.

A neutral party starts up.

There was a party in the republic that professed itself neutral, and resolved not to declare in favour either of Augustus or Stanislaus. At the head of this party was the palatine of Potoski. "We will submit (says he) to the decision of Providence, and obey that prince whom the Almighty shall think fit to render victorious. In the mean time, it is necessary for us to prevent the kingdom from becoming a prey to foreigners." The moderation of these sentiments, and the security which they seemed to ascertain, ensnared great numbers. The party increased daily, submitted to a chief, and gradually declined into principles opposite to those which it originally professed. Finding no safety in that middle course, from which so much was expected, Potoski became the partisan of Stanislaus; and the same person who declared against foreigners degenerated into the tool of the king of Sweden. The primate found it necessary to fall in with the views of a party which had the credit of being deemed moderate, neutral, and true to the interest of the republic. He had equally disobliged Augustus, Charles, Stanislaus, and the pope. The king of Sweden was the prince whom he dreaded, and it was necessary to pave the way to an accommodation with him, lest he should be provoked to punish his obstinacy. With this view he embraced the opinion of the neutrals, who still maintained the reputation of patriotism, capitulated under the notion of promoting the public good, and, by reducing his demands to matters of mere ceremony, easily made

made his peace with Charles and Staniſlaus, without appearing either refractory to the pope, or the declared enemy of Auguſtus. This, indeed, was trimming the political balance to a nicety; but it coſt the primate his reputation. Neither party regarded or eſteemed him, farther than as he became neceſſary to their own deſigns; and the prelate deſpiſed their opinion, except when it affected his intereſt. Having ſecured a ſufficient protection againſt the pontifical reſentment, he granted his univerſalia to ſummon the diet of coronation for the 11th day of July; but at the ſame time took care that it ſhould be thought an act of neceſſity by the adherents of Auguſtus.

The elector of Brandenburg propoſes his mediation.

On this footing ſtood affairs in Poland, when a variety of powers, and among them the king of Pruſſia, elector of Brandenburg, offered their mediation to accommodate the differences between the two monarchs. That prince was apprehenſive that Staniſlaus, when placed firmly upon the throne of Poland, might, with the aſſiſtance of Sweden, revive the pretenſions of the republic to Pruſſia, which he had lately erected into a kingdom. His propoſal was to reſtore Auguſtus to the Poliſh throne, and to diſmember the grand-duchy of Lithuania in favour of Staniſlaus; a ſcheme which he hoped would be agreeable to Sweden, as it ſecured the tranquillity of her frontier on the ſide of Livonia. But there was not a ſingle court intereſted in the affair, that did not raiſe objections; and the elector of Saxony, in particular, gave in a counter-project, whereby Staniſlaus might be ſatisfied at the expence of the elector of Brandenburg. His deſign was to erect the two Pruſſias, ducal and royal, into a kingdom in favour of this prince, who, after having taſted the pleaſures of ſovereignty, could not be ſuppoſed to retire with contentment to a private ſtation. It could not be expected that the king of Pruſſia would accede to this propoſal; therefore he declined the mediation he had lately offered, and all hopes of a compromiſe again vaniſhed; a circumſtance which gave room for opening the petty diets, in obedience to the primate's univerſalia. The palatine of Cracow was the firſt that aſſembled. There deputies were choſen to attend the diet of election, who were ſtrongly attached to Staniſlaus, and injunctions given them extremely unfavourable to the cauſe of Auguſtus. At the petty diet of Sandomir, the few of this monarch's friends who were preſent were borne down by oppoſition, and forced to yield to the ſtrong adverſe tide of faction. Reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe formed at Cracow, were preparing, when the active Smielgiſki preſented himſelf before Opatow, the place where the diet aſſembled, at the

the head of two thousand Saxon cavalry, an equal number of the troops of the confederacy, and a thousand of his own adherents. He seized upon the mareschal and several of the principal nobility, whom he committed to prison; but this outrage, instead of dispiriting the party of Stanislaus, cooled the affections of the friends of Augustus, who regarded the violent proceedings of Smielgiski as a breach of the constitution, and a violation of the rights of every individual of the republic. The diet of Sandomir met a second time, while Smielgiski was taking measures to prevent the meeting of the provincial diet of Warsaw, and entered upon resolutions more detrimental to Augustus than those they had originally proposed. Even the palatine of Culm was disgusted with the conduct of this nobleman, whose credit he probably envied: he renounced his attachment to Augustus, and suddenly forfeited all the reputation which he had acquired by his loyalty and faithful services. In a word, every thing concurred to render the expected diet of coronation as favourable to Stanislaus as could be wished, when the motions of the Russian armies threatened to disconcert all the measures of the Swedish party, and to drive Charles, with his whole army, out of the territories of the republic.

Motions of the Russians.

The duchy of Courland was at this time invaded by an army of twenty thousand Russians, under the conduct of Czeremetof. Mazeppa, general of the Cossacks, afterwards the ally of the king of Sweden, advanced with forty thousand of his troops; and the czar in person was preparing to enter Lithuania, at the head of a very numerous army. United with the Saxons and Poles in the interest of Augustus, these forces appeared sufficient to crush the Swedes, if victory could have been determined by numbers; but the intrepidity of the latter disconcerted every scheme laid by the friends of the deposed monarch. Czeremetof's intention was to intercept a body of troops under general Lewenhaupt, reduce Courland, and then lay siege to Riga, or form the blockade of that city, just as circumstances should direct. The plan was well laid; but the Swede, apprized of the design, recalled his detachments, marched with the utmost silence and rapidity towards Mittau, to which city the Russians were laying siege, and proposed attacking them in their lines; but the enemy had retired to their camp at Nepten. As he was now supported only by his cavalry, and had failed in the attempt to surprise the enemy, he marched to Gernavert-Holf to join his infantry; by which means his whole force exceeded eight thousand veterans, the flower of the Swedish army, who were left to guard the frontiers against the incursions of the Russians and Cossacks.

The Russians defeated.

ſacks. Here he drew up in order of battle, in an advantageous ſituation, expecting he ſhould be attacked, in which hope he was not diſappointed. The Ruſſian general advanced, and, ordering his cavalry to diſmount, began a furious attack, ſword in hand, upon the left wing, which, being likewiſe flanked by the extenſion of the Ruſſian line, was put in ſome diſorder. Victory was on the point of declaring for Czeremetof, when the courage and well-diſciplined valour of the Swediſh forces turned the ſcale. They broke in upon the Ruſſian firſt and ſecond lines with aſtoniſhing fury, made terrible ſlaughter, gave the left wing leiſure to rally, then formed into one body, and preſented a ſolid impenetrable front to the Ruſſian cavalry, which had orders to attack in the rear. This was one of the fineſt manœuvres ever performed in the heat of battle: it raiſed the reputation of Lewenhaupt, and obliged all men to acknowlège, that the ability of the general, rather than the ſuperior valour of the Swedes, occaſioned the defeat of the Ruſſians, who fought with unparalleled fury, and obſtinately perſiſted in oppoſition, after all hope of victory had been loſt. Beſides the fine diſpoſition of the Swedes, the wounds received by both the Ruſſian generals, Czeremetof and Baver, contributed greatly to the defeat of their army: they were carried off the field, and no other officer in the army was capable of diſcharging the whole duty of commander. After all, the victory was bloody: it coſt the Swedes the lives of a multitude of brave officers and ſoldiers; and, inſtead of remaining in the field, Lewenhaupt was forced to retire under the cannon of Riga. Upon the whole, this was the moſt obſtinate action ever fought between the Swedes and Ruſſians: it continued for the whole day, and fully proved, that the latter wanted nothing but experience to become good ſoldiers.

The event of this action diſſipated thoſe fears which had prevented the meeting of the diet. A few members, indeed, obeyed the univerſalia; but the major part pleaded their apprehenſion of falling into the hands of the Ruſſians and Saxons. The former were now incapable of advancing; and nothing more was required than to guard againſt the parties under Schulenburg, Wieſnowiſki, and the active Smielgiſki: for which purpoſe two thouſand Swedes were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Warſaw; a force too ſlender to oppoſe the troops now collected by the Saxon general, whoſe army exceeded nine thouſand men. The Swedes diſputed the paſſage of the Viſtula near Zacrotzin; but were too weak to make any effectual reſiſtance: they were driven before the Saxons, and Schulenberg advanced within

within half a league of Warsaw, where he halted. On the 31st of July he advanced in order of battle towards the city, and was attacked a second time by the Swedes, who, upon receiving a slender reinforcement, determined to perish, or save Warsaw, and open a way to the sitting of the diet. Their chief strength was directed against the Polish wing, which gave way, and drew along with it the centre, composed of Saxons. Schulenberg exerted his utmost ability in rallying his troops; but the whole army was seized with a panic, the route became general, and this officer, who, with a handful of men, had foiled the utmost efforts of the king of Sweden, backed by an army flushed with victory, was now defeated by an inconsiderable corps of Swedes, commanded by an officer of no distinction [c].

The Saxons are dispersed.

The dispersion of Schulenberg's army removed all the fears of the deputies of the diet, who now came in crowds to Warsaw. By the 6th day of August the diet proceeded to business, and Charles and Stanislaus assisted in person. The mareschal ordered the act of confederacy to be read, which had been prepared in the private conferences; and it was signed and confirmed by all the deputies, to the following purpose: "That king Augustus should be declared fallen from his regal estate and dignity, for having repeatedly violated the laws and constitution of the Polish government; that the confederacy of Sandomir should be declared illegal, and all the acts formed in that assembly, with their consequences, void and of no effect; that all the subjects of the republic should be discharged from their fealty to Augustus, and absolved from the oaths of allegiance taken to his person; and lastly, that the election of Stanislaus should be confirmed by the usual oaths of allegiance and fidelity." The next object was the discussion of a treaty set on foot with Sweden, in which no progress was made, because it was objected, that a full and complete diet was necessary to represent the body of the republic; though this very objection implied the illegality of all the other proceedings of the assembly. In effect, the diet broke up without finishing the business proposed; and the 30th of September was appointed for another meeting of the nuncios, to prepare the ceremony of the king's coronation. As the primate was confined by sickness to his bed, the archbishop of Leopold supplied his absence, and opened the diet with a speech, in which he thanked the members for the zeal they had manifested for the liberties of the constitution. Next was renewed the negociation with Sweden;

[c] Parthen. lib. v. Font. cap. vi.

and

and a sketch of a treaty being read, the assembly proceeded to draw up the articles of the pacta conventa, to be proposed to Stanislaus on the eve of his coronation. As nothing unreasonable was found in this convention, the terms were accepted, and sworn to with the usual formality; and on the 3d day of October the ceremony of coronation was performed with great solemnity. It is true that some of the customary forms were dispensed with in the proceedings of the diet; but this omission was justified by the necessity of affairs. For instance, the primate ought, by the laws of the land, to have consecrated the king; but he was confined by a disorder that in a few days put an end to his life, and the archbishop of Leopold was vested with all his authority; though some writers are of opinion, that he assumed this power without liberty from the primate, who, upon the whole, was averse to the consecration. With respect to the disposal of the archbishoprick, and the primacy, both Augustus and Stanislaus claimed this power, and each conferred it on his own particular favourite. As to Augustus, he bestowed the dignity of primate, and the annexed archdiocese of Gnesna, upon the bishop of Cujavia, conferring the vacant see of that prelate on the referendary of Lithuania.

Stanislaus is crowned.

This prince arrived at Grodno from Saxony in the month of November, and was received by several senators and noblemen of the first distinction; in favour of whom he constituted a new order, called the White Eagle. From thence he went to meet the czar, with whom he had an interview, at which all former treaties were renewed, and reciprocal marks of esteem and friendship were exchanged. Peter had just conquered the duchy of Courland; the citadel, garrisoned by a body of Swedes, had capitulated, after having sustained an assault for several days. He had projected a scheme for investing Riga; but the situation of Poland obliged him to alter his intention, and give orders for the Russian army to file off to the frontiers of Lithuania. Mazeppa had directions to follow with forty thousand Cossacks, with whom Charles and Stanislaus were supposed at that time to be in a secret treaty. As to the Poles in the service of Augustus, they were divided into a number of different parties, and each pursued a particular object. Smielgiski with his forces laid siege to Marienburg, which he took by assault, and plundered, after having put the Swedish garrison to the sword. This advantage was ballanced by an equivalent piece of good fortune on the side of the enemy: the palatine of Kiow, having fallen upon the diocese of Warmia, defeated a body of Saxons, and took

took four hundred prisoners, most of whom enlisted under the banners of Staniſlaus, to avoid the rigour of imprisonment. Divers other skirmiſhes paſſed; but the only exploit worth recording was performed by Mazeppa, who, at the head of his Coſſacks, forced the Swediſh garriſon in Zamoſe, and then ſecured the place with a ſtrong body of Ruſſians.

Council at Grodno.

In the mean time, Auguſtus ſummoned a great council to meet at Grodno in the month of November. It was compoſed of biſhops, palatines, ſeveral noblemen of diſtinction, and divers great officers of the crown. It was opened by the vice-chancellor, who ſubmitted a variety of points, reſpecting the ſtate of affairs, to the deliberation of the aſſembly; recapitulated the principal occurrences of the reign of Auguſtus; and concluded with a warm panegyric on the policy, courage, patriotiſm, and other virtues of that monarch. Meaſures for ſubſiſting and reinforcing the army were concerted: then the mareſchal of the confederacy repreſented, that as the treaties with the czar were of the laſt importance, it was neceſſary the palatinate of Culm, who was the chief agent, ſhould lay his negociation before the council. We have already obſerved, that this nobleman expreſſed his diſtaſte of the meaſures purſued by the party of Auguſtus, particularly the violences committed by Smielgiſki; and he now gave farther indications of this diſpoſition, by refuſing to conſent to the mareſchal's propoſal, inſiſting, that a general diet alone had the right of demanding the report which was now required. However, he condeſcended to lay before the council ſome of the moſt material articles of the treaty; ſuch as the czar's conſent to reſtore the Ukraine to the republic; to aſſiſt Auguſtus with troops and money during the continuance of the war; to grant toleration of conſcience to the Roman Catholics who were diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the Ruſſian empire; and to ſurrender all the conqueſts of the next campaign to the republic, provided that a Ruſſian commandant ſhould be allowed to reſide in all the places ſubdued by the combined arms. Upon this explanation, the Ruſſian commiſſaries were admitted to clear up ſome neceſſary preliminaries to the ratification. The council demanded the immediate reſtitution of the Ukraine, the conqueſts in Livonia, and ſecurity for the payment of the crown-army: to which demands the deputies replied, that the czar conſented to the firſt without reſtriction, and would admit Poliſh troops into the Livonian conqueſts; but that he had given no inſtructions upon the third head, therefore the means of paying the crown-forces muſt be ſubmitted to his

his pleasure. Here this matter rested, the commissioners declaring their inability to proceed, without an extension of their instructions. Upon this observation the council proceeded to other business, continuing to act as the body representative of the republic. A motion was made to draw up an instrument, ratifying all the acts passed during the king's absence by the confederacy, abrogating all treaties, public acts, and transactions of the opposite faction, and specifying the penalties incurred by adhering to the laws made by the usurper and his contumacious adherents. The instrument contained eleven articles, one of which related to the payment of the army, and the administration of the treasury; another settled the public taxes and imposts; a third regulated coinage, in such a manner as to facilitate commerce, and prove subservient to the conveniency of the poor; and, indeed, the methods proposed on this head were prudent, politic, and public-spirited, had the situation of the republic admitted of their being enforced. A variety of other particulars, tending to promote the interest and establish the tranquillity of Poland, were specified in this decree; after which the assembly broke up about the middle of December.

Council at Warsaw.

While Augustus held the council at Grodno, the opposite faction assembled at Warsaw, and were taking measures diametrically opposite to his proceedings. The treaty with Sweden was the main object: the council had delivered several sketches of the principal articles; but the Swedish commissioners always found something to add, or to amend. At last it was signed at Blenia, containing, in substance, a confirmation of the treaty of Oliva, except in some particulars which were specified in the treaty; a general amnesty to those who accepted of the gracious pardon offered by the king and republic, in three months; an agreement that no truce, armistice, or peace, should take place with Augustus, except by joint consent, and on condition of his renouncing the crown of Poland, and indemnifying Sweden and the republic for the expences of the war; that all declarations, statutes, acts, and decrees, passed by Augustus and his adherents, should be void and of no effect; that no king of Poland should henceforward contract engagements either with foreign princes in his own person, or in behalf of the state, without the participation and concurrence of the republic. All alliances contracted by the republic, prejudicial to Sweden, were declared void: both states agreed in continuing the war against the czar of Muscovy, until full restitution should be made of his conquests in each, and ample reparation of the injuries sustained by

Treaty with Sweden.

both

both kingdoms. No peace, convention, or agreement with that prince ſhould be binding, that had not the conſent of both nations: the king of Sweden ſtipulated to continue in arms, until he had fully re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of the republic. The conqueſts made by his forces were to be reſtored to Poland, upon the reimburſement of his expences. The Swedes were permitted to keep garriſons in all ſuch places as they now held, or ſhould hereafter conquer, during the courſe of the war: they ſhould likewiſe be at liberty to recruit their forces in the provinces belonging to the republic: all the ports of the republic were to be open to the Swediſh ſhipping; the family of Sapieha was to be reſtored to all its dignities: in a word, the whole tenor of the treaty tended to promote the intereſt of Sweden, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance furniſhed by that kingdom to oppoſe Auguſtus. Nothing could be more diſſonant than the the ſpirit of the decrees paſſed at the two councils, and of the treaties formed with the czar of Muſcovy by the aſſembly at Grodno, and with Charles XII. by that at Warſaw. The friends of Auguſtus were ſenſible of this ſtriking contraſt, and they invidiouſly took all opportunities of making the compariſon. The odium of the Swediſh treaty was unjuſtly thrown upon Staniſlaus. It conſiſted of terms impoſed by a victorious prince, in a country which he held as a conqueſt, and governed as a province. Charles dictated to the aſſembly at Warſaw; and the new king of Poland as well as the nobility gave their aſſent, merely becauſe they wanted the power to maintain an oppoſition. His Swediſh majeſty was the whole ſupport of the faction; and to have diſobliged him, would have plunged the republic in worſe circumſtances than thoſe ſhe was deſirous of avoiding. Though a toleration of religion was granted by the treaty of Warſaw to all proteſtants within the dominions of the republic, the aſſembly ſent it to Rome for the approbation of the pope, expatiating at the ſame time on the great care taken to admit of nothing prejudicial to the Catholic religion. However, the pope was highly diſpleaſed not only with this particular, but with the conſecration of Staniſlaus, contrary to his mandate; and the party of Auguſtus did not fail to take advantage of ſo popular a handle for clamour, invidiouſly publiſhing the article ſtipulated with the czar in behalf of the Roman Catholics of the Ruſſian empire.

In this manner was the winter conſumed. The ſpirit of party, which the ſeverity of the climate prevented from breaking out in hoſtilities, vented itſelf in the moſt rancorous and bitter revilings; and the moſt heinous crimes

that malice could invent, were reciprocally charged upon each faction. The return of spring produced a revival of
A. D. 1706. military operations, and by the latter end of January the troops on both sides were in motion. By the disposition of
The armies put in motion. the winter-quarters, Charles of Sweden was surrounded by Russians, Saxons, Cossacks, and the Poles in the service of Augustus. He knew his danger, and determined not to wait the junction of the enemies scattered forces. Accordingly he began his march towards the river Bog; drove the Russians, after a sharp action, from a bridge and post they possessed on this river; penetrated, amidst the rigours of a severe frost, to Pultowski; defeated a body of the czar's troops in the neighbourhood of that place; and detached Renschild to oppose the Saxons and Russians who were in motion on the side of Silesia, while another detachment was directed to amuse the Cossack general towards the frontiers of Volhinia. At the head of the main army, Charles in person entered Lithuania, in hopes of surprising Augustus; but in this expectation he was disappointed by the precaution of that monarch, who had cantoned thirteen Saxon regiments, and near an equal number of Poles, in such a manner that they could afford each other support, and be assembled upon very short notice. To this circumspection he now owed his safety: the march of the Swedish army was rapid, and the designs of Charles were executed with great secrecy; but Augustus, having received advice that he was in motion, judged where the storm would fall; he sent his baggage and military chest to a strong fortress in Prussia, and retired with the greater part of the forces towards Warsaw. The convoy, however, was met by a straggling party of Swedes; the detachment that escorted it was defeated, and the military chest and baggage plundered: but Charles was astonished, on his arrival at Grodno, to hear that Augustus was in the heart of Poland. Yet the expedition was not entirely useless to the Swedish monarch: he detached colonel Ducker in pursuit of three thousand Russians, who, retiring under the cannon of Witau, were at last forced to throw themselves into the town, which the Swedes pushed so vigorously, that they gained possession of the place, where they found one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy cannon.

Augustus lays a plan for dispersing part of the Swedish army. It was not the sole design of Augustus to avoid an action with the king of Sweden by his rapid march to Warsaw: he had another object in view, and the plan was so well concerted, that nothing could have defeated it but the cowardice of his troops, and that fatality which attended all his projects. He proposed to enclose Renschild between him

him and the troops he expected from Saxony, so that he counted on an easy victory, which would have deprived the king of Sweden of near half his army, and given an immediate turn to the face of affairs. The Saxons were conducted by Schulenberg: the whole army, in march from the electorate, amounted to sixteen thousand men; but, unfortunately, not a third were disciplined soldiers. Near four thousand were Russians; almost two thousand were French, Swiss, and Bavarians; and about three thousand five hundred men were newly inlisted in the electoral dominions. These were by no means troops to oppose to the Swedish veterans, led by so experienced a general as Renschild; but Augustus relied upon the superiority of numbers, the vigilance, and approved ability of Schulenberg, who, though almost always defeated, was daily increasing in reputation. This general crossed the Oder in three columns; upon which the Swede advanced with his whole army towards Frauenstadt to obstruct him, and give battle. The situation of the roads was such, that Schulenberg could not avoid an action; and, indeed, he had the express orders of Augustus to come to an engagement, that prince relying more than he ought upon the courage of his troops, and the infallibility of the plan formed of attacking Renschild in the rear with the forces under his own command, upon the supposition that the Saxons could advance faster than, upon trial, was found practicable. In the neighbourhood of Frauenstadt the two armies were in sight, and Schulenberg drew up in a manner that was greatly admired by the Swede, and celebrated by all the great officers of Europe; but his troops would not execute the orders he issued, or follow the plan he had formed. On the first attack they broke their ranks, and fell in confusion. On the left a whole battalion of Russians deserted their post, before they had sustained the first fire, and only the troops on the right performed any part of their duty. Here the battle raged with obstinacy; but it was not possible for a few regiments long to withstand the whole weight of the Swedish army. They were attacked in front, flank, and rear, reduced to an inconsiderable number, and then totally defeated. Never had the genius of Schulenberg shone brighter than in this unfortunate action; he was every where present, admonishing, praying, menacing, and fighting; but finding his endeavours vain to recall the fugitives, he applied his whole attention to the brave regiments who stood their ground. These he modelled into a thousand different shapes and situations, altering their disposition just as their numbers happened to be reduced, ac-

Schulenberg is defeated.

cording to the vigour with which the enemy preſſed, the nature of the ground, or the advantage which the opportunity of the inſtant yielded. Nothing eſcaped his penetrating eye; and the diſcipline of this handful of men, accuſtomed to the orders of their general, was very extraordinary. Every evolution of the parade was performed with the utmoſt compoſure, while a perpetual fire was kept up in platoons, or otherwiſe, as occaſion required. At length they ſunk under numbers and fatigue: a fruitleſs effort was made to cut their way through the main body of the Swedes; but this attempt failing, every man truſted to his good fortune and agility. Seven thouſand men were killed in the field and purſuit, near as many were taken priſoners, and, of Schulenberg's whole army, only the ſhattered remains of four old regiments, and the body of four thouſand Ruſſians that fled in the beginning of the battle, remained. Such was the iſſue of a plan upon which Auguſtus relied ſo much; a plan that miſcarried through the cowardice of the troops, and the impoſſibility of timing things ſo exactly as that two diſtant armies ſhould encounter an enemy at an appointed time and place, without allowing for thoſe accidents which neceſſarily attend great bodies of men upon a long march.

In fact, Auguſtus had not yet ſtirred from the caſtle of Warſaw, when the news arrived of the defeat, which overwhelmed the court with deſpair. Even the ſoul of Auguſtus, accuſtomed to ſtruggle with adverſity, could hardly ſupport this freſh ſtroke of misfortune. Immediately he ſummoned a great council, where it was reſolved he ſhould quit Warſaw, and advance to Lowitz with the troops from Lithuania. Here he was joined by ſome German regiments; and, collecting his utmoſt force, advanced to give Renſchild battle, after he had loſt the opportunity; but Schulenberg prevented his following a reſolution that would ſeem to have been dictated by deſpair. This general had joined the king at Pilka with a few battalions, which he had formed out of the remains of his army. He ſo fully demonſtrated the ſuperiority of the Swediſh forces in courage and diſcipline, together with the fatal conſequences of a defeat, and the inutility of a victory in the preſent circumſtances, that Auguſtus approved his advice, ſent him to make new levies in Saxony, and to proceed according to martial law againſt all who had miſbehaved in the late action, while he himſelf ſet out out for Cracow. A council was called, and Auguſtus was taking the moſt vigorous meaſures, when the king of Sweden, tired of running over Poland, and conquering provinces for Stani-

ſlaus

slaus that revolted as soon as his back was turned, formed the resolution of effectually crushing his enemy by seizing upon the electorate of Saxony, from whence the means of supporting the war had hitherto been drawn. The protection which the diet of the empire offered to Saxony had no effect on Charles; he knew that the resolutions of a body, composed of a variety of discordant members, must necessarily be slow; and imagined, with great reason, that he might accomplish all his purposes before the princes of the Germanic body could come to any resolution. Taking possession of Saxony was laying the axe to the root, entirely disarming his enemy, and filling his own coffers with the treasures of an electorate, which, though grievously oppressed by a tedious war, still afforded invaluable spoils to a conqueror. This resolution he pursued, and thereby plunged Augustus in greater perplexity than he had hitherto experienced. Relief was cut off at the source; and, as if this were insufficient to fill up the measure of the deposed monarch's misfortunes, he found himself deserted by those Poles in whose fidelity he placed the utmost confidence. Thus he was on the point of losing not only a crown, which he had obtained through seas of trouble, blood, and treasure, but was actually stripped of his paternal dominions, already exhausted and impoverished in supporting the ambition of the sovereign, and raising him to a dignity that could never reflect a single ray of honour or advantage upon the electorate.

Augustus is reduced to great necessity.

Charles, not satisfied with raising a private nobleman to succeed the monarch he had dethroned in Poland, entertained likewise some thoughts of making a new elector, and placing the hereditary prince of Saxony on the electoral throne of his father. It was the dread of this design, added to the insupportable contributions levied by the Swedes upon his unfortunate subjects, that reduced Augustus at length to have recourse to the clemency of his enemy, to whom he wrote with his own hand, requesting a cessation of hostilities, that a Christian and equitable peace might be established. In the History of Sweden we have seen the steps by which this negociation was conducted: sufficient it is to observe in this place, that the Saxon ministers, secretly charged with the commission, had discretionary powers; and that either dread of the ferocious Swede, or the influence of his money, were supposed to have powerfully operated on their minds, and shook their fidelity to Augustus. Imhoff and Pfingsten found Charles at Alt-Ranstadt, and signed such a peace as they durst not acknowlege to their sovereign. They filled up one of the

blanks signed by Augustus with such articles as the king of Sweden thought proper to dictate; and it was given out, that count Piper shewed the Saxon envoys such original papers as left them no room to doubt that their master was betrayed: but the world in general believed this was a contrivance to palliate their own conduct, by shewing the necessity they were under of signing any conditions. Be this as it may, certain it is, that Augustus was under the necessity of ratifying the treaty, even after having obtained a victory, which, by the malignity of his fortune, could prove of no service to his affairs. The Russians were his only support; and his army being now united with that of prince Menzikoff, he dreaded the resentment of the czar in case the treaty with Charles should transpire. A very peculiar perplexity arose from Menzikoff's pressing instances to come to an engagement with the Swedish general Meyerfeldt. Augustus was sensible that, if he complied, Charles would deem it an infraction of the treaty, revenge it upon Saxony, and perhaps carry his resentment to the last extremities. On the other hand, he knew his refusal would create suspicions in the Muscovite general, and perhaps endanger his own person. Both the Swedish monarch and the Russian general were fierce, haughty, untractable, and impatient; the least suspicion on either side might have proved fatal to himself or his subjects. Augustus, therefore, from motives of self-preservation, suffered himself to be drawn into the battle of Kalisch by the pressing instances of Menzikoff, and rather to run the hazard of having Saxony made the scene of the Swede's revenge, than of being personally seized by the suspicious Muscovite. Meyerfeldt was defeated; and Augustus, after having the honour of driving his rival Stanislaus out of the field, and taking the Swedish general prisoner, was forced to apologize, in the most abject manner, to Charles. In vain did he practise every expedient to avoid ratifying the shameful treaty, by which he consented to renounce a crown; fruitless were his endeavours to soften the severity, and move the inflexibility of the headstrong Swede: after having entered Warsaw in triumph; after having assisted at Te Deum and public rejoicings for his victory, he was forced to repair to Saxony to resign his diadem, and sustain divers mortifications from his inveterate enemy.

Augustus gains a victory, and is forced to renounce the crown of Poland.

Treaty of Alt-Ranstadt.

The treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, which he now signed, imported, that a perpetual peace and amity should subsist between Charles, king of Sweden, Stanislaus, king of Poland, and Augustus, king-elector of Saxony, and their several states and dominions: that oblivion and compensation

tion ſhould take place on all ſides: that Auguſtus ſhould renounce all his rights to the crown and dominions of Poland; ſtill, however, retaining the appellation of king, but without either the title or arms of Poland: that the king-elector ſhould notify his abdication by a formal diploma, abſolve the Poles from the oath taken to his perſon, and, in the moſt explicit terms, acknowlege Staniſlaus the legitimate ſovereign of the republic; promiſing, at the ſame time, in the moſt ſolemn terms, never to ſet on foot any intrigues, or countenance the diſobedience or rebellion of his ſubjects againſt that monarch: that he ſhould renounce all alliances contrary to the intereſt of Sweden, eſpecially that with Muſcovy, and recall all the Saxon troops that were in the Ruſſian ſervice; that he ſhould cancel all decrees, treaties, and public contracts or declarations made by his party in the name of the republic, if they were found contrary to the import and ſpirit of the preſent treaty: that Staniſlaus ſhould have power either to confirm or revoke the dignities granted by Auguſtus ſince the year 1704: that Auguſtus ſhould, immediately after the ratification, reſtore the crown-jewels and archives of the kingdom, which were carried into Saxony: that the princes James and Conſtantine Sobieſki ſhould be ſet at liberty, the elector clearing off immediately the ſum of money due to the former: that all Poles and Lithuanians detained priſoners by Auguſtus ſhould be ſet at liberty, without ranſom; that the elector ſhould uſe his influence with the pope to procure the enlargement of the biſhop of Poſnania; that the Swediſh and Saxon priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom, except thoſe who had contracted debts; who, in that caſe, were to be detained until the creditors were ſatisfied: that all traitors and deſerters from Sweden, protected in Saxony, ſhould be delivered up to his Swediſh majeſty, particularly John Reinold Patkul: that all the Ruſſians in Saxony ſhould be ſurrendered priſoners of war to his Swediſh majeſty: that all the cannon and military trophies taken from the Swedes ſhould be reſtored: that the ſentence paſſed againſt colonel Gortz, now in the ſervice of the king of Sweden, ſhould be annulled: that the Swediſh army ſhould have quarters in the electorate: that all the towns and caſtles held by Auguſtus in Poland ſhould be ſurrendered to commiſſaries appointed by king Staniſlaus: that the towns of Leipſic and Wirtemberg ſhould, in a ſimilar manner, be evacuated by the Swediſh garriſons: that a ceſſation of hoſtilities in Saxony ſhould commence from the ſigning of the treaty, and in Poland three weeks after: that the king of Sweden and the king-elector, as members

of the Germanic body, ſhould act jointly for the conſervation of religion, as eſtabliſhed by the treaties of Munſter and Oſnaburg: that no change of religion ſhould be admitted in Saxony or Luſatia; and that the Roman catholics ſhould be denied churches, ſchools, academies, colleges, and monaſteries, within theſe ſeveral diſtricts. The kings of Sweden and Poland engaged to ſupport Auguſtus, ſhould he be attacked by the czar on account of the preſent treaty; and they promiſed likewiſe to provide for his intereſt in any peace which they might happen to make with Muſcovy. Laſtly, it was ſtipulated, that the ratifications ſhould be exchanged in ſix weeks.

Thoſe who favour the character of Auguſtus affirm, tha he was deluded into this prepoſterous treaty by the artifice of Pfingſten, who had concealed particulars from him until his arrival in Saxony; and that, once being in the power of the Swediſh monarch, he could refuſe nothing that was propoſed, without ſubjecting his perſon and dominions to the vengeance of an incenſed barbarian. Even the character of Charles had been miſrepreſented to him; and, inſtead of that complacency and affability which he was made to expect, Auguſtus found him proud, fierce, obdurate, and inflexible. An interview paſſed between the monarchs at Gutterſdorp, that proved extremely mortifying to Auguſtus. Here the ratifications were exchanged, and Charles aſſumed ſuch an air of ſuperiority as was ſcarce ſupportable by a prince of ſpirit. Nor did the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt ſufficiently gratify the inſolence of Charles: he ſoon after required that Auguſtus ſhould write, with his own hand, a letter of congratulation to Staniſlaus upon his acceſſion to the throne of Poland. He complied, and by the ſtyle of his epiſtle evinced his regret, and the violence that was offered to his inclinations. The plea of neceſſity alone can exculpate him for this condeſcenſion; and even that may be deemed inſufficient to reſcue his character from the imputation of puſillanimity (A).

Auguſtus has an interview with the king of Sweden.

After

(A) As this letter is curious, we ſhall gratify the reader with it at full length.

" Sire and Brother,

If we have not anſwered your majeſty's letter ſooner, it was becauſe we thought the occaſion unſeaſonable for entering upon an epiſtolatory correſpondence: however, to ſatisfy the king of Sweden, and that he may not think us difficult in complying with his demands, we give you joy upon your acceſſion to the crown; and we hope that your majeſty will find

After a few inſincere compliments had paſſed by letters, the princes had an interview, which indeed afforded great matter of triumph to Charles, who now ſaw his court honoured with the preſence of two monarchs, dependent on his nod. Several difficulties aroſe about the execution of the treaty, and Charles offered to refer all difficulties to be adjuſted by commiſſaries. Accordingly a negociation was ſet on foot, and the Swedes inſiſted upon the rigorous performance of every ſingle article; while the Saxons, by the moſt earneſt and pathetic remonſtrances, endeavoured to procure a mitigation. What reſpected the crown-jewels and archives gave the moſt trouble. The Swediſh commiſſaries inſiſted upon immediate reſtitution; and the Saxons pleaded that Staniſlaus muſt firſt be acknowleged by the whole nation, leſt, if he ſhould happen to be depoſed, Auguſtus might then be accountable to the republic. There was a ſtrong appearance of equity in the allegation; nevertheleſs, the Saxons were forced to give it up, and comply to a tittle with all the demands of the Swede.

To the reſtitution of the jewels, Charles now added another demand, which was likewiſe granted. An inſtrument of his abdication, and the act of pardon for all who had taken up arms againſt him, were required; and the unfortunate prince yielded this point, as he had done every other. Theſe acts were publiſhed in the ſeveral palatinates, from a preſumption that ſuch a meaſure would induce the nobility the more readily to acknowlege Staniſlaus; yet did it ſerve no other purpoſe than that of augmenting the confuſion of the republic, occaſioned by the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt, and the departure of Auguſtus from Poland. Thoſe who were ſtill attached to his fortune could not reſolve how to act: his ſolemn abdication left them no pretence for continuing the war, and their ſub-

find the ſubjects of your kingdom more faithful and obedient than thoſe we left there. The whole world will agree with us in this particular, that for all our favours, we have had no return but ingratitude; and that moſt of the perſons on whom we moſt liberally ſhed our bounty, have been induſtrious only in forming cabals againſt us, with the view of promoting our ruin. We heartily wiſh your majeſty may not be expoſed to ſimilar events, recommending you to the Divine Protection.—Given at Dreſden this 8th day of April, 1707.

Sire and brother,
Your good brother and neighbour,
Auguſtus R."

It would ſeem, from this letter, that Staniſlaus had wrote to Auguſtus, ſignifying his acceſſion.

miſſion

miſſion to Staniſlaus they foreſaw would probably be attended with the loſs of thoſe employments, which had been beſtowed on them by Auguſtus. The only remaining reſource was the czar, who offered them his protection, and was now entering upon the moſt vigorous preparations for invading Poland, and diſputing the conqueſts of Charles as well as the election of Staniſlaus. Peter had remonſtrated, in the moſt lively terms, againſt the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt: every court in Europe was filled with his complaints againſt Auguſtus; and indeed the maritime powers not only expreſſed their ſurprize at the treaty, but their uneaſineſs at the conſequences of it, and of Charles's long reſidence in Saxony, which threatened a ſtorm to the empire. When the czar, however, ſaw a copy of the treaty his reſentment was diſarmed, and the ſame breaſt that lately glowed with indignation now melted into compaſſion. He not only forgave Auguſtus the breach of his engagements, which was already ſufficiently puniſhed, but determined to pour his vengeance on Charles, as the author of the infidelity of his ally, and to make all poſſible advantage of the divided ſentiments and irreſolution of the Poliſh nation. It could not eſcape Peter's ſagacity that he would be hard preſſed by Charles, as ſoon as this monarch ſhould have ſettled his affairs in Germany; but he relied greatly upon the diſpoſition of the Poles, that reſentment of the arbitrary manner in which the Swedes had dictated, their indignation at ſeeing their country ruined, impoveriſhed, and enſlaved by a foreign power, and the intereſt which ſuch a variety of individuals had to oppoſe Staniſlaus; a king not eſtabliſhed by the ſtates, or tied down by the laws of the conſtitution, but ſettled upon the throne, and governing rather as the viceroy of Sweden than the ſovereign of Poland. Beſides, the czar was encouraged by certain neighbouring powers, who promiſed him aſſiſtance as ſoon as their peculiar circumſtances would admit. It was upon this foundation that he made vaſt preparations during the whole winter.

The czar's ſentiments of the treaty.

A.D 1707. Menzikoff had commanded the Ruſſian army and auxiliaries in Poland, ſince the departure of Auguſtus to Saxony. By his prudence and activity he had aſſembled a very conſiderable force, and now was taking meaſures in conjunction with the primate, lately biſhop of Cujavia, to alienate the minds of the Poliſh nation from the new ſovereign. The primate-archbiſhop owed his elevation to Auguſtus, and he had been confirmed in the dignity by the pope; but as the archbiſhoprick of Gneſna was likewiſe claimed by an adherent of

of Staniſlaus, his power reſted ſolely upon the ſucceſs of Auguſtus; and he reſolved to exert his utmoſt authority in maintaining that prince upon a throne which he had ſolemnly renounced. Menzikoff was ſenſible that his maſter was equally intereſted in diſputing the validity of the treaty of Ranſtadt; and he cloſed in with the primate in concerting meaſures which might defeat the treaty, and be the means of reſtoring Auguſtus. The primate publiſhed his writs for convoking a general council of the ſenators at Léopold, and the appearance of nobility at this aſſembly greatly exceeded expectation. The reſult of their deliberations was to renew and confirm the aſſociation formed at Sandomir, and to paſs the ſubſequent reſolutions: that the primate ſhould publiſh his univerſalia for a general diet at Lublin in the month of May following; that the petty diets ſhould alſo be ſummoned with the accuſtomed formality; that all perſons engaged in the oppoſite party ſhould be exhorted to return to their duty, and to unite for the common defence; that circular letters ſhould be diſpatched to the neighbouring powers, to acquaint them with the rights and liberties of the republic, to requeſt they would only acknowlege that ſovereign who ſhould be raiſed to the ſupreme dignity by the voice of the people, and that they would not beſtow the title of king upon any perſon who had uſurped that authority, or been violently thruſt into it by a foreign power.

A council held at Leopold.

Such reſolutions proved that Auguſtus was not wholly deſtitute of friends in Poland; but they tended nothing to the advancement of his intereſt: on the contrary, they ſuggeſted to the party of Staniſlaus the neceſſity of uniting more cloſely; and the czar had too much penetration not to be offended at proceedings ſo vain, oſtentatious, and frivolous. He perceived the impoſſibility of holding a diet, as had been reſolved by the council; and knew that even if it ſhould meet, no other purpoſe could be anſwered by it than deferring thoſe military operations, which alone could cut the knot of controverſy, too hard to be untied by all the refinement and art of policy. Already ſeveral palatines declared, that it was not practicable to form any ſalutary laws, while the kingdom was in a ferment of inteſtine commotion; and the party, in general, demanded the ſubſidies which the czar had given them reaſon to expect; a demand which he anſwered, by deſiring that the troops to be furniſhed as an equivalent might be raiſed. As he foreſaw that the return of Charles and Staniſlaus from Saxony would effect an entire change in the face of affairs, he laboured to accelerate the meaſures of the Poles, and in ſome reſpect

reſpect acted independent of the republic, diſpoſing his forces in ſuch a manner as to hold Poland and Lithuania in a kind of friendly ſubjection. Large detachments of Ruſſians entered Pruſſia, with intention to diſlodge the Swedes from Thorn, and divers other places which they poſſeſſed in that province. It was likewiſe concerted that the czar's troops ſhould invade Pomerania; but the king of Pruſſia's refuſal to grant them a paſſage broke the project. Peter's great favourite, prince Menzikoff, though active and vigilant in promoting the czar's intereſt, had however the misfortune to alienate the minds of ſeveral of the adherents of Auguſtus, by a ſupercilious haughty carriage. Smielgiſki in particular, the braveſt nobleman in the party, expreſſed the keeneſt reſentment at ſome indignities which he ſuſtained. He had been ſo fortunate as to ſeize upon the palatine of Kiow and his whole family, of which ſucceſs he gave the Ruſſian immediate notice; but Menzikoff, inſtead of thanking him for his diligence, claimed the honour to himſelf of ſending the priſoners to the czar, and arrogantly ordered Smielgiſki to ſurrender them to him without delay; an inſtance of arrogance, which ſo irritated the ſpirited ſtaroſt, that he immediately ſet the palatine at liberty, ſeized all the Ruſſians in his little corps, acknowleged Staniſlaus, and became the avowed enemy of the Ruſſians, and of Auguſtus. He beſides exerted ſuch vigilance in calling in his detachments and levying new forces, that he ſaw himſelf in a condition to keep the field without any dread of Menzikoff's reſentment. The czar lamented the loſs of this partizan: he was ſenſible to what cauſe it ought to be aſcribed; he endeavoured to moderate the pride of his favourite, and in the mean time varniſhed over the tranſaction, by imputing it to the fickleneſs and perfidy of Smielgiſki: however, the example of the ſtaroſt would ſeem to have made a deep impreſſion on the minds of ſeveral of the Poliſh nobility, who either actually received affronts from Menzikoff, or made that a pretence for ſharing the favours of Staniſlaus, and the king of Sweden. Prince Weiſnowiſki had hitherto ſupported the cauſe of Auguſtus, and fought at the head of an army compoſed equally of Poles and Ruſſians. Now he ſerved under Menzikoff, and it is probable that his pride was hurt by his being obliged to act in a ſubordinate ſtation. Accordingly he entered into an agreement with the Swedes, had the promiſe of being raiſed to the dignity of grand-general of Lithuania after Sapieha, and joined Lewenhaupt with all the troops under his command. Several other noblemen at the ſame time changed their principles, and Sinieſki in

particular,

particular, sword-bearer of Lithuania, deserted the Russians, and carried off with him a large sum of money, intended for the payment of the army.

Such were the difficulties which the czar of Muscovy had to encounter in his scheme of restoring Augustus to the throne of Poland. It is the opinion of some writers that, foreseeing the impossibility of giving effectual assistance to this unfortunate prince, and not at all disposed to acknowlege Stanislaus, his desire was that a king should be elected with whom he might concert measures with less trouble than he should have in managing a council, the members of which were averse to him, and at variance with each other. This new election they say he laboured to bring about with the diet now assembled at Lublin; but nothing could be obtained of the deputies besides complaints, which they were directed to make from the palatinates and towns groaning under the load of oppression sustained from all parties; but chiefly from the Russian army, and especially the Calmucks and other irregulars. The czar's commissioners, and, it is reported, he himself in disguise, endeavoured to give the Poles all possible satisfaction on this head; but such a variety of embarrassments arose, that the diet was frequently on the point of breaking up without coming to a single resolution. In the end, however, it was agreed, that an interregnum should be published, although Augustus had not regularly notified his abdication to the republic. The public declaration of a vacancy necessarily produced candidates; four appeared, but as their ambition proved unsuccessful, they were scarce ever heard of as competitors for the crown after their first nomination. Indeed, it would appear from the long letters which the czar sent to the queen of Great Britain and the states general, that he was extremely serious in the design of procuring a new election, and full of indignation against Augustus, who he complained had sacrificed him to the common enemy, and given up his envoy Patkul, contrary to the most acknowleged law of nations; but the sudden change of circumstances left him no opportunity of pursuing the plan he had laid down of equally punishing the arrogance of Charles, and the pusillanimity of Augustus.

All this while Poland was a scene of the most deplorable distress. The Russians levied exorbitant contributions on the adherents of Stanislaus and the Swedish faction, while they retaliated upon the nobility and gentry in the interest of the czar. The former set fire to the city of Lissa, in the palatinate of Posnania, one of the finest towns in Poland, which A.D. 1708.

which had frequently redeemed itſelf from this treatment, and being at laſt quite exhauſted and impoveriſhed, was laid in aſhes. Peter treated Poland as a conquered country, and diſplayed his taſte at the expence of juſtice and the Poliſh nobility, whoſe wrought plate, pictures, ſtatues, and other valuable effects, and curioſities he ordered without ſcruple to be ſent to embelliſh his capital. The return, however, of Staniſlaus from Saxony gave a check to the ravages of the Ruſſians, which the czar was told by ſome of his Poliſh friends would inevitably alienate the minds of the people, and conſtrain them even againſt their inclination and intereſt to join the Swedes. He was ſtill more diſconcerted by the arrival of the king of Sweden, who had rendered himſelf ſo terrible to the Ruſſians, that his preſence alone ſtruck them with conſternation. The deſigns of the czar and confederates were broke and diſconcerted; irreſolution and diſtruſt inſinuated themſelves into their aſſemblies; nothing was tranſacted; Peter was forced to collect his ſcattered troops, retire to Warſaw, and keep the Viſtula between him and the enemy. Siniowiſki offered to join him with the confederate army; but the czar refuſed the aid of auxiliaries, whoſe fidelity he diſtruſted, and would not even admit the Poles to take poſt in the rear of his troops, leſt they ſhould follow the example of Smielgiſki and Wieſnowiſki, upon ſome critical occaſion. But as if the misfortunes of Poland had not been completed by the ravages of two hoſtile armies, a peſtilential diſeaſe and famine appeared in the capital, and ſeveral of the great cities, ſweeping off incredible multitudes. The calamity was dreadful, and raged with extreme fury during the heat of ſummer, but gradually abated at the approach of the cold ſeaſon, and at length entirely vaniſhed.

In the month of November, Charles, at the head of the Swediſh forces, began his march towards the frontiers of Poland. Every movement of his forces evinced how dreadful he appeared to the Ruſſians, who retired with the ſame celerity as he advanced. They abandoned their poſts in Lithuania, while he advanced to Grodno. The troops aſſembled about that city could not be encouraged by the czar's preſence to ſtand their ground: he had come from Warſaw to perſuade them to ſtand a battle; but he was now forced to ſhare in the diſgrace of a precipitate flight, without exchanging a ſingle blow. They filed off in columns, and great numbers of ſtragglers fell into the hands of the Swedes, before the Ruſſian army reached Mobilow, on the Boriſthenes, where it was intrenched in a ſituation thought inacceſſible;

inacceſſible; but nothing could reſiſt the Swediſh army, now vigorous and refreſhed, fluſhed with victory, enriched with the treaſures of Saxony, and headed by a prince whom they deemed invincible. Charles croſſed the Boriſthenes at a place called Holowitz, and immediately attacked the Ruſſian intrenchments, where he was oppoſed by the generals Czeremetoff and Menzikoff in perſon, with ſeveral battalions, and the bulk of the Ruſſian cavalry. They ſuſtained the ſhock with unexpected firmneſs, and the engagement laſted for the ſpace of four hours with unparalleled fury. At length the Ruſſian front line was broke, upon which Czeremetoff drew off his forces to the great intrenchment in the rear, leaving near four thouſand men killed on the field of battle, and near an equal number wounded, who were taken priſoners; an advantage which the Swedes purchaſed with the price of much bloodſhed. About midnight he decamped ſilently, abandoning Mobilow, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, rather than run the hazard of expoſing the army under his command, and made not the ſmalleſt halt to refreſh the troops until he arrived within fourteen leagues of Smolenſko. Here it was that the czar joined his army, while Charles purſued him without ceaſing, determining to puſh his way to the capital of Ruſſia, and dictate there as he had done at Cracow and Dreſden; a flattering illuſion which ſoon vaniſhed, and he ſaw himſelf from the ſummit of proſperity plunged headlong to the very abyſs of misfortune. *Battle of Holowitz.*

The reſolution which Charles had formed of penetrating into Ruſſia was no way favourable to the peculiar circumſtances of Staniſlaus. He had delivered him from the main army of the Ruſſians, but ſtill there remained a ſufficient ſtrength to exerciſe the utmoſt courage and ability of the new monarch. Siniowiſki, inflexible to all the propoſals that had been made, was at the head of a body of confederate forces. This chief rather rejoiced at the defeat of the Ruſſians, as it occaſioned the removal of the Swedes; all he wanted was to gain time, which would neceſſarily bring him an acquiſition of ſtrength. He had taken up his quarters in Sandomir, while Staniſlaus was buſied in Lithuania; ſeveral overtures of agreement were made to him by Mr. Bonac, the French miniſter; but they were ſhifted off, in expectation that ſome ſudden turn of fortune would enable him to obtain better conditions. He was too much a politician not to diſcover that the victories gained by the Swediſh monarch would prove his deſtruction; and that the repeated loſſes of the czar, which he could ſo eaſily repair, would in the iſſue teach him to vanquiſh his conquerors, after

after they were reduced by fatigue, famine, and perpetual skirmishing. For these reasons he kept aloof, and received from time to time such intelligence from the czar as confirmed him in his opinion.

When Charles resolved to enter the Ukraine, he sent orders to general Lewenhaupt, who was at that time in Livonia, to join him with a convoy of cloaths, provision, and ammunition for the army. Lewenhaupt made ample provision of these necessaries, and advanced with fifteen thousand men to the neighbourhood of the palatinate of Smolensko, when he was unexpectedly attacked by the czar at the village Lesno. The action, which was obstinate and bloody, terminated to the advantage of the Russians, who had such a superiority in numbers as the Swedes could not longer withstand. However, Lewenhaupt, for three successive days, resisted the whole strength of the czar, and at length joined the Swedish army unconquered, after having slain thirty thousand of his enemies: but it was enough for Peter that he had destroyed the fruits of the expedition, deprived the Swedish army of the cloaths and other necessaries, of which they were in the utmost want, and reduced the invincible king to the very brink of destruction, without hazarding a general action, which he carefully avoided, until the strength and vigour of the enemy should be broke with fatigue, hunger, cold, and disease. It was not long after this action with Lewenhaupt that the famous battle of Pultowa happened; an event which we have recorded in the history of Sweden. It is sufficient therefore that we here trace its influence on the affairs of Poland.

King of Sweden defeated.

SECT. X.

Containing the History of Poland, to the Year 1715.

AUGUSTUS and STANISLAUS.

AUGUSTUS always regarded the treaty of Alt-Rantstadt as a compulsive act that was no longer binding than while the king of Sweden could enforce the observance of it. These were sentiments which the czar assiduously cherished; for which purpose he sent envoys secretly to Dresden, to project the plan of a treaty with the deposed king, and concert proper measures for his re-ascending the throne of Poland. Siniowiski was privy to the intrigue, and promised to assist the scheme that was laid, with the whole force of the confederate army; but Augustus,

guſtus, rendered wary by ſad experience, embraced with the utmoſt caution meaſures which might ruin him beyond a poſſibility of redemption, ſhould the fortune of the Swediſh monarch prevail in Muſcovy, as it had triumphed in Poland and Saxony. The arrival of his Daniſh majeſty at the court of Dreſden, had already ſuggeſted to the public the idea that ſome very extraordinary projects were in agitation. The aſpect of affairs in Poland began to change every day. The confederate army under Siniowiſki was now reinforced by twenty thouſand Ruſſians, who ſoon after defeated a body of ſix thouſand Lithuanians, commanded by the young prince Sapieha. The event of the battle of Pultowa entirely turned the ſcale of fortune, and fully determined Auguſtus openly to avow his intention of breaking the treaty of Ranſtadt, and re-aſcending the throne of Poland, a meaſure which it was plain Staniſlaus would be in no condition to diſpute. To him the czar firſt notified that ſignal victory, by which he fully revenged himſelf on the Swediſh monarch, now a fugitive in the Turkiſh dominions. While his troops were in purſuit of the remains of the Swediſh army, he invited Auguſtus to renew the very ſame treaty which had been broke by thoſe engagements that the Poliſh monarch contracted at Alt-Ranſtadt. He promiſed now to aſſiſt him againſt all his enemies, if he would enter the territories of the republic, and place himſelf at the head of the confederacy. Auguſtus, who only waited for the happy occaſion, readily embraced the propoſal, and immediately entered upon preparations for his return. He began with ſounding the opinions of the neighbouring princes with reſpect to his deſign of re-aſcending the throne of Poland. His ambaſſadors were ſent to thank the maritime powers for their conſtant refuſal to acknowlege Staniſlaus; but there were not wanting perſons who earneſtly exhorted him to lay aſide all ambitious views, by which he had been ſo extraordinary a ſufferer, and content himſelf with the enjoyment of his hereditary dominions, which he now happily poſſeſſed undiſturbed. But revenge co operated with ambition in determining Auguſtus to reject advice which he thought ſavoured more of cowardice than of political prudence. He therefore gratified his own inclinations, and publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his conduct. In this piece he enumerated all the tranſactions ſince the commencement of the war; he painted in the moſt odious light the arbitrary oppreſſive conduct of the king of Sweden; reaſoned upon the nullity of the election of Staniſlaus, vindicated himſelf for a breach of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt,

Change of affairs in Poland.

ſtadt, which he declared to be the moſt violent reſtraint ever laid upon any prince, and into which he had been betrayed by his own ſervants; he declared his intention of re-eſtabliſhing himſelf on the throne of Poland; and concluded with addreſſing himſelf to all the Chriſtian kings, electors, princes, and ſtates, requeſting their aſſiſtance as they regarded juſtice, order, religion, and the moſt ſolemn engagements.

A.D.1709. *Manifeſto publiſhed by Auguſtus.*

The world was by no means ſurpriſed at the publication of this manifeſto; it was generally expected that Auguſtus would pay no regard to the treaty with Sweden ſhould he ever have it in his power to attempt the recovery of his crown; yet the impreſſions which it made were as various as the prejudices and intereſts of the individuals whom it concerned. Thoſe who lamented the misfortunes of this prince, and were melted into compaſſion while he was expoſed to the inſults of the king of Sweden, now changed the object, poured out their tears for the gallant Charles, and exclaimed againſt Auguſtus as ungrateful and perfidious, becauſe he broke the ſhameful bondage to which he had been forced to ſubmit. Many exclaimed againſt the king for making uſe of ſo thin a varniſh as the allegation that his agents had exceeded their inſtructions. His committing a blank paper ſigned into their hands, to be filled up as the king of Sweden directed, was a confeſſion that the envoy could not exceed his commiſſion, and that the very worſt which could happen was expected: beſides, it was impoſſible, they affirmed, that perſons accuſtomed to tranſact buſineſs of ſtate could either be deceived or intimidated into meaſures contrary to their inclinations. Their degradation and impriſonment, with the cruel ſentence of traitors paſſed on Pfingſten and Imhoff, after the publication of the manifeſto, were regarded as ſtrokes of policy, and ſacrifices to the honour of the prince rather than proofs of the guilt of the commiſſioners who had been entruſted with the treaty. They inſiſted that the act of ratification was ſufficient for their juſtification; but they did not reflect that this very act was fraudulently obtained, as Pfingſten neither durſt mention it to his maſter in the tranſports of his anger, nor return without it to the king of Sweden. They argued that the letter which Charles forced him to write to Staniſlaus, was a ſufficient diſcharge to the Poles of their allegiance; as if an act extorted by violence could be of equal force with one voluntarily granted. Upon the whole, it ſcarce occurred to any of the politicians, who aſſumed to themſelves the province of deciding upon the equity of this affair, that the king-elector was actually diſcharged

charged from all his engagements by the repeated breach of articles committed by his Swediſh majeſty. To this breach the advocates for Auguſtus add, that the law of nations ſuppoſes when a victorious power abuſes his ſuperiority by preſcribing cruel and unjuſt conditions to the conquered, the engagements ſhall ſubſiſt no longer than while the prevailing power maintains its ſuperiority. The moment the balance is altered, the other will naturally reſume its equality, like a ſubſtance ſpecifically lighter than water, which floats on the ſurface the moment the power is removed that kept it under. The terrible manner in which the king of Sweden treated the electorate of Saxony is a preſumption that he did not expect Auguſtus would long adhere to his engagements, and he therefore deprived him of all reſources by draining his hereditary dominions.

Without regard to the different opinions of mankind, Auguſtus ſet out for Luſatia immediately after the publication of his manifeſto, and reviewed a body of thirteen thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, of the troops of the electorate. Here ſeveral of the Poliſh nobility came to invite him to return to the dominions of the republic, and accordingly he begun his march on the 20th of Auguſt through the duchy of Sileſia. His approach was ſufficient to diſſipate that dream of grandeur in which Staniſlaus had been wrapped ever ſince the departure of Auguſtus from Cracow. That prince now ſaw himſelf abandoned upon all hands, his protector a fugitive, and his rival ſupported by the moſt powerful monarch of the North. Filled with apprehenſion, he wrote to the emperor, the maritime powers, and the guarantees of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt; but they ſcarce deigned to favour him with an anſwer. He publiſhed his Univerſalia, explaining the motives that induced him to aſcend the throne, declaring that as he had taken the diadem with a view to the preſervation of liberty, he was now ready to renounce it, could that ſacrifice any way promote the tranquillity and peace of his country. This was a generous declaration, though few people believed it was ſincere. It was now impoſſible to maintain himſelf in the throne; and even his hope of eſcaping impriſonment depended wholly upon the body of Poles under Potoſki, and the Swediſh army commanded by general Kraſſaw, under whoſe protection Staniſlaus now placed himſelf. This general commanded an army of ten thouſand veterans: he knew he could depend on their valour, were matters to be determined by a ſingle battle; but he ſaw himſelf gradually hemmed in by the Ruſſians,

The Swedes and Staniflaus retire to Pomerania.

the Poles, and the Saxons. Kraffaw demanded a paffage from the court of Berlin into Swediſh Pomerania, which was denied: however the neceſſity of changing his preſent ſituation, obliged him to wave ceremonies. He paſſed through the Pruſſian dominions, and arrived with Staniſlaus at Stetin, after having obſerved ſuch ſtrict diſcipline in his march, that his Pruſſian majeſty had no cauſe of complaint. Great numbers of carriages were filled with plate which the Swedes carried off from the Poliſh churches, to ſupply the deficiency in the exorbitant contributions they had impoſed. The unhappy country bled equally under the cruel ravages of thoſe who called themſelves friends, and thoſe who openly avowed their enmity.

Auguſtus no ſooner received advice of the retreat of the Swedes, than he was certain that the oppoſition in Poland muſt be inconſiderable; but he dreaded that the Swediſh general would make an irruption into the electorate. Potoſki indeed, who continued in Poland at the head of a body of the forces of the country, threw out ſome menaces againſt Saxony; to prevent, therefore, a meaſure that might be attended with the worſt conſequences, Auguſtus ſet on foot a neutrality for the German dominions of all parties; and as this appeared equally to the advantage of the Swedes and Saxons, both readily agreed to a negotiation. General Kraffaw was ſenſible that the empire would oppoſe a farther attempt on Saxony; he knew that the emperor was greatly provoked at Charles for the diſreſpect with which he had treated the imperial dignity; and he beſides thought that an irruption into the king's German dominions would be furniſhing a dangerous example for the invaſion of the Swediſh provinces in the empire, conſidering the variety of powers who were ready to catch at the ſmalleſt handle, and turn the ſlighteſt pretext to the gratification of their ambition or revenge. There was hardly a ſtate in Europe that did not dread the fierce diſpoſition of Charles; moſt of them had received from him ſome haughty meſſage, or been treated with mortifying contempt. For theſe reaſons Kraffaw gladly conſented to the neutrality which the courts of Vienna, London, and the ſtates-general offered to guarantee: however, he ſtill reſerved a liberty of retracting, in caſe the treaty ſhould prove diſagreeable to the king, who was now an exile in Turky; and this proviſo ſoon appeared to be neceſſary, for Charles rejected the treaty with as much contempt as if he had ſtill fought at the head of a victorious army, inſtead of being a dependent for daily ſubſiſtence on the generoſity of a barbarous prince and people

Treaty of neutrality for the German provinces.

Staniſlaus

Staniſlaus had now exactly changed ſituations with Auguſtus. He ſaw no probability of retaining the regal dignity, and he earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the repoſe of his country once more reſtored. It was from this conſideration that he had made ſome overtures towards an abdication, which occaſioned Charles in his exile to anſwer coldly, when it was mentioned to him, "If Staniſlaus will not be king, I will beſtow the crown elſewhere." He was ignorant at that time of the ſtorm that was gathering againſt Sweden, and regarded the return of Auguſtus to Poland as a matter of very little conſequence. Staniſlaus comprehended the whole extent of the dangerous predicament in which he ſtood. He ſaw the czar filing off troops to attack Livonia, the king of Denmark ready to fall upon Schonen, while Auguſtus, at the head of a numerous army compoſed of Poles, Saxons, and Muſcovites, was reducing all the palatinates of the republic. The palatines of Mazovia and Lublin had taken the benefit of the amneſty which the king granted on his return; and Staniſlaus himſelf adviſed the great men, who were willing to ſtand to the laſt by him, to ſave the remainder of their fortunes by a timely acknowledgment of their error, and ſubmiſſion to ſuperior power. Many followed his advice; the court of Auguſtus was crowned with pretended penitents, and a few only had the generoſity to face adverſity, and prefer poverty with Staniſlaus to wealth with a prince whom they had oppoſed out of principle.

Interview between Auguſtus and the czar Peter.

About this time Auguſtus and the czar had an interview, and the Poles thought this a proper opportunity to requeſt that Peter would withdraw his armies from a country ſo exhauſted that it could ſcarce maintain the natural inhabitants. They alſo deſired that the Poliſh priſoners in his hands might be ſurrendered to them, particularly the undergeneral of Lithuania; but the czar, who did not care to give an abſolute denial, found means to prevaricate, becauſe he apprehended the return of the Swediſh army ſhould Poland be left deſtitute of forces. As to the priſoners, he ſaid, that inſtead of releaſing them he had a right to demand from the republic ſeveral noblemen whom he accuſed as deſerters to Staniſlaus, though on finding a change in that prince's circumſtances, they returned to their duty, or rather to what they perceived to be their intereſt. Wieſnowiſki and Smielgiſki were the principal objects of the czar's reſentment; they had embraced the party of Staniſlaus out of hatred to the Ruſſians, and being taken priſoners by the czar, they expected the moſt ſevere treatment which an indignant barbarian could invent; while on the

other hand Poniatowski and the palatine of Kiow adhered to the fortune of Staniſlaus, accompanied him in his exile, and preferred death and baniſhment to ſubmiſſion and the the diſgrace of abandoning their principles.

The pope abſolves Auguſtus from the engagements contracted by the treaty with Charles.

As the court of Auguſtus was filled with ſenators, it was thought proper to hold a council, and notify to the public the king's return, and to exhort all men to pay the uſual obedience to the ſovereign. Application was likewiſe made to the court of Rome, to releaſe the king from the obligations contracted by the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt; a few tender conſciences might be hurt by ſeeing him re-aſſume, without ſcruple, that diadem which he had ſolemnly renounced, and confirmed by the moſt ſacred obligations to another. The pontiff's abſolving power afforded remedies to be found neither in policy nor human reaſon; the nuncio granted the abſolution required, and all good Catholics were then unanimous in opinion, that the oaths taken by Auguſtus were of no ſignification. This abſolution was followed by writs iſſued for holding a grand council on the 4th of February, previous to which the king made a viſit to Warſaw, and then to Dreſden. His return to the electorate, and the arrival of the king of Pruſſia at Leipſick, exerciſed the wits of politicians. The two kings had an interview, and it was generally believed that a plan was concerted not very favourable to Sweden, which was now become the prey of every neighbouring power that retained the ſeeds of ambition, reſentment, or avarice. Auguſtus returned to Warſaw two days before the meeting of the great council, and was received with the warmeſt congratulations of the nobility. He was earneſt to have his alliance with the czar approved, and the treaty confirmed by the republic. This affair was propoſed to the great council; the ſenators ranged themſelves on the ſide of the court, and profeſſed themſelves at the king's devotion; but others of the nobility made vigorous oppoſition, and every day produced freſh impediments. The points propoſed by the ſenators were the following; that a general pardon ſhould be granted, except to the Dantzickers, whoſe obſtinacy deſerved puniſhment; that the war againſt Sweden ſhould be proſecuted, as the only means of eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace; that the republic ſhould levy a formidable army and provide ways and means for it's ſubſiſtence; that the czar ſhould be required to maintain ſtrict diſcipline, to pay the ſubſidies that were due, and to evacuate all the places belonging to the republic; that the treaty with his czariſh majeſty ſhould be confirmed by the council; and that proviſion ſhould be made for the ſecurity of the barrier towns,

towns, particularly the fortresses of La Trinité and Kaminiec.

However reasonable these propofals might appear, scarce a single article escaped severe strictures from the opposite party. The debates grew warm, and some nuncios were wound up to so extraordinary a pitch of passion, that declaring the throne vacant they demanded a new election. At last, after the most violent contentions, and some bloodshed, the resolutions of the assembly took a turn favourable to Augustus, and concluded with the subsequent decrees: that the treaty concluded with the Russians should be ratified by the council; that the army should be established on the footing proposed by the king and senate; that the public revenues should be levied by the great treasurer of the crown, and the army paid out of the money so collected; that the disputes relative to Dantzic and Thorn should be referred to commissioners; that the tax laid upon mills should be levied to discharge the debt due to the court of Berlin, in the ransom of Elbing; that a sum of money should be issued out of the treasury, in reward of the faithful services of count Denhoff, and other persons specified in the resolution of the council; and that ambassadors should be sent to the czar, the grand seignor, and the cham of Tartary.

Great council assembled. A.D. 1710.

Such was the happy termination of the disputes which had threatened the revival of civil commotions; but things did not altogether answer the expectation of Bussenburg, deputy of Dantzic. He had long applied in vain for an audience of the king: at last he obtained his request, and was admitted into the royal presence. Augustus sharply reproached him with the treason of his countrymen, first, in surrendering the king's effects, deposited with them in trust, to the Swedes; next, in rudely and insolently shutting their gates in the face of their sovereign, when he claimed their assistance; and lastly, in refusing to acknowlege him after he was re-established on the throne by the voice of the nation. He refused to give the deputy any satisfaction with respect to his demands, and referred him to the resolutions of the grand council. When the commissioners met on the affair of Dantzic, the king demanded five hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify him for his effects which the citizens had surrendered to the Swedes; nor would he mitigate the punishment incurred by felony, which he left entirely to the discretion of the commissioners. The Dantzickers offered four hundred thousand florins; but the king insisted upon the full value, and threatened to demand it at the head of an army. These menaces set the

Disputes with Dantzic.

burghers on making preparations for their defence; some hundreds of soldiers were levied, as if that force were sufficient to protect a large city against the united strength of Poland and Saxony: happily however, for them, certain powers interposed in their behalf, out of respect to whom Augustus sunk in his pretensions, compromised the affair, and accepted for payment a custom on certain merchandize for a limited term, which was deemed equivalent to the value of the effects he had lost.

By this time the king of Denmark had openly declared against Sweden, and actually made an irruption into Schonen, where his troops were defeated by the Swedish general Steinbock. The czar, informed of this advantage gained by his enemies, entered into a treaty with his Danish majesty, whereby he engaged to make a diversion in Finland. By these means Peter got possession of Wiburg and Riga, places of the utmost consequence to the execution of his vast commercial projects. As if the combination against the fugitive Charles was not yet sufficiently strong, Augustus laboured to detach the grand vizir from his interest; but his utmost endeavours proved fruitless: the royal exile kept up a strong interest at the Porte, and, by means of some faithful agents, effected revolutions in the Turkish ministry, as if he had actually directed the helm of government. Augustus, disappointed in this quarter, contrived other measures for accomplishing the same purposes. He resolved to ruin Sweden, and oblige Stanislaus to renounce the crown of Poland by a formal instrument. That prince depended so implicitly on the sword of the Swedish monarch, that he would not venture to abdicate a throne which he had no chance of ever again filling, though his single concession would have procured him very advantageous conditions from Augustus, who earnestly desired to be restored to his dignity without disputes, claims, or pretensions from competitors, who might always have it in their power to disturb his government. The palatine of Posnania, as Augustus affected to call Stanislaus, had still a party that obstinately combated fortune, and adhered to his fate, though without a prospect of being able to render him essential service. The palatine of Kiow over-run several provinces at the head of a little army, composed of six thousand Poles, devoted to his interest, and strongly attached to the fortunes of Charles and Stanislaus. He lately published a manifesto, in which he threatened Saxony with an invasion; but just as he was taking measures to strike some very signal blow, he was surprised by the Russian general Goltz, and after a desperate action, defeated with the

Schemes of Augustus.

A.D. 1711.

The palatine of Kiow defeated.

the loss of two thousand men killed or taken prisoners. With the remainder he crossed that ridge of mountains called Crapach, which divides Poland from Hungary, and there joined Ragotzi, general of the malcontents, by which junction he involved his Swedish majesty in fresh difficulties with the court of Vienna.

This was a fortunate incident to Augustus, which he endeavoured to improve to the utmost. Pomerania had hitherto escaped the ravages of war under the shadow of the neutrality which had been signed in the year 1709; but Charles had refused to ratify the treaty; and this refusal furnished the northern powers with a fair occasion to fall upon his German provinces. Augustus undertook to drive the Swedes out of Swedish Pomerania, and for his purpose he besought the assistance of his allies. Accordingly that province was invaded by twenty-five thousand Danes, ten thousand Saxons, and six thousand Russians, who, after some other conquests of less consequence, fell upon Stralsund. Wismar was, at the same time, blocked up; but such was the ardour of the confederates to begin the enterprize, that the necessaries for accomplishing it were neglected. Cannon for battering in breach were entirely forgot; the king of Denmark demanded a supply from Rostock, and met with a repulse. In a word, so badly was the scheme conducted, that it miscarried, and the princes returned in disgrace to their several dominions.

The dishonour with which the Pomeranian expedition was attended, had almost been succeeded by a total change of fortune, the return of Charles XII. to his own dominions, and the restoration of Stanislaus. The czar, with his whole army, was surrounded by the Turks on the banks of the Pruth, and reduced to the last extremity, when, by dint of address; and well-applied sums of money, he purchased a peace of the vizir that saved his army, and prevented Augustus, in all probability, from being a second time driven from the throne of Poland. By this treaty the czar engaged not to interfere with the affairs of the republic; but, as soon he escaped the danger, he easily found pretences to elude his promises, and still kept an army on foot in Poland, notwithstanding the repeated remonstances of the people, who were quite exhausted. In a diet assembled at Warsaw, it was proposed that the king should make the most pressing instances to the czar to withdraw his forces out of all the towns and garrisons of the republic, and entirely evacuate the Polish territories. After warm

A. D. 1721. April 5.

Complaints against the Russians.

warm debates this point was carried; and it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to the czar, who promised all that was required, and every one expected to see the territories of the republic entirely cleared of foreigners; but Peter still contrived pretexts for delaying the execution of his promises.

A D. 1713. *A general diet.*

In the course of this year a general diet assembled at Warsaw, to deliberate upon a variety of points of the last consequence to the good of the kingdom. A deputy of Sandomir had the courage to ask for what purpose the palatines of Podolia and Beltz were sent to the Turkish frontier to meet commissaries from the Porte. The same deputy also demanded to know by whose authority the Saxon soldiers had been incorporated with the Polish regiments; insisting that the officers should be called to account, and desiring to be informed in what manner the king proposed to employ his troops now that the peace of the republic was happily restored. These questions, though proposed only by a single voice, were soon echoed back by the whole assembly. Almost all the deputies demanded of the grand-marescha! to communicate those queries to the king, and report to the diet the answer he should receive. The marescha! obeyed; Augustus was alarmed; but he did not venture to give an absolute denial to the assembly. He told them that he had the diet's authority to send the two palatines to confer with the Turkish deputies; but their instructions were secret, as they certainly ought to be upon a subject of so delicate a nature and high importance; and that, as to the other two points, he would give them ample satisfaction as soon as the deputies should think proper to unite with the senate. Otherwise it would be preposterous to acquaint the whole world with the most secret transactions of the cabinet, by exposing them in a public assembly. However agreeable to good sense and true policy the king's answer appeared to the more moderate, it served no other purpose than that of increasing the dissensions, at a time when there was reason to believe that the Turks were assembling a great army upon the frontiers of Poland.

Though Augustus was fortunate enough to break the storm impending from that quarter, and to disarm the Turkish wrath, by the force of money judiciously applied; yet he could not reduce his own subjects to a conformity with his measures, nor to an affection for his person and government. Every thing consistent with his safety he performed

formed to acquire popularity; nevertheless, there were some considerable members of the republic suspected of regarding Augustus as an usurper, whom it would be justifiable to take off by means the most base and infamous. The palatine Jablonowski was supposed, in consequence of some inadvertent words he dropped, to have been at the bottom of the conspiracy; and to have contrived a plan for assassinating his sovereign, under pretence of entertaining him magnificently at his castle. It is probable, however, that the aspersions thrown upon the character of this palatine are without foundation; but it is certain that Augustus met with strong opposition from divers noblemen, who not only acknowleged his legal title to the crown, but were sincerely attached to his person. They murmured against the Saxons and Russians, who, after the campaign in Pomerania, took up their quarters in the northern parts of Poland and Lithuania. These troops likewise raised small contributions, which had nearly been attended with the most fatal consequences, as they were the occasion of reviving a spirit of disaffection which was hardly yet extinguished. While the king was at Dresden, the whole Polish nation uttered the bitterest complaints, which at length reached his ears by means of the primate, who wrote him an account of the situation of affairs, and strongly advised him to withdraw his Saxon forces. In general, the nobility seemed desirous of assembling a diet on horseback.

Conspiracy against Augustus.

Augustus had repaired to Dresden for the security of his person; he had pardoned two of his greatest enemies, and even affected to disbelieve the conspiracy which was said to be on foot: he had withdrawn thirteen regiments of his hereditary forces out of the dominions of the republic, and he had remitted a third of the taxes imposed for the support of the army: he was therefore greatly irritated that so many considerable sacrifices answered no other purpose than that of rendering the people more diffident, and exciting fresh symptoms of jealousy and distrust. For this reason he positively rejected the proposal of a diet on horseback, which would only be giving rebellion the colour of a legal assembly. This intimation he gave to the primate in answer to his letter, the consequence of which was, that the count Denhoff with some deputies from Poland and Lithuania, were sent to Dresden with instructions to insist upon the king's return to his Polish dominions, to issue writs for holding a diet, and dismiss all the Saxon forces. So bold a deputation, and the refusal of the primate, and

and some of the nobility, to attend a council summoned at Reydzin, obliged Augustus to think of returning to Warsaw. Before his arrival at that city, some of the nobility of Sandomir, Lublin, and Volhinia, had actually begun to mount, intimating a disposition to dispute the royal authority; upon which the king resolved to lay aside gentle measures, and told them in a firm tone, that he would treat as rebels and traitors all those who should appear without the authority which was rendered necessary by the nature of the constitution. To enforce this declaration, he had recalled the Saxons who had been dismissed, shewed the Poles that not want of resolution, but the desire of cherishing peace, had made him hitherto so pliant to all their demands; and now demonstrated by one extraordinary effort of spirit, that he would maintain the prerogatives of the crown, without desire of retrenching the rights of the people.

At this time both Charles and Stanislaus were prisoners in the Turkish dominions. The latter, after repeated fruitless efforts to defend the Swedish conquests, began to think seriously of abdicating the throne; and not having been able to procure the king of Sweden's consent by letter, he set out for the residence of that prince at Bender, in hopes of prevailing upon him in a personal interview, when he could explain himself more explicitly. Ignorant of the disgrace into which Charles was fallen with the Porte, he assumed the dress and title of a Swedish colonel, and as such was arrested and conducted to Bender, just as his benefactor was removing to Adrianople. It was on this occasion that Charles bestowed upon him the duchy of Deux-ponts, for which Stanislaus set out on the 4th of July, where he determined to live in a private capacity upon the revenues of his new acquired territories, which amounted to seventy thousand crowns [b].

A.D. 1714.

Provision made for Stanislaus.

Charles had no sooner returned to his own dominions than he began to make vast preparations for carrying on the war against all his enemies, which furnished Augustus with a seasonable pretext for retaining the Saxon forces in Poland. He had assembled a council of the senate, and obtained their assent to measures for preventing the Swedish army re-entering the kingdom, though it was universally believed that Charles must have kept on the defensive in Pomerania.

[b] Volt. Hist. p. 146.

By

By these means he procured respect to his government, kept the turbulent Poles in awe, and enjoyed more tranquillity and ease than he had known since his first accession to the throne. Yet his repose was by no means undisturbed with little differences excited by that spirit of freedom which always distinguished the republic. Repeated attempts were made to keep the regal power within limits, and secure the liberties of the people. A confederacy was planned by the palatines of Cracow, Siradia, and Sandomir, who promised each other assistance, and contracted mutual engagements to mount on horseback, to prevent Augustus from establishing a despotic government. Similar motions appeared in Lithuania, and the discontented senate were contriving the very same projects. Great numbers of the nobility had assembled tumultuously at Wilna, and formed an association to oppose the levying of farther contributions. However, the approach of a body of Russians kept the assembly in awe, and obliged the association to accept of the conditions offered from the court by the bishop of Cujavia.

The tranquillity restored was but of short duration; Augustus set out for Saxony, and his absence encouraged the malcontents to renew their intrigues. A new confederacy was set on foot; new levies were made and joined by the crown-army, under pretence of defending the public liberty. At the head of the insurrection was the palatine of Sandomir, who immediately entered upon measures for driving the Saxons out of the Polish dominions. Divers battles were fought with various fortune, but in general with disadvantage to the confederates, though the Saxon general Bauditz, apprehensive of the consequences, endeavoured to effect a suspension of arms, which was frustrated by the ardor of the enemy. They suddenly attacked the suburbs of Warsaw in the night, but were happily repulsed before they had done any considerable damage. This check served only to irritate their spirits and push them to extremities. They plundered and reduced to ashes a multitude of villages, and massacred the Saxons where-ever they fell in their way. The scene was horrible, and disgraceful to a people who acknowlege the doctrines of Christianity. Every where might be seen the vestiges of barbarous rage and ungoverned fury, which rendered the Poles insensible to the calamities of their country, provided they could involve the detested Saxons in the general devastation. Fortunately their rage was unsuccessful, as it was ill conducted; in most

A.D.1715.

New confederacy formed.

most encounters they were worsted; their repeated losses broke their spirit, softened their hearts, and opened their eyes to the dangers by which they were surrounded. They sent a trumpet to count Fleming, and now solicited the armistice they had lately rejected, about which he artfully raised difficulties without extinguishing hope; he at last granted a conference, and in the mean time found means to surprise the fortress of Zamose, and the maresehal of the confederacy. Two years elapsed in this unsettled state of affairs; no confidence could be placed in any truce or suspension, as no regard was paid, on either side, to the most solemn faith of treaties[c].

Disturbances in Lithuania.

In the duchy of Lithuania peace and tranquillity had reigned, until a few of the nobility, swayed by the example of the Poles, raised commotions, from which they hoped to obtain personal advantages. In the year 1715, a body of nobility assembled at Wilna, and proposed that a diet should be held; a point easily obtained, and attended with all the desired success; for the deputies to a man declared their resolution of joining the Polish confederacy. They obliged themselves by oath to demand from Augustus the departure of the Saxon troops; satisfaction for the damages they had occasioned; the cessation of contributions; the evacuation of all the places in their possession; restitution of all the cannon they had taken away, and of the estates of the princess of Newburg; the release of all persons in confinement, together with the liberty of holding a general diet. This event would have occasioned the renewal of hostilities more bloody than the former, had not the czar Peter interposed, and approached the frontiers with a formidable army, which terrified the malecontents into the resolution of desiring that their differences might be amicably compromised. This request produced the conferences at Lublin, where a suspension of arms was formally accepted by both parties; nevertheless, the agreement seems to have been no more than a stratagem laid by each to gain advantages. No sooner had the king performed his engagements than the confederates surprised Posnania, and took the city by storm, where they wantonly massacred in cold blood a great number of the inhabitants. Augustus was violently incensed at this perfidy; he published bitter declarations against the confederates, and determined on the most vigorous measures, calling upon the czar to

Cruelty of the confederates.

[c] Parthen. tom. ii.

assist

aſſiſt him in bringing to reaſon his rebellious ſubjects, and that monarch detached a body of Muſcovites into the heart of Poland. Here they had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the confederates, and obtained ſo many trivial victories, as obliged the diſcontented Poles to renew the negociations which they had ſo frequently and ſo imprudently broken. Conferences were appointed, and preliminaries adjuſted, in ſettling which the chief obſtacle was not the diſſolution of the confederacy, but the time when this illegal aſſociation ſhould be diſſolved. The confederates inſiſted they ſhould hold themſelves united until the meeting of the diet; while the king was equally reſolute that his Saxons ſhould not evacuate Poland before the ſeparation of the confederate army. After warm diſputes a medium of agreement was happily ſuggeſted; and it was concluded that all confederacies ſhould be aboliſhed, cancelled, and annulled; that a diet of pacification ſhould be held forthwith; that a certain number of ſtanding forces ſhould be maintained for the king's defence, to prevent the neceſſity of keeping foreigners in pay; that the number of thoſe troops ſhould be fixed and invariable; and that all perſons bearing arms without the king's permiſſion, ſhould be deemed enemies to the public tranquillity. An amneſty enſued, that was followed by an exchange of ratifications; to which ſucceeded a diet of pacification, and the departure of the Saxons from the territories of the republic. Thus ended the civil diviſions of Poland, maintained almoſt without interruption ſince the death of Sobieſki, to the utter extinction of order, peace, induſtry, arts, ſcience, and every bleſſing of repoſe and good government.

End of the civil diviſions.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIX.

The History of Prussia.

Containing an Account of the present State, and ancient Religion and Government of this Country, as far as can be collected from the imperfect Materials which have escaped the Ravages of Time. Together with a Succession of the Great Masters of the Teutonic Order of Prussia.

NOTWITHSTANDING the large district called Prussia hath, for a series of years, been divided into the German and Polish departments, they were certainly once united under the same princes, subject to the same government, and inhabited by the same people, who were descended most probably from the Sclavonians, the general stem of all the northern nations in the neighbourhood of Poland. Stella conjectures that the country derives its name from the Borussi, a particular clan of the Sarmati, who, migrating from the foot of the Riphæan mountains, were tempted by its beauty and fertility to fix their habitation here; whence, by an easy corruption, is derived the appellation of Prussia [b]. It would be vain to search antiquity for the etymology of a word which will admit of a thousand various conjectures; we think Stella's opinion the most plausible, though he neither pretends to ascertain the æra of this migration, nor to relate any of the particulars (A).

Prussia, including the present kingdom of that name and the Polish province, is of great extent, being washed on the north by the Baltic; bordered on the south by Poland

[b] Stell. apud Pistor. tom. i. p. 9.

(A) It is allowed by the best authorities, that the name of Prussen, or Prussia, was first known about the beginning of the tenth century. It was differently written by almost all the old historians: by some it was called Pruzi, Prucci, or Pruti; by others, Bruchia, Borussia, Porrussia, which last etymology is by some moderns esteemed the most probable. Po, in the language of the country, signifies near; and Porrussia, near Russia, whence comes Prussia (1).

(1) Æn. Sylv. apud Pistor. lib. i.

and

and the palatinate of Mazovia; on the west by Pomerania; and on the east by Lithuania and Samogitia. It is, besides, watered by a variety of fine rivers, as the Vistula, Niemen, Pregel, &c. which, with its maritime situation, renders it extremely commodious for commerce; and accordingly we find, that a considerable trade hath long been carried on by Dantzick, Marienburg, Pillau, Konigsberg, and other cities and towns, situated either upon the sea, or the borders of navigable rivers. The soil in general is fertile; the climate not extremely severe, and the people more industrious than their neighbours of Poland and Lithuania; nevertheless, great part of the country lies uncultivated, and almost unpeopled. It has been affirmed, that the jurisdiction of the ancient kings of Prussia was confined entirely to Regal Prussia, now subject to the Polish republic, and never extended to Ducal Prussia, or the division belonging to the house of Brandenburg; but we think it much more probable, that Venedut and his twelve sons were sovereigns over the whole tract of land called by the common appellation of Prussia; and we are certain, that the Teutonic order not only possessed this whole country at one period, but likewise great part of Pomerania, and divers Polish provinces.

Prussia affords great abundance of corn, culinary vegetables, fruit, and pasturage; it is also well stocked with horned cattle, horses, and game of every kind; but its chief commodities are wool, honey, wax, flax, pitch, coals, hemp, hops, buck-wheat, and amber. A considerable trade hath been driven in oak; but that timber is now greatly diminished in Prussia. As to amber, it is found in great quantities on the coasts of the Baltic, especially in Samland, upon great trees, which are buried under ground in a vitriolic earth, containing an oily substance: whence some naturalists are of opinion that amber is a concretion formed from the coagulation of the oil by the vitriolic acid, and that it is washed off the trees, and driven on shore by the strong westerly, or north-west winds. The profits arising from amber are said to bring into the royal treasury of Prussia above twenty-six thousand ducats yearly. To these particulars we may add, that all the rivers, bays, lakes, and canals, with which the country is watered, abound with fish; salmon, sturgeon, sole, turbot, lampreys, and other kinds the most delicious and highly rated [c].

The kingdom of Prussia, from which the present elector of Brandenburg deduces his regal title, exclusive of the

[c] Busching, tom. i. p. 528.

Polish division, is reported to contain about six hundred and forty thousand persons capable of bearing arms, according to an estimate made by his present Prussian majesty. Since the year 1719, it is computed that no less than thirty-four thousand Calvinists have removed from France, Switzerland, and Germany, into this kingdom, to whose industry it owes great part of its opulence, felicity, and beauty, they having built four hundred villages, eleven towns, eighty-six fine private country-seats, fifty new churches, besides founding a thousand village-schools. Before these migrations, the inhabitans were composed of native Prussians, who appear by their language and manners to be the genuine descendants of the Sclavi; of Lithuanians, whose ancestors were the Nadravians; and of Poles, intermixed with great numbers of English, French, and Dutch.

Ducal, or the present kingdom of Prussia, was, at the first introduction of Christianity into the country, divided into four dioceses; Culm, Ermeland, Samland, and Pomesan, all under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Riga. When Prussia Ducal was secularized by the margrave Albert, he committed the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs to the bishop of Pomesan. Some years after, both this bishoprick and that of Samland were suppressed, two consistories being erected in their stead, whereof one was held at Konigsberg, and the other at Saalfeld. To them belong the right of issuing all commissions, examining all accompts, and giving proper vouchers with regard to the ecclesiastical revenues; nor can there be any appeal from their authority, except on extraordinary emergencies, to the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom [d].

It will furnish a different idea from what is generally entertained of the kingdom of Prussia, if we consider it in a commercial view. Before the flames of the last unhappy war broke out, and involved this as well as the neighbouring countries in confusion and devastation, trade was assiduously cultivated, under the immediate eye, and cherished by the munificent patronage of the sovereign. Manufactures of every kind were daily improving and multiplying; and most of those luxuries of life, which in the last reign were imported from other countries, were now produced by the art and ingenuity of the inhabitants. Glass and iron works were erected and brought to considerable perfection; powder, paper, brass, and copper mills; manufactures of linen, cloth, thin stuffs, silk, and cotton were

[d] Frederician Code, tom. i.

set

ſet up, with all the appearance of ſucceſs. In a word, every kind of domeſtic induſtry was eagerly puſhed, and a commercial, buſy, thriving ſpirit, ſeemed to be univerſally rouſed.

In the preſent reign a college of commerce and navigation was erected, for the more eaſily adjuſting all diſputes, and promoting all ſchemes which might be deemed advantageous to the traffic of the kingdom of Pruſſia. This board will appear the more neceſſary if we take a view of the extent of the Pruſſian exports. In grain, no leſs than thirteen thouſand laſts are annually vended to foreign merchants, and exported by ſhipping; beſides twelve thouſand ſtone of wax and honey, a prodigious quantity of graſs-manna, linſeed-oil, flax, hemp, linſeed, and hemp-ſeed: the export of the two laſt articles ſingly amount to five thouſand laſts. To theſe we may add, pine-trees for maſts, deal boards, oak planks, tar, wood-aſhes, pot-aſhes, leather, elks ſkins, furs, amber, mead, dried fiſh, ſturgeon, butter, tallow, ſtags horns, hogs briſtles, elks hoofs, and other articles, either the immediate produce of the country, or brought by the induſtry of the Pruſſians from the great-duchy of Lithuania. To carry on the whole commerce of Pruſſia, no leſs than five hundred and fifty veſſels are continually employed, which import wine, ſalt, ſpice, fine linen and cloth, herrings, tin, lead, tobacco, ſugar, rice, coffee, tea, raiſins, almonds, indigo, and other commodities of the different kingdoms of Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, taking in exchange the native articles above mentioned.

The Pruſſian ſyſtem of laws have long been celebrated over Germany for their preciſion and brevity, though they were defective in one particular, as not being founded upon general principles, deduced from the law of nature. Beſides, a variety of abuſes had crept into the practice of the courts; ſo that the preſent king reſolved to complete and eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem, which has been publiſhed under the name of the Frederician Code, and received as the ſtandard of law over all the Pruſſian dominions. The Keniglifh Regierung, or Royal Court of Regency, is the ſupreme tribunal, to which the laſt appeal is made in all caſes, political, civil, or eccleſiaſtical; and the ſame power is there veſted in the ſovereign alone, that is in England divided between the prince and the repreſentatives of the people. Every member of the ſupreme college is likewiſe a privy-counſellor, or miniſter of ſtate and war, each having his particular department: their number is five, and there are two ſecretaries. There are alſo two chambers of

war and the revenue at Konigsberg and Gumbinnen, which direct every thing relative to the excise, revenue, trade, manufactures, magazines, forage, and the affairs of the colonies; though most of these particulars are referred entirely to the college of trade and navigation. Subordinate to the members of this chamber, who are styled counsellors of war and the demesnes, are the counsellors of the taxes, the provincial receivers of the taxes, the commissaries of war, the officers of excise and licences, the farmers of the crown-lands, and the officers of the revenue in the different cities.

As to the Prussian revenue, it arises from the customs, excise, and services; stampt paper, news-papers, almanacks, &c. the crown-farms and districts; the corn and other mills; timber out of the royal lands; duties on venison, and the skins of stags, elks, and other beasts; pine-trees for masts out of the king's forests; the public granaries, manufactures, post-houses, salt and iron works; feoffees, and knights military service, which is still maintained in Prussia; the chests of forfeiture and recruit, in which are deposited the purchase-money of all public employments; the sale of amber, and duties on sturgeon, &c. In a word, the public revenue is considerable, and the taxes oppressive, except when an active commerce is pursued; nor need we be surprised at the loads imposed on the subject, when we consider that the Prussian is now a kind of military government; and that even before the commencement of last war, the king had a standing army of one hundred and forty thousand men.

Regal Prussia. With respect to Prussia Royal, or the division annexed to the Polish crown, it differs but in few particulars from what we have related of Ducal Prussia. This district is computed about thirteen German miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. The commodities yielded by the country are similar to those we have mentioned; nor doth it differ considerably in fertility or soil, except to the south side, which is more barren, and unfit for pasture. Prussia Regal, or Polish Prussia, is a distinct political body, independent, and enjoying nothing in common with the Polish republic, except being governed by the same monarch: like the great-duchy of Lithuania, it is connected with the crown of Poland by a perpetual, indissoluble alliance. When Regal Prussia put itself under the protection of Casimir IV. it was expressly stipulated, that it should own no dependence on the republic; but that the sovereign should personally order and determine all matters relative to Prussia, and frequently visit their country, to summon and preside

preside at general diets. Hence, though annexed to the crown, Prussia hath nothing to do with the republic; but is, in fact, a free state, possessing the same right as Poland and Lithuania to vote at the election of a sovereign; to whom the Prussians never pay homage until he hath sworn, in the most solemn manner, to preserve them in all their rights and privileges. Nor can the king determine, in regard to any affair of public concern, without the concurrence of the states, who are divided into spiritual and temporal members, the former being composed of the mitred prelates, and the latter of the nobility and burghers.

Formerly the diets of this country were, like those of Poland, ordinary, or in course, and extraordinary, or upon critical and important occasions. For the last century the ordinary diets have been discontinued, because the usual rotation of affairs did not require that the nobility and burghers should be put to a certain periodical expence, when there was, perhaps, nothing which demanded their attendance, besides the observance of the constitutional form. Still the extraordinary diet is convoked; but the king has the choice of time and place; though, as to the latter, Marienburg and Graudentz are fixed upon alternately. Previous to the general Prussian diets, the lesser diets are held by the king's appointment, as in Poland, and their intention is directly similar; namely, to nominate deputies to the general assembly of the states. The instructions of the deputies are in the Polish language, their expences are defrayed in part by the public, and the assembly hath for its head the king in person, or his commissioner. All decrees are translated into the Latin tongue by the secretaries of Thorn, according to the sense of the states; and at the close of the diet are publicly read, and sealed with the arms of Prussia Regal. Farther, the Prussian diets are divided into conventus ante-comitiales, and conventus post-comitiales; in the former of which the king directs the matters to be deliberated, that must be afterwards determined in the general diet of the Polish republic, and the representatives are chosen to attend the Polish diet. In the conventus post-comitiales, new taxes are imposed; old imposts abolished; former accounts are revised, passed, and confirmed; and whatever hath been transacted in the general diet of Poland, which is thought to be detrimental to the particular interest of Prussia, is verbally censured, and then protested against in writing. It may be deemed oppressive to the Prussians, that, besides attending their own diets, they are under the necessity of sending deputies to the diet of Poland; yet, though this

necessity augments their public expence, it is essential to to the preservation of liberty, and is ballanced by the disuse of the ordinary diets. They, besides, pay no toll or custom; and, when they are in Poland, no more is demanded of them than the duties of the frontier, which are of long standing.

Many, indeed, are the privileges enjoyed by the Prussian subjects of his Polish majesty. They are not, for instance, obliged to serve in any military expedition beyond the limits of the province. However, this privilege is denied to the citizens of Thorn, who, in consideration of the liberty of purchasing and holding estates like the nobility, oblige themselves to send thirty horsemen into the field, completely mounted. Formerly Prussia had its own coin: now the money is reduced to the standard of Poland, for the greater conveniency of the whole republic. The three principal cities, indeed, of the province, enjoy the permission of coinage in gold or silver; but whether this privilege be an article in the alliance with Poland, is what we cannot determine upon any authority.

We must observe, that causes are tried within the district called Regal, or Polish Prussia, by the noble laws of the country, and the system of laws composed in Culm, generally distinguished by the appellation of the Culmean Code. In Elbing, and some other towns, the Lubec laws are practised; but the nobility in every palatinate make use of the provincial and castle law. From this variety of law proceed infinite inconveniences: litigations and appeals are multiplied, without rendering the distribution of justice more certain; hence it is probable, that the Frederician Code, now universally received in Prussia Ducal, may one day take place in Prussia Royal, under such restrictions and modifications as are required by the differences of the two constitutions. We must not omit a kind of association that was formed among the small towns, during the government of the Teutonic order, and which still subsists. By this union they engaged to support each other in vindication of their common privileges; to consult their interest as a community in their particular assemblies; and to recommend their common concerns, in the general diets of the province, to the representatives of the great cities, as those of Thorn, Elbing, and Dantzic.

Regal Prussia is properly divided into two dioceses, those of Ermland and Culm. The former claims vast prerogatives: the bishop is president and chief among the nobility; he acknowleges no subordination to the primate-archbishop of Gnesna, but holds immediately of the pontiff:

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his diocese is of great extent, within which he is supreme in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical; his revenues amount to sixty-four thousand dollars yearly, and he is elected out of their own body by the chapter, the king first nominating the person most agreeable to him; he styles himself Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, in all public and private writings, by virtue of the dignity conferred on one of the bishops by the emperor Charles IV. As to the bishop of Culm, neither his diocese nor his privileges are so extensive: his revenues are, nevertheless, very considerable; and he enjoys one very peculiar prerogative, namely, that he is qualified, in consequence of his sacred function and preferment, to be chancellor of Prussia; an employment equally honourable and lucrative: to the title of bishop of Culm he adds that of bishop of Pomesan, just as the other prelate styles himself bishop of Ermland and Samlund.

We now proceed to describe a few of the principal cities in Ducal and Royal Prussia, beginning with the former. The first city in opulence and power, and, indeed, the capital of Ducal Prussia, is Konigsberg, called in Polish, Krowlewies, and in Latin, Regiomontum, or Mons-regius, situated on the river Pregel, over which the inhabitants have built seven bridges, to render convenient the communication between the different quarters of the city. Konigsberg was founded in the year 1255, when the first Premislaus, king of Bohemia, came to the assistance of the Teutonic knights against the Prussian idolators. It was by the direction of this prince that a castle was first built on the spot where the city stands, to which, in progress of time, a town was added. The city is of great extent, and the rampart with which it was surrounded in 1626, measures about seven miles in circumference, having thirty-two ravelins and eight gates. Enclosed in this wall are several gardens, meadows, and fields; whence we may conceive that the place is not impregnable, as it would require a numerous army for its defence. Notwithstanding these extraordinary dimensions, the number of houses doth not exceed three thousand eight hundred, and the inhabitants are computed at sixty thousand. Here is an university of some reputation among the northern nations, called Academia Regiamontana, Albertina, or Pregelana, from the name of the city, the founder, or the river Pregel. In 1544, it was founded by the margrave Albert, and endowed with extraordinary immunities. We cannot pretend to give a description of all the public edifices with which Konigsberg is adorned; we shall, therefore, only observe, that the exchange for merchants is a magnificent

Konigsberg.

edifice, embellished with great variety of curious paintings. The palace, with its suburbs, is truly royal. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, the enclosed area containing one hundred and thirty-six paces in length, and seventy-five in breadth. The foundation of this building appears to have been laid at an early period of the Teutonic order; and it is affirmed, that the wall on the north side is the same that was first erected. In a word, the city of Konigsberg hath always made a considerable figure in trade and navigation. Formerly it was engaged in the association of Hanse Towns, and its commerce is still in a flourishing condition.

Pillau. The next city that deserves notice is Pillau, in the province of Samland. This is an exceeding strong place, with a fine harbour, and hath always been reputed the key and bulwark of Prussia towards the sea. Pillau stands on a point of land projecting into the sea; is well fortified, much frequented by foreigners, rich, and populous. The fort is nearly a regular pentagon, well planted with cannon; the bastions make a fine appearance, and all the buildings belonging to the fortifications are strong, beautiful, and regular. In the same province, but in a different government, stands the ancient, regular, and well-built *Velau.* town of Velau, at the conflux of the rivers Alle and Pregel. This town carries on a considerable trade, though it has hardly recovered the damage sustained by a great fire in the year 1736.

Marienwerder. In the province of Oberland, and government of Marienwerder, stands the town of that name, called by Latin writers Insula Mariana, situated on the frontiers of Pomerania, at an inconsiderable distance from the Vistula. This town is well built, regular, and fortified with a strong castle. Formerly it was the residence of the grand-masters of the Teutonic order, and was founded as early as the year 1233. It is but indifferently situated for foreign commerce: however, as the inhabitants are industrious, they have set on foot several manufactures, and among the rest salt-works, by means of which they carry on a tolerably brisk trade with Pomerania and the neighbouring countries.

Little Lithuania is always reckoned among the provinces of Ducal Prussia, and acknowleges the sovereignty of the *Memel.* same monarch. Here stands Memel, a trading town, fortress, and sea-port, built in the year 1279, fortified in 1312, and given in 1328 to the grand-master of the Teutonic order in Prussia, by the governor of Livonia. The port is good, the town populous, the trade flourishing, and

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the place fortified with three whole and two half bastions, besides strong out-works, and a regular citadel.

Next to Konigsberg, the largest and most opulent town in Prussia Ducal, is Tilsit, honoured, in the year 1552, with the privileges of a city. It stands on the Memel, is fortified by an old castle, and carries on a vast trade with the capital in corn, linseed, butter, and other commodities. Besides these, there are great variety of smaller trading towns in the different governments, upon which the reader may consult modern topographical writers, and, among the rest, M. Busching, the most accurate and recent in this particular. *Tilsit.*

Polish, or Regal Prussia, is more remarkable for strong, opulent, considerable, and commercial cities, than the German department which we have now described. Here stands Dantzic, one of the most considerable cities in the North, of which we have already spoken in the history of Poland. *Dantzic.*

In the palatinate of Culm stands the capital of the same name, called Chelmno by the Polish writers. This city was founded on the banks of the Vistula, as early as 1239, and bequeathed by one of the dukes of Mazovia to the knights of the Teutonic order, in consideration of certain services performed by the fraternity. The Polish writers, as we have seen, give a different account of the first introduction of the knights into Prussia. Here the high tribunal of all Prussia was held, while the Teutonic knights possessed the sovereignty of Culm; whence the Culmean law acquired such reputation. Formerly it was a Hanse Town, reckoned among the great cities subject to the crown of Poland, and consequently endowed with the privilege of sending representatives to the senate, Prussian council, and states. *Culm.*

Thorn is situated in the same palatinate, and is more ancient and considerable than the former, though not the capital of the province. It stands on the Vistula, was founded in 1231, is the repository of the records of Prussia, and its magistrates are honoured with the precedence of those of the other cities. Some antiquaries conjecture, that it was called Thorn, because the Teutonic knights, by means of this city, opened to themselves a thor, or *door*, into Prussia; which is, indeed, corroborated by the city arms, representing a door thrown open. Thorn enjoys many privileges in common with Elbing and Dantzic; but it hath others of some consequence peculiar to itself. The recorder of this city is to write down the decrees of the diet of Prussia, in the name of the whole country, as we mentioned *Thorn.*

mentioned a little before: he is to read them publicly, and then deposit them among the archives in the chamber of records in Thorn. Of this honour the city and recorder are extremely jealous and tenacious. Two members of the council of Thorn assist at the sessions of the Culmean judicature, which is annually held here by the nobility. "As Thorn, for centuries past, says Busching, hath been the staple city, it is confirmed in the inviolable possession of that advantageous privilege; and as the Vistula waters its territory, the islands and fisheries on that river were made the property of the city." But the immunity that is esteemed superior to all others, is the privilege which the burghers of Thorn enjoy of purchasing fiefs and estates, which none besides, except the nobility, possess in this country.

Thorn consisted formerly of the Old and New Town, each having its respective council, magistracy, and police: for the three last centuries they have been incorporated, though they are still separated by a wall and moat. The fortifications are considerable, and the garrison entirely composed of burghers, the quartering regular troops here being inconsistent with the privileges of the city. For a great number of years the commerce of Thorn flourished; and it was formerly considered as one of the principal of the Hanse Towns. Independent of the other cities of the association, Thorn carried on a prodigious trade in the Baltic; but a variety of accidents, by which the channel of the river became choaked up, destroyed that commerce, by preventing large ships from entering. From this cause, and the misfortunes consequent on war, Thorn sustained divers rude shocks, which greatly diminished its former grandeur: in 1655 it surrendered to Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden. Three years after it was vigorously besieged, and, in the end, reduced by the Poles and Brandenburghers. Charles XII. of Sweden, in 1703, bombarded, took, and obliged it to pay the most oppressive contributions, and even destroyed the fortifications, contrary to the express tenor of the capitulation. Thorn was, afterwards, almost depopulated by a dreadful plague; and the subsequent years were almost fatal to the revenues of the city, by the confederacies in Poland, and the disputes about the crown of that kingdom.

It may be thought extraordinary that two languages are here spoken by all degrees of men, in the utmost purity. It is difficult to determine whether the German or the Polish be the vernacular tongue of a native of Thorn; both are spoken with such purity and elegance, that great numbers

bers of the Polish and German gentry send their children to this city to complete their education, and acquire a perfect knowlege of their own languages.

The Lutheran is the established religion of Thorn. It was introduced at the reformation in 1520, and so successfully propagated, that in 1557, considerable privileges in spiritual affairs were granted to the city by king Sigismund Augustus, which have been confirmed by succeeding monarchs

Marienburg.

In the prefecture of Marienburg stands the capital of that name, formerly the residence of the great-masters of the Teutonic order. It is situated upon the Nogal, one of the branches of the Vistula; was built in 1304, though the castle is said to have been erected near a century before. For several years this city was mean and contemptible; but it was gradually beautified, adorned, and enlarged by the grand-masters, though it dwindled by degrees after the extinction of the order. At present it is chiefly remarkable on account of a wooden bridge, laid over the Nogal, reported to be five hundred and ninety-five feet in length, and maintained at a prodigious expence to the inhabitants.

Elbing.

The last city we shall describe is Elbing, in the prefecture of Marienburg, seated on the river Elbing, whence it takes its name. This city dates its foundation in 1239, and its privilege of coining from the year 1246, which it still maintains. Elbing is composed of the Old and New Towns, divided by the river: united, they form a large, handsome, and opulent city; but the fortifications are constructed after the old manner, and scarce capable of making any resistance against the method of attack now universally practised. Elbing is a hanse town; and as it was originally inhabited by a colony from Lubec, it is still governed by the laws of that city: however, the burghers possess certain important and peculiar privileges. The commerce carried on by this city is very considerable; and it hath for ages past been reputed, next to Dantzick, the most wealthy in Prussia Regal. In ecclesiastical matters, it acknowleges the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ermland, as far as is consistent with the difference of religion, the evangelic faith being chiefly professed by the inhabitants. We have had occasion, in the course of the preceding history, to relate the various revolutions which Elbing underwent; it would be, therefore, unnecessary to recapitulate them in this place: sufficient it is to observe, that it may be reckoned among the most valuable cities subject to the crown of Poland.

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With respect to the ancient state of Prussia, the form of government, manners, and religion of the inhabitants, we have but a very scanty and imperfect kvowlege. Stella is the only writer who hath treated of the antiquities of this country, and the greater part of his account is justly rejected as fabulous. We shall therefore venture only to relate a few of those particulars, upon which the best authorities agree.

Customs of the ancient Prussians.

The ancient Prussians were a set of barbarians and robbers, who lived upon raw flesh, drank the blood of horses at their feasts (A), sacrificed the prisoners taken in war, and were the perpetual foes and disturbers of all the neighbouring nations. For a great number of years they had no form of government: property was in common, and every man seized upon whatever best suited his ambition and inclinations. Strength was the only standard of right; and nothing but confusion and anarchy reigned, until experience taught them the necessity of vesting some individual of their own number with supreme authority. So extremely savage was this people, as to be even unacquainted with the method of constructing huts. They took up their dwelling in caves, and cavities of rocks and trees, in which they protected their children from the inclemency of the weather, and the cruelty of enemies. Polygamy was, in consequence of their anarchy, permitted; and no other rule was observed, with regard to the number of wives, than the possibility of maintaining them. Fathers and mothers possessed an absolute power over the wills and lives of their children; for, as there were no magistrates in public, every master enjoyed despotic authority in his own family; and it is probable, that the husband's power was as unlimited over his wife as over his children. Before the Borussians, or Prussians, a name at that time confined to the inhabitants of the interior parts of the kingdom, had borrowed any of the customs of the Sudini, the inhabitants of Samland and the sea-coast, adulterers were burnt: afterwards they relaxed in the severity of the punishment annexed to this crime. But the most barbarous practice of which they were guilty, was the putting to death all the sick of whose

(A) Stella alleges, that they used to drink horses blood, even to intoxication; but he does not mention any particular method used of communicating this inebriating quality to the blood of animals (1).

(1) Apud Pistor. tom. i. p. 4.

recovery

recovery they despaired; a custom still prevalent among some of the Negro nations on the coast of Africa. From the Sudini, or Sudavicans, they borrowed a superficial knowlege in agriculture, fishing, and making wine; for the use of which they exchanged the animal juices, which they formerly regarded as the most delicious potation. The arms of the Prussians were extremely simple, consisting chiefly in sharp stakes hardened in the fire, which they made use of in the stead of lances and javelins. All booty was immediately divided into three parts: the first was appropriated to the gods, the second to the priests, and the third to the captors. Before the Prussians were incorporated with the Sudini, they differed little from the wild beasts of the forests; and it is confidently affirmed, that before this period they were totally destitute of religious worship.

Religion.

By this people they were taught their veneration for snakes, which they maintained in their caves as tutelary beings. From them also they learned to revere the oak, as the king of the forest, and the noblest and most durable of trees. Afterwards, when their religion became somewhat better modified, public worship and private orgies were performed under the shade of a thick oak, or in groves of this wood, consecrated to the purposes of religion. There were, in particular, four large oak-trees looked upon as the chief temples, and peculiarly sacred: under these worship was paid to the three chief divinities, whom they called Percunos, Picoltos, and Potrimpos, equivalent to the Jupiter, Pluto, and Cupid of the more civilized ancients. The gods next to these in dignity were Curcha, Warschaito, and Ischwambrato; and the inferior order were chosen from the reptile or inanimate creation; for, besides snakes and other insects, it is said the Prussians paid worship to trees, stones, and mountains, as is now customary in the little kingdom of Whidah on the Negro coast. They moreover paid adoration to the sun, moon, stars, eclipses, thunder, storms, and other natural phænomena, many of which they regarded as signs of the divine wrath; to appease which they sacrificed their prisoners, after the manner of the Lithuanians.

Manners of the Sudini.

Stella gives us a distinct account of the religion, government, and manners of the Sudini, who, in progress of time, became one people with the Prussians. They were tolerably skilled in agriculture, and divers arts of industry and commerce; and it is probable, from their situation, that they were not ignorant of trade and navigation; by which conjecture

jecture alone we are able to account for their being more civilized than their neighbours [a]. The men, we are told, wore woollen stuffs; while the women were clothed with linen, and their necks adorned with rings of brass, and other metals. Their ears too were pierced, and set off with ear-rings of curious fashion; a vain custom, says Stella, which continues among them to this day. The Sudini had the appearance of regular polity: they built houses, villages, and towns, but without any fortifications; they carefully avoided civil commotions, and united constantly to oppose all external attacks, under the direction of certain chiefs. Whether these were chosen occasionally, or were vested with perpetual authority, is not determined; but all writers agree, that the Sudini were divided into twelve small republics, independent on each other, and differing almost in every point of civil government. The religion, indeed, of all the cantons was nearly the same; and they were bound, by certain obligations, to consider the enemies of either as the enemies of the whole body. The priests bore great share in the government of affairs; and, next to the sacred function, the surest method of obtaining credit and influence was by the sword, and acts of valour performed against the common enemy.

The union of the Sudini with the Prussians.

The mixture of such a people as we have now described with the barbarous Prussians, could not fail of producing extraordinary advantages to the latter; but we are not informed by what means, or on what occasion, this incorporation took effect. The story related by Stella of Veneduutus, or Vidutus, an Alan, and the first king of Prussia, hath all the appearance of a fable. Besides that, according to this writer, Veneduutus had but four sons; whereas all the other northern writers speak of twelve sons, among whom the father divided his dominions, which division laid the foundation of twelve different republics. From this circumstance it is probable, that, if ever such a prince as Veneduutus existed, he was sovereign only of that part of Prussia called Samland, anciently inhabited by the Sudini. When the nations were united, the same form of government took place; in which situation things continued until the Germans and Poles conquered part of the country: but finding themselves unable to establish Christianity, and drive the obstinate inhabitants from their idolatrous religion, the Teutonic knights were called in, who, in progress of time, and after many bloody battles, subjected the whole

[a] Erasm. Stell, apud. Pistor. tom. i. p. 11.

country;

country; and, as some writers believe, exterminated almost the whole ancient race of Prussians (B).

Previous to our account of the establishment of this military order in Prussia, where they reigned for many ages with despotic power, it will be necessary we should make the reader acquainted with the origin of the institution. When the emperor Frederic Barbarossa engaged in a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the sultan Saladin of Egypt, he was followed by a great number of German volunteers, who enlisted in crowds under the imperial banners. Some were impelled by devotion, others excited by the love of glory. At the death of Barbarossa, the Germans who had signalized themselves before Acon, or Ptolemais, then besieged by the Christian forces, finding themselves deprived of a chief, emulation and discord succeeding, and all things tending to anarchy and confusion, resolved to nominate a leader, and fixed their choice upon Frederic duke of Suabia, second son to the emperor, and Henry duke of Brabant. Under these generals they performed such acts of gallantry, valour, and intrepidity, during the siege of Ptolemais and other cities, that Henry king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and several other princes, determined to reward their courage by instituting an order of knighthood in their favour. At first they had the title of Knights of St. George; but it was afterwards found more convenient to put them under the tutelage of the Virgin Mary, to whom there was already an hospital dedicated on mount Sion, for the relief of German pilgrims. From this time they were called Knights of St. Mary, Equites Mariani. Laws, regulations, and statutes were drawn up for them by the Christian kings in Syria and the patriarch. Among other obligations, it was required, that every person admitted to the privileges of the order should be of noble parentage; that the order should defend the Christian religion and the Holy Land; that they should exercise hospitality towards Christians in general, but particularly those of their own country; and that they should, with all their power, endeavour to propagate and extend the Christian faith and the name of Jesus. They soon became rich by the donations of mistaken piety, and of superstition. In the year 1190 they elected their first grand-master, Henry Walpot, a German, who had distin-

Origin of the Teutonic order, and their first establishment in Prussia.

(B) This is all that is known of the Prussians from their origin, until the first arrival of the Teutonic knights, and their settlement at Culm, in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

guished

guiſhed himſelf by his zeal and valour, and their choice was confirmed by the emperor. The following year pope Celeſtine III. confirmed the privileges granted to the order, by the name of the Teutonic Knights of the Hoſpital of St. Mary the Virgin. By the conditions of this bull they vowed perpetual continence, obedience, and poverty; obligations to which, in the ſequel, they paid very little regard.

Upon the expulſion of the Chriſtians from the Holy Land by Saladin, a ſettlement was given the Teutonic knights in Pruſſia, by Conrade, duke of Mazovia, the competitor of Boleſlaus V. for the crown of Poland. Moſt writers date this event in the year 1210; yet it is certain that the diſpute between Conrade and the Pruſſians happened twenty years later. All agree, however, about the fact; and nothing remains doubtful beſides the chronology, which it would at this diſtance of time be difficult to aſcertain, amidſt the great variety of diſcordant opinions. Culm was their firſt reſidence in Pruſſia: they were confined, by the conditions of the donation, to this diſtrict, except their conqueſts over their pagan neighbours, all of which Conrade beſtowed on them in perpetuity: we mean, that the order was reſtricted from drawing the ſword againſt Chriſtian powers, and their poſſeſſions were entirely limited to what they ſhould gain from the infidels. The duke of Mazovia's gift was ratified by the emperor, and farther confirmed by a pontifical bull, which immediately ſet this ambitious fraternity upon enlarging their dominions, and extending their influence. Herman de Salza, the fourth great-maſter, was now at the head of the order (C). He entered upon his deſign of conquering all Pruſſia by ſlight ſkirmiſhes, as trials of the ſkill and courage of the natives: then he proceeded to more general actions, and at length obtained ſeveral important victories. It could not be expected that the Pruſſians, ignorant of the art of war, could long withſtand thoſe veterans, whoſe numbers exceeded twenty thouſand men: in fact, they ſoon yielded the province of Culmigeria and prefecture of Marienburg; in which laſt the knights built the city of that name, where Salza, their grand-maſter, lies interred.

The ſecond grand-maſter of Pruſſia, and fifth of the order, was Conrade, marquis of Thuringia, who had been admitted, with two thouſand of his followers into the fra-

(C) The three firſt grand maſters were Henry Walpot, Otho de Kerpen, and Herman Barth, all Germans: the latter died in the year 1210.

ternity

ternity under the preceding master. This prince was equally brave and politic, by which means he greatly extended the influence and conquests of the Teutonic order, conquered the Samlanders, and erected Konigsberg, in honour of Premislaus king of Bohemia, who had come with an army to assist him in the reduction of the pagan natives.

The succeeding and third grand-master of the Prussian Teutonic order was Poppon de Osterman, who also proved a glorious conqueror, defeating the Prussians, Pomeranians, and Livonians in divers bloody engagements, and rescuing Poland from the ravages of the Tartars. We have already seen, that this hero was defeated, and slain in battle by the hands of those barbarous people, who then over-ran the whole republic of Poland. According to some of the Polish writers, it was now that the knights first had footing in Prussia.

In the room of Poppon, John Sangerhause was elected in the year 1263; and he began his administration by wiping off the disgrace sustained from the Tartars, assisting the Poles in driving them out of the territories of the republic, and extending the conquests of the order in Prussia; in all which aims he succeeded, leaving the knights strictly allied with Poland, and infinitely more powerful than at his accession.

The fifth grand-master since the arrival of the order in Prussia, was Hartmannus, count of Heidelberg, an artful, cunning, and politic prince, who, by dint of treaty and negotiation, augmented the dominions of the Teutonic order more than any of his predecessors had done by the most decisive battles. He died in 1282, with the reputation of the greatest statesman of his age.

Buchardus à Swenden was the sixth provincial master, and among the greatest warriors who had ever presided over the fraternity. He not only subdued the Prussians, but made considerable conquests in Livonia, which were farther improved by his successor,

Conrade de Feuchwanden who trod in the steps of his predecessor, fought several battles against the pagan Prussians, reduced Riga, and established the Teutonic government in that country.

Conrade resigned his office to his brother, who was master of that branch of the Teutonic order settled at Marpurg. As soon as Sigifrid was made grand-master of Prussia, he removed his residence to Marienburg, where

he governed for the ſpace of two years with great applauſe (D).

Charles Biffart ſucceeded, and waged perpetual war with the Lithuanians, in which he diſplayed all the qualities of a hero, though they produced ſcarce any advantage to the order; who began now to be regarded by Poland, and the neighbouring ſtates, as an ambitious, reſtleſs fraternity, that aſpired at the conqueſt of all the northern countries. Some complaints had been preferred to the pope againſt this maſter: he went to Rome to anſwer to the charge, and died on his return, at Vienna.

He was ſucceeded by Vernerus Urſelenſis, who, after a ſhort and prudent adminiſtration, was murdered by one of his own order.

At the death of Vernerus, Lewis duke of Brunſwick was elected to the dignity of great-maſter, which he enjoyed for the ſpace of four years only. His adminiſtration was prudent, pacific, and happy for himſelf and the order.

At the age of eighty, the count of Algemberg was choſen grand-maſter, on account of his wiſdom, eloquence, and valour. He governed for ten years with great juſtice and reputation, being ſucceeded by Rodolph duke of Saxony.

This prince was magnanimous, but unfortunate. While he was engaged in other foreign wars, Pruſſia was invaded, over-run, and deſolated by the Lithuanians; a diſaſter which ſo affected Rodolph, that his intellects were diſturbed, and he was depoſed, to make way for one more capable of governing the fraternity.

The next perſon elected great-maſter was Henry de Deſmer, whoſe abilities were univerſally acknowleged. It was under his government that the war raged with fury againſt the Ruſſians and Lithuanians, whom he defeated with dreadful ſlaughter in a pitched battle.

Henry de Knippenrode ſucceeded, and renewed the war with the Lithuanians. It is remarkable that Guagnini ſhould obſerve profound ſilence upon this particular in his hiſtory of Lithuania; and that he ſhould even fall into contradiction, by alleging, in the hiſtory of the Teutonic knights, that Knippenrode defeated the Lithuanians, and took their duke Keijuſtutus priſoner; whereas Keijuſtutus never was duke, having, upon the murder of his brother

(D) Guagnini places Godfrey, count of Hohenloe, between the brothers; and relates, that he retook Riga from the Ruſſians, and demoliſhed the fortifications.

Janunutus,

Janunutus, resigned all right to the ducal crown to Olgerdus, the elder brother. This period was remarkable chiefly on account of the progress which literature made in Prussia, under the patronage of a grand-master, who had a fine taste for science and the arts.

The war with Lithuania was transmitted to the succeeding master, Conrade Zolner, which he prosecuted with great vigour, but indifferent success, during the space of eight years, when he died.

Conrade de Valenraden was next chosen, on account of his confessed talents, though he had certain peculiarities of temper that rendered him disagreeable. During his government the knights and Lithuanians harrassed each other by mutual incursions. Conrade, in one of his expeditions, penetrated up the Niemen by boats, as far as the castle of Cowno, where he erected magazines, by which means he was enabled to desolate the enemy's country, without hazard to his own troops of perishing by the scarcity which their devastations occasioned. On his death-bed he decreed that the ecclesiastics of his own order should not be admitted to administer extreme unction, and seemed to be shocked at the pretensions of the clergy to afford comfort in this aweful moment by their feigned absolutions.

Conrade de Jungingen, who succeeded, was of a disposition the least suited to gratify the ambition and answer the aspiring views of the fraternity. He was mild, pacific, and therefore little beloved by a restless turbulent people, though he governed with reputation and ability for the space of twelve years.

His brother Ulric, of a very different dispostion, succeeded, and waged perpetual war with the Lithuanians, until he was defeated and killed in battle, with the slaughter of five thousand knights.

Henry, count of Plawen, chosen his successor, was preparing to revenge the late disgrace, when he was deposed for some misconduct, imprisoned, and punished with such rigour, that he died in chains seven years after his first confinement.

The choice of the fraternity fell next upon Michael de Sterbergen, who, mortified by a variety of defeats sustained from the Lithuanians, resigned, and retired to Dantzick, where he died. A.D. 1323.

Paul Rudersein was next chosen, and his administration was still more unfortunate than that of his predecessor. Many of the Prussian provinces threw off the Teutonic yoke, and put themselves under the protection of Casimir IV. son of Jagello, or Uladislaus V. king of Poland, and great-

duke of Lithuania. The insolence of the order rendered their government intolerable: all the great cities sent deputies to Poland; they were received generously, and all the necessary assistance for revenging themselves was furnished in the manner we have before related.

The succeeding master Conrade de Herlinghausen, made an inglorious peace with Casimir, which, however, he scrupulously observed during his whole administration.

He was succeeded by his brother Lewis, still more unfortunate than any of his predecessors. The restless spirit of this master excited a fresh revolt, and renewed the war with Poland. Several other towns and provinces revolted, and the garrison sold Marienburg to the Polish monarch for a sum of money. In a word, not only the greater part of Prussia was lost, but likewise Pomerania, which had for the space of one hundred and fifty years been the subject of continual dissension between the knights and the republic.

A.D.1467. From this time we may date the decline of the Teutonic order in Prussia. Henry, count of Plawen, who was now elevated to the dignity of master, was a person of extraordinary ability; but he enjoyed his new employment only for the space of eleven weeks.

Henry of Richtenburg was next appointed, and he soon convinced the order that the loss of their former master was irreparable, Henry was proud, insolent, and cruel; his turbulent disposition involved him in quarrels with all his neighbours, while the tyranny of his government rendered him odious to his own people. Upon some distaste he threw a Prussian bishop into chains, and suffered him to perish with hunger in a dungeon; which action sufficiently marks his character. He governed for twelve years, and then died universally detested and despised.

A D.1480. Martin Truschess (E) was appointed to succeed him; and he began his administration with paying homage to the crown and republic of Poland, which secured the future tranquillity of his life.

A.D.1489. The succeeding master, John de Tiefen, swore allegiance to the king of Poland, on his accession; and next year he joined him against the Walachians, by whom he was defeated and slain in battle.

(E) Ashmole calls him Tuchmer; and we find him mentioned by Moreri by the name of Dussoer. According to this writer he resigned (1).

(1) Vide Art. Teutonique.

The

The next perſon nominated to the dignity of grand-maſter, was Frederic, duke of Saxony. He refuſed acknowleging the ſovereignty of the Poliſh republic, and for that reaſon ſaw his territories expoſed to the moſt cruel deſolation. A.D.1498.

The laſt great-maſter of the Teutonic order in Pruſſia was Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, nephew to Sigiſmund I. king of Poland. He was elected by the chapter, in hopes that his relation to the king might be able to procure reſtitution of the places which had been loſt during the late unſucceſsful war; but in this particular the fraternity were diſappointed. Albert was ſo far from conſenting to pay homage to his uncle, that he began with making preparations for throwing off his dependency, and recovering all Pruſſia and Pomerania by force of arms. We have related the event of theſe meaſures in the Hiſtory of Poland; and it will be ſufficient to repeat in this place, that after being foiled in every attempt, Albert was forced to reſign the dignity of maſter; in recompence of which loſs, his uncle beſtowed upon him that part of Pruſſia, now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Ducal, in quality of a ſecular duke. It was now the intereſt of the houſe of Brandenburg to aſſiſt in the expulſion of the fraternity; accordingly, being driven out of Pruſſia and Pomerania, they transferred their chapter to Mariendal in Franconia. Such was the end of the Teutonic government in Pruſſia, where they dictated, with unlimited ſway, for the ſpace of more than three centuries. Every perſon, the leaſt acquainted with modern hiſtory, knows that at preſent little more than the name of the order ſubſiſts in Alſace, Burgundy, Franconia, Lorrain, and other provinces of the empire, in which ſeparate branches of the fraternity had ſettled. A.D. 1531.

CHAP. LXXX.

The History of the Empire of Russia.

SECT. I

General Description of Russia.

Situation and extent.

THE empire of Russia extends in length from west to east, from the fortieth to the two hundred and fourth degree of longitude; and from north to south it is fifteen, twenty, and in some places twenty-five degrees in breadth: so that it is at least five thousand miles long, and from eight to sixteen hundred wide. It is bounded on the north by the frozen or northern ocean; on the east, by Great or Chinese Tartary, and part of the eastern ocean which divides Asia from America; on the south, by Calmuc and Cuban Tartary, Persia, Georgia, the Caspian sea, the mountains of Circassia, the Euxine sea, and part of Turky; and on the west, by Poland and Sweden.

Its general division.

This vast empire, larger, says a celebrated modern writer[a], than all the rest of Europe put together, and far more extensive than ever was the Roman empire, or that of Darius conquered by Alexander, lies partly in Europe, and partly in Asia; reaching from Poland to the Frozen Sea, and from Sweden to China. The general division of its European part, is into Great, Little, and White Russia (A), which

[a] Voltaire, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 4.

(A) White Russia, in this empire, must not be confounded with the country of the same name in Lithuania. As for Red Russia it belongs to Poland. In order to understand the origin of these names, it may be proper to observe, that it is a custom among the eastern people to distinguish countries by the epithets White and Black; and that they give the former to the most extensive and fertile, and the latter to the least and poorest territories (1). In this sense all the Tartars, Calmucs, and Chinese, call the Russian monarch Tzagan Zaar, that is, *the White Czar*. The Tartars commonly call all residences White cities; and in Russia itself they call the crown-lands, and those of the nobility that are free from taxes and contributions, White Lands: and, on the contrary, they call all farms and grounds in cities that pay taxes, Black grounds. They also call the peasants and lower sort of people Czorni Ludi, *black* or *mean people*; because black is a colour not esteemed in Russia.

(1) Busching's Geography.

properly

properly constitute ancient Russia; and to which have been added, in this century, the duchies of Livonia and Esthonia, with the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, conquered from the Swedes. The Asiatic provinces of the Russian empire make a considerable part of Great Tartary.

The Russian empire is divided into governments, each consisting of certain provinces or circles, some of them immense. The number of these governments has varied at different times; but they are now the following sixteen, viz. 1. Great Novogrod: 2. Archangel-gorod (B): 3. Moscow: 4. Nischnei-gorod, or Nischni-Novogorod: 5. Smolensko: 6. Kiew: 7. Bielogorod: 8. Woronetz and Asow: these are situated in what is generally called Russia Proper. 9. Riga: 10. Revel: 11. Petersburg: and, 12. Wiburg, have been formed out of the conquered provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia. The four other governments, viz. 13. Astracan; 14. Orenburg; 15. Casam; and, 16. Siberia; are in Asia. We shall begin our account of these several districts with Russia in Europe [c].

SECT. II.

Russia in Europe.

Bounaries. THE eastern boundaries of this part of the Russian empire are the same with the limits between Europe and Asia; but these are not easily ascertained. All that can be said with any certainty, is, that the river Don has always been considered as the southern boundary; that the kingdoms of Astracan and Kasan are deemed part of Asia; and that the Wercoturiam mountains have been generally allowed to divide Russia from Siberia.

Rivers. The chief rivers that water European Russia, are the Wolga, the Don, the Dwina, and the Dnieper or Danapris.

The Wolga The Wolga, in Latin Volga, was formerly known by the name of Rha, and is at present termed by the Tartars, Atel, Edel, or Idel, which signifies the Great River. It rises in the forest of Wolconski, and is one of the largest rivers in the world; for it runs near two thousand miles, before it falls into the Caspian sea. The country bordering upon it is in general fertile, and though not sufficiently cultivated, by reason of the frequent incursions of the Tartars, yet the

[c] Basching. Strahlenburg.

(B) Gorod, in the Russian language, signifies a city or town.

soil spontaneously produces esculent herbs of all sorts, particularly asparagus of an extraordinary size and goodness. Most of the Russian oaks grow in the parts watered by this river, which is navigable, even for large vessels, quite up to Twer, a town little more than eighty miles from its source. In the months of May and June this river is so swelled by the melting of the snow and ice, as to occasion great inundations. The masters of ships bound for Astracan, through the river Wolga, take care to avail themselves of this season; as it affords them an opportunity not only of sailing safely over the shallows, but likewise over several flat islands, which then lie at a considerable depth under water. The trees upon its banks are often rooted up by the rapidity of the current, and the anchors of vessels are so often entangled with them, that it is necessary to cut away the cables. The beluga, a fish about eight or ten feet long, and preferable to the sturgeon, is found in great plenty in this river. The Occa, Cama, and several other rivers of note, run into it, and it discharges itself into the Caspian sea, through several channels, which form a great many islands.

The Don. The Don, in Latin Tanais, and by the Tartars called Tuna or Duna, was ranked by the ancients among the most famous rivers, and looked upon as the boundary between Europe and Asia. Its source is near Tula, in the Iwano Osero, or St. John's Lake. Its course is at first from north to south, and after its juncture with the Sosna, near Nowa Pawlowskaia, in the Woronese government, from west to east; and in the several large windings it runs again from north to south. It divides at last into three channels, which separate from each other below Czerkaskoi, and fall into the Palus Mæotis, near Lutik and Asow. Its waters are not very wholesome, being thick and chalky. This river is very shallow in the summer, and full of sand banks: but it affords plenty of fish. The Don, in its course, approaches so near to the Wolga, that, in one part, the distance between them is but one hundred and forty wersts, or about eighty English miles: and if the Lawla and Camishinka, the former of which runs into the Don, and the latter into the Wolga, were rendered navigable, the distance between the two rivers would be then scarcely four wersts; and they might easily be united by opening a canal from one to the other. It seems, however, that Peter the Great did not think this project practicable.

The Dwina. The Dwina, in Latin Duina, is a very large river. The name implies *double*, it being formed by the conflux of the rivers Sukona and Yug, at Ustiaga. The two branches into which

which this river divides itſelf near Archangel, fall into the White Sea. Care muſt be taken not to confound this river with the Duina or Duna, a river of Poland, which riſes likewiſe in Ruſſia.

The Dnieper or Danapris, in Latin Boriſthenes, riſes from a moraſs in the foreſt of Wolconſk, about ninety miles above Smolenſko. After many windings through Lithuania, Little Ruſſia, the country of the Zaporo-Coſacks, and a tract inhabited by the Nagaian Tartars of Crimea, it forms a liman, or *marſhy lake*, of ſixty werſts in length, from two to ten in breadth; and then loſes itſelf in the Black Sea, between Oczacow and Kinburn. The banks on each ſide are generally high, and the ſoil exceeding rich: but in ſummer the water is unwholeſome. Although the Dnieper has thirteen water-falls, within the ſpace of ſixty werſts; yet in ſpring, during the land-floods, empty veſſels may be hauled over them. This river is ſo full of iſlands, above the liman near its mouth, that all the intervals do not amount to thirty Engliſh miles. It abounds with ſturgeon, ſterled, carp, pyke, karauſh, and ſeveral other ſorts of fiſh. The only bridge over the Dnieper is a float-bridge at Kiew, one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight paces long. Towards the end of September, this bridge is taken down, in order to make a free paſſage for the floats of ice; and in the ſpring it is put up again. *The Dnieper.*

The principal lakes in this part of Ruſſia, are the Peipus, Ladoga, and Onega. *Lakes.*

The Peipus lake in Livonia, called by the Ruſſians Tſhodſkoe Oſero, is between forty and fifty miles in length, and about thirty in breadth. It abounds with fiſh, and diſcharges its ſuperfluous waters into the gulf of Finland by the river Narva. This lake has a communication with that of Pleſkow, which is called in the Ruſſian tongue Pſwoſkoe Oſero (C). *The Peipus lake.*

The famous lake of Ladoga, between the gulf of Finland, and the lake Onega, is near a hundred miles in length, and ſeventy in breadth; eſteemed the largeſt in Europe, and ſuppoſed to ſurpaſs any other for plenty of fiſh. *The lake Ladoga.*

Ladoga is full of quick-ſands, which, being moved from one place to another by frequent ſtorms, often prove deſtructive to the flat-bottomed veſſels of the Ruſſians. This conſideration induced Peter the Great to cauſe a canal of one hundred and four werſts in length (near ſeventy Engliſh

(C) Oſero, in the Ruſſian language, ſignifies *a lake*.

miles,

miles) seventy feet in breadth, and ten or eleven feet deep, to be dug, at a vast expence, from the south-west extremity of this lake in Ingria and Novogrod, and carried from Schlusselburg, at the mouth of the river Neva, which is the outlet of the lake of Ladoga, to New Ladoga on the river Wolcow.

The lake Onega. The lake Onega, betwixt the lake Ladoga and the White Sea, has a communication with the former, by means of the river Swir. It extends about one hundred and eighty werstes in length, and eighty in breadth. Seals are frequently seen in it, though it is a fresh water-lake.

We shall now describe the eight governments, of which the several districts are looked upon as parts of Russia Proper, and then proceed to those acquired from the crown of Sweden.

I. The Government of NOVOGROD

Includes the duchy of Novogrod, or island of Great Novogrod, which the Russians conquered in the year 1478.

Its lakes and rivers. In this country lies the Osero-Ilmen, or Ilmen lake, out of which runs the river Wolcow; and in this province are the sources of the great rivers Wolga, Dnieper, and the Polish Duina.

Canal between the Twerza and Msta. Peter the Great caused a canal to be cut between the rivers Twerza and Msta, near the town of Wischni-Wolotshok; by which means there is a communication between the Caspian sea (through the rivers Wolga, Twerza, and Msta) and the Ilmen lake; from thence is a passage for ships, through the river Wolcow, into the lake of Ladoga, and from the latter down the Neva into the Baltic.

Divisions. The government of Novogrod is divided into five circles or districts, viz. the circle of Novogrod, called by the Russians Novogorodskoi Uiezd (D); the province of Pleskow; the province of Welikoluk, called by the Russians Welikoluzkai Provincüa; the province of Twer; and the province of Belosero, in the Russian language Beloserskaia Provincüa.

Cities. The capital is Novogrod Weliki, or great Novogrod, a very ancient, large, and formerly famous city, situate upon the Wolcow, where that river runs out of the Ilmen lake. It is the seat of the governor, an archbishoprick, and a place of some trade. It was first built by the Sclavonians, in the ninth century, and improved by the Waregerian

(D) An uiezd is a circle or district, less than a province, and more extensive than a stan, a wolost, or a pogost, which are subdivisions of an uiezd.

prince

prince Rurik, for his place of residence. Novogrod was a celebrated staple of the Hanse Towns till 1494, and grew so powerful as to give rise to this phrase, Can any one withstand God and Novogrod? But by falling frequently into the hands of enemies, being plundered of its riches by the czar Iwan Basilowitz, and having undergone many dreadful conflagrations, it is now so greatly reduced, that it scarce retains the least vestige of its former grandeur. The churches and convents are the only objects in it that merit attention, the rest of the town consisting solely of small wooden houses. Its fortifications are old walls, and deep moats. The old Russian writers call this city Holmgarde.

In the province of Pleskow, is the town of that name, a strong place on the river Welika, which, besides its being an episcopal see, carries on a considerable trade, and is consequently populous. It held out a siege against the Poles in 1581.

The provincial town of Wilikie Luki, in the province of Welikoluk gives title to the archbishop of Novogrod.

In the province of Twer, from which the emperors of Russia take one of their titles, stands the city of Twer, an archiepiscopal see, a place of considerable trade for corn, and formerly the residence of several great dukes and princes. It lies on both sides of the Wolga, at the influx of the river Twerza.

Cholm, once the residence of the sovereign of the country, who was descended from the royal family of Twer, is now a very inconsiderable place.

The province of Belosero had formerly its own princes, and was an appendage of the great ducal family.

The only place of note in it, is Belesero, the provincial town, now situated on the west, but said to have stood formerly on the north side of the lake of the same name, when, in 862, Sineus, a Waregarian prince, resided there.

II. The Government of ARCHANGEL

Its divisions, and principal places.

Is divided into the circles of Cola, Dwina, Kewrol, Mesen, Pustoserk, Yarensk, Solwytshegotsk, Ustiug, Washok, Totma, Wologda, and Galitsh.

In the circle of Kola, and near a town of the same name, stands the famous convent of Peshenskoi, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Ustiug Weliki is an archbishop's see, in the circle of Ustiug, and a place of considerable trade, for which it lies very convenient, having a communication by water with Archangel and Wologda.

The

The city of Wologda, in the circle, and upon a river of the same name, is an archiepiscopal see, and was once a place of great trade, which has been ruined by the rise of Archangel.

Archangel, the capital of this government, and an episcopal see, lies in 64 deg. 34 min. north latitude, on the river Dwina, about seventy-five werſts from the White Sea. Its buildings are all of wood, after the Russian manner, except the Gostinnoi Dwor, or merchants exchange, which is of stone. This city, before the great increase of Petersburg, was a place of very considerable trade, the foundation of which was laid by the English, so early as the reign of Iwan Basilowitz.

The other circles in this province contain no place of consequence.

Russian Lapland. The western part of this government, bordering upon the Icy Sea, includes about a third part of Lapland; the other two-thirds of which belong to Sweden and Denmark. This country is very large; occupying near eight degrees of longitude, and extending from the Polar Circle to the North Cape Its inhabitants were confusedly known to the ancients, under the name of Troglodytes, and northern pigmies; appellations well suited to their stature, which seldom exceeds four feet, and to their living in caves. They are swarthy; though the other northern nations are fair; almost all little, whilst their neighbours, and the inhabitants of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall: they are nimble and robust; covered with a hard thick skin, which enables them the better to resist the cold; and have remarkably small hands and feet, as if intending for climbing over their rocky country, which they are so passionately fond of as not to be able to live elsewhere. Olaus, and others who have copied him, tells us, that these people were originally Finns, who retired into Lapland, where their stature degenerated. But why, as M. de Voltaire observes [b], when they were moving, did they not chuse a less northern land, where life would have been more comfortable to them? Why are their features, make, complexion, entirely different from those of their ancestors? It would, perhaps, be just as right to say, that the grass which grows in Lapland comes from the grass of Denmark, and that the fish peculiar to their lakes comes from the fish of Sweden. It is highly probable that the Laplanders are original natives of the land they now dwell in, as their animals are also a pro-

[b] Hist. de l'Emp. de Russie, tom. i. p. 16.

duction

duction of that country, and that nature has made them for each other.

Those of them who live towards Finland have adopted some expressions of their neighbours. But when two nations give absolutely different names to things which they constantly use, to objects which they always see; a strong presumption lies, that neither of those people is a colony of the other. The Finns call a bear *karu*, and the Laplanders call it *muriet*. The sun, in the Finlandish tongue, is called *auringa*, and the Laplanders name it *beve*. The inhabitants of Finland and of Swedish Lapland worshipped formerly an idol, to which they gave the appellation of Jumulac; and since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they owe the name of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of Jumulac. The Russian Laplanders are now deemed members of the Greek church: but those of them that lie straggling towards the farther mountains of the North Cape, content themselves with worshipping God under the most rude and uncouth representations.

These Laplanders, whose number is but small, have but very few ideas, and are happy in not having more, for then they would have new wants which they would not be able to satisfy. They are long-lived, little subject to illness, and drink scarce any thing but water in the coldest of climates. The custom which has been imputed to them, of desiring strangers to honour their wives and daughters with their embraces, proceeds probably from their opinion of the superior merit of those strangers, whom they think qualified to correct the defects of their breed.

Samoyedes.

In this country are also great numbers of Samoyedes, whose nation, indeed, extends very far along the coast of the Frozen Ocean and Ice Sea. But those that live in the government of Archangel are quite separated from the rest of their tribe, and, in a manner, excluded from any intercourse with them. They have also a different dialect, though they agree perfectly in their religion and customs. They are all very poor, simple, and undesigning: but their tawny complexion, long eyes, and puffed cheeks, make them appear very disagreeable to strangers. In size and make they resemble the Laplanders; but they are not of the same race. Like them, they use rein-deer to draw their sledges, they know not what bread is, and they live in huts and caverns: but, in other respects, nature has distinguished this species of men very visibly from that of the Laplanders. The upper jaw of the Samoyedes is more prominent, advancing as far as their nose; and their ears are placed remarkably high. Neither men nor women, among them, have

have any hair but upon the head, and their nipples are as black as jet. The Laplanders are not particularised by any of these signs.

The Samoyedes have very little knowlege of a supreme Being, but pay their adoration to mis-shapen wooden images of men, beasts, fishes, birds, &c. They also worship the heads of beasts of prey, particularly those of bears, which they put up in the woods, and fervently pray to; that being an animal of which they are extremely afraid. They acknowlege a good and a bad principle: and indeed the horrid climate in which they live seems, in some measure, to excuse that belief, so ancient among so many people, and so natural to the ignorant and unfortunate. Their priests, whom they call shamanns or kodesniks, are chosen from amongst such as are most advanced in years; and they imagine that these men can reveal to them the the will of their gods, foretell future events, and perform all kinds of magical operations. Neither theft nor murder is ever heard of among them; being almost without passions, they are without injustice. They have not even in their language any term to express vice and virtue. Their extreme simplicity has not yet allowed them to form abstruse notions. Instinct alone directs them: and this is, perhaps, an incontestible proof that men love justice by instinct, when their fatal passions do not overpower them.

Their marriages are attended with no other ceremony than merely an agreement between the parties. Most of them have but one wife; though polygamy is not prohibited among them. Like the Ostiaks, they call their new-born children by the name of the first animal they meet; or if they first happen to meet a relation, he generally names the child.

The Samoyedes, male and female, are clothed alike; and as they are equally disagreeable in their features, and the men, as we observed before, have no beards, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish one sex from the other. Their winter-dress is made of rein-deer skin, with the hairy side outwards; and generally the cap, coat, gloves, breeches, and stockings are sewed together, so that the whole suit makes but one piece. In summer they dress themselves with fish-skins; and, instead of thread, they use the tendons of wild beasts cut into long filaments.

They all subsist by hunting and fishing; the flesh of rein-deer, bears, seals or sea-dogs, fowls, dried fish; and turneps, being their usual food. They sometimes boil their flesh-meats, but more commonly eat them raw; a practice which has made some, unjustly, call them man-eaters, and accuse

accuse them of devouring their deceased friends, and prisoners taken in war. They eat even the raw entrails of any beast, according to Ysbrant Ides and Le Brun. Their hunting-weapons are bows and arrows, and javelins pointed with bone; though they have also some darts bearded with iron. When they find it difficult to subsist in one place, they immediately remove to another. Their summer-huts are made of nothing but the bark of birch-trees; but in winter they are covered with skins of rein-deer. Their whole substance consists in tents, cloaths, and rein-deer.

Till the reign of the czar Iwan Basilowitz, the only magistrate among them was the oldest man in the family or village, to whom the rest were subject. But in the year 1563, one Anika Stroganow, a man of substance and of some consequence in his country, which was near Archangel, observing that those people came yearly down a river which falls into the Dwina, with exceeding fine furs, ordered his son and some of his servants to follow them to their homes, and bring him word who they were, and where they lived. They did so; and on their return Anika reported to the government what he had discovered. Some of those savages were afterwards carried to Moscow, where every thing filled them with admiration. They looked upon the czar as their god, and readily agreed that all their countrymen should pay him a yearly tribute of two sables apiece. Colonies were soon established, and forts erected, beyond the Oby and the Irtis: and in 1595, a Cosak was sent, with a party of soldiers and a few cannon, who conquered their country, as Cortez subdued Mexico. By degrees the habitable places were occupied by Russian governors, troops, and traders, and the Russian laws were introduced. The Samoyedes made two attempts to shake off the yoke, but were soon reduced. Their furrs, which they dispose of to the Russians for trifles, are the finest in the whole empire.

III. The Government of MOSCOW.

Its division.

The most populous and best-cultivated part of the whole empire, in the centre of which it lies, is divided into eleven circles, viz. Kostroma, Yaroslauwl, Uglitsh, Peroslaw-Salesk, Yuriew, Susdal, Wolodimer, Pereslaw-Riasanskoi, Kaluga, Tula, and Moscow.

Principal places.

The principal places in this government are,

In the circle of Yaroslauwl, a town of the same name, remarkable for its manufactures of linen, flowered woollen stuffs, and yuchte, or Russian leather.

In the circle of Peroslaw-Salesk, is the city of Rostow, an archiepiscopal see.

In

In the circle of Susdal, the city of Susdal is a bishop's see.

In the circle of Wolodimer, from which the czar takes one of his titles, is the provincial town of Wolodimer, formerly one of the seats of the great dukes And

In the circle of Moscow, stands the city of Moscow, or, as the Russians write it, Moskwa, the ancient capital of the Russian empire, and residence of the czars. It derives its name from the river Moskwa, which runs on the south-side of it; and was founded in the year 1156; or at least it appears to have been a city in 1175[d]. It lies in a fine fertile plain, in a round situation, formed by the winding of the river, and is about twenty-four English miles in circuit. The Russians say it was formerly twice as large. Some of its houses are well built, but in general they are very mean. The streets are wide, and well laid out, but dirty, and ill paved. The number of churches in this city is computed at sixteen hundred, eleven of which are cathedrals, and two hundred and seventy-one parish-churches. The rest belong to convents. This city is divided into four circles, which lie one within another.

The interior circle is the Kremlin, which is both a palace and a fortress, built no longer ago than the fourteenth century[e]. There are nine cathedrals in this part of the city; in one of which, St. Michael's church, the remains of the Russian sovereigns, and of their male descendants are interred: those of their consorts, and the princesses, are deposited in the convent of Tshudow. The whole of this circle is surrounded with deep moats and ramparts, and with very high and thick walls, flanked with six towers, and planted with cannon.

The second circle is called Kitaigorod, or the Chinese town, famous for its dispensary, from which the whole empire is served with medicines, and where all the gallipots and other vessels are of fine porcelain, decorated with the imperial arms. Before the time of Peter the Great there was not a physician in the whole Russian empire, except the czar's, and not one apothecary.

The third circle, which surrounds the former, is called Belgorod, that is, the White Town, from a white wall with which it is encompassed.

The fourth circle is called Simlanoigorod, that is, a town surrounded with ramparts of earth.

These four circles are surrounded with vast suburbs, called slobodas, near the western of which is the old castle of Preobrashenskoi, from whence the first regiment of guards derives its name.

[d] Busching. [e] Voltaire.

The

The number of the inhabitants of this city is said to be near five hundred thousand.

About sixty wersts from Moscow lies the famous convent of Troitz, or the Trinity, a quadrangular Gothic building, surrounded with walls, ramparts, and moats, and always garrisoned by a company of soldiers.

IV. The Government of NISCHNEI-NOVOGROD,

Which includes the circles of Nischnei-Novogrod, Balacna, Arsimas, and Kasimow.

Its divisions. In the circle of Nischnei-Novogrod lies the city of Nischnei-Novogrod, an archbishop's see, a place of great trade, and very rich. It was built by the great-duke Juru or George Wsewolodisch, in the year 1222, and was the appenage and place of residence of several of the petty Russian princes.

Inhabitants. This government is chiefly inhabited by the following tribes:

Mordunians. The Mordunians, Morduans, or Morduats, whose language resembles the Finlandish dialect.

Tsheremissians. The Tscheremissians, distinguished into the Logowoi, who inhabit the plain on the left-side of the Wolga, and the Nagornoi, who live among the mountains on the right side of that river. The former belong to this government, but the latter chiefly to that of Kasan. They seem to have no religion but that of nature. Their chief sacrificing priest they call Yugtusch, and under him is another styled Mushan. Their language is different from that of the Tartars as well as from the Russ.

Tshuwashians. The Tschuwashians, dispersed through this and the government of Kasan. In the district of Tschebaxar they exceed eighteen thousand souls; in that of Husmademianski they are above ten thousand; in the territory of Sirilsgorod they amount at least to twelve thousand; and in that of Swyask to sixty thousand; but in the district of Koksaisk they do not exceed four hundred. They worship, as they say, one God, whom they call Tora; they also consider the sun as a kind of divinity, and pay their adoration to that luminary. They have several other subordinate deities, which they say hold the same rank with the saints of the Russians. Every village has its own idol, which is erected in a square place, consecrated and inclosed with pallisades. Their devotions are performed near a fire, where they offer a sheep to the idol, and hang up the skin as a trophy in honour of it. The person who performs this sacrifice, and to whom they have recourse in every difficulty, is styled *Their worship.*

Yumasse; and both sexes are capable of this religious office. Great numbers of these pagans have been baptized, and in all the Russian towns in the districts where they live, schools have been erected for the instruction of their youth in the principles of the Christian religion, in order to qualify them to be missionaries among their own tribe.

V. The Government of SMOLENSK,

Containing White Russia, properly so called, was ceded by Poland to Russia, as a duchy, by the treaty of Andrussow, concluded in 1667, and confirmed in 1686.

The most remarkable place in this government are, Smolensk, its capital, a large town, well defended with fortifications, on the river Dnieper. It is the governor's residence, a bishop's see, a place of considerable trade, and has been the subject of many disputes between the Poles and Russians.

VI. The Government of KIEW.

Inhabited by the Cossacks.

This government is a part of Little Russia, inhabited by the Cossacks, which word implies irregular troops of horse.

They are divided into European and Asiatic Cossacks.

Their various names.

The first consist of the Zaporog, who dwell below the cataract of the Dnieper, some on the side next to Russia, and others on the opposite side of that river, the Lower Cossacks, and the Upper; mostly subject to the Russians. The Bielogorod Cossacks; and, a part of the Don Cossacks; both under the Russian government.

The Asiatic Cossacks are composed of the rest of the Don Cossacks, the Grebin Cossacks, the Yaik Cossacks, and the Western Calmuks, who, retiring from those that inhabited the south borders of Siberia under Yaiuki Can, settled upon the Wolga, and are dependent upon Russia.

Some account of them.

The Cossacks were known by that name ever since the 948th year of Christ. They dwelt upon mount Caucasus, in the place now called Cabardy, and were reduced to the Russian dominion by prince Mstislaw, in the year 1021. Many Russians, Poles, and others, who could not live at home, have, at different times, been admitted among the Cossacks; but the latter, abstracted from these fugitives, must have been an ancient and well-governed nation.

Zaporog Cossacks.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Zaporog Cossacks fixed their habitations on the spacious plains that extend along the banks of the Dnieper. They had undergone considerable hardships from the incursions of the Tartars, for which they afterwards found means to

avenge

avenge themselves in an ample manner. The Poles, being sensible how serviceable the Cossacks might be in defending them from the ravages of the Tartars, and even of the Russians, proposed to them terms of alliance. In 1562, they solemnly took them under their protection, and engaged to pay them an annual subsidy; in return for which, the Cossacks were to keep on foot a sufficient body of troops for the defence of the Polish dominions. With a view to bind them still more strongly by ties of interest, the Poles gave them the whole country between the rivers Dnieper and Niester, and the borders of Tartary. The Cossacks applied themselves with great industry to the cultivation of this fertile spot; so that in a short time it was interspersed with large towns and handsome villages. Besides they continually harassed the Turks, and did them great damage by their incursions; and in order to prevent the latter from pursuing them, or making reprisals, they possessed themselves of several small islands in the Dnieper, where they kept their magazines, &c. The hettman, or general of the Cossacks, was not in the least subordinate to the field-marshal of Poland; but acted in concert with him as an ally, and not as a subject of that republic. But this alliance, though of such manifest advantage to both parties, was not of long duration. The Poles, seeing the vast improvements made by the Cossacks in the country they had given up to them, became envious of them, and actually made an attempt to bring them into subjection, as we have seen in the history of Poland. In 1648 the Cossacks gained great advantages over them, and next year came to an accommodation, in which they not only preserved their old immunities, but obtained additional privileges. The result of all was, that these Cossacks remained under the protection of Russia; and, as their former country was entirely laid waste in the late wars, they settled in the Russian Ukraine, upon receiving formal assurances from the court of Russia, that no alteration should be made in their political constitution, and that no taxes whatever should be laid upon them. The Cossacks, on the other hand, were always to keep in readiness a good body of troops for the service of Russia: but, in the year 1708, Mazeppa, their hettman or chief, went over from the Russians to the Swedes; upon which Peter I resolved to prevent such revolts for the future. To this end, after the battle of Pultowa, he sent a strong detachment into the above mentioned little islands in the Dnieper, whither the Cossacks had fled, with their wives and children, and all their effects; and ordered them all to be put to the sword

without distinction, and the plunder to be divided among his soldiers. He likewise sent a great number of men into their country, and caused several thousands of the Cossacks to be carried to the coasts of the Baltic, where they were put to all sorts of hard labour; by which means he, in a manner, extirpated the whole nation.

What distinguishes the Zaporog Cossacks from all other people, is, that they never suffer any woman in their settlements, as the Amazons are said not to have suffered any men among them. The women of these Cossacks live in other islands of the Dnieper. They never marry, nor have any family: all their male children are inrolled as soldiers, and the females are left with their mothers. The brother often has children by his sister, and the father by his daughter. They know no laws but those which custom has introduced, founded on their natural wants; though they have among them some priests of the Greek persuasion. They serve in the armies as irregulars; and woe to those who fall into their hands [k].

The country of these Cossacks, who are an assemblage of ancient Roxelans, Sarmatians, and Tartars, is called the Ocraine or Ukraine. It lies upon the borders of Russia and Poland, Little Tartary, and Turky (E), and was anciently a part of Scythia. By virtue of the last treaty settled between Russia and Poland, in 1693, the latter remains in possession of all that part of the Ukraine which is situated on the west side of the Dnieper, and is now but poorly cultivated. That on the east side, inhabited by the Cossacks, is in a much better condition, and extends about two hundred and sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. It is one continued fertile plain, watered by a great number of fine rivers, diversified with pleasant woods, and yields such plenty of all sorts of grain, pulse, tobacco, honey, and wax, as to supply a great part of the Russian empire with those commodities. Its pastures are exceeding rich, and its cattle very large; but the inhabitants are greatly plagued by locusts, which infest this fine country. The houses in the Ukraine are like those of the Russians, mostly built with timber.

The Cossacks are tall and well made, generally hawk-nosed, and of a good mein. They are hardy, vigorous, brave, and extremely jealous of what is most valuable in

[k] Voltaire.

(E) The word Ocraine, or Ukraine, properly signifies a *frontier*.

life,

life, their liberty; fickle and wavering, but sociable, chearful, and sprightly. They are a very powerful people. and their forces consist wholly of cavalry. Their dialect is a compound of the Polish and Russian language; but the latter is the most predominant. They were formerly Pagans or Mahometans; but upon their entering into the Polish service, they were baptized Christians of the Romish communion; and now that they belong to Russia, they profess themselves members of the Greek church.

Each of their towns, with the district belonging to it, is governed by an officer called ottomann, or attamann.

Don Cossacks.

The Don-Cossacks, so called from their residence upon the banks of the river Don, greatly resemble those already described. In the year 1559, when the czar Iwan Basilowitz was emperor of Russia, they voluntarily put themselves under his protection, and are at this time on a pretty equal footing with the other Russian subjects. They have several towns and villages, upon the banks of the Don; but are prevented from extending themselves farther up the country, by the scarcity of fresh water and wood in many places. Their chief support is grazing and agriculture, and occasionally robbing and plundering, for which they want neither capacity nor inclination. Every town is governed by a magistrate called tamann; and the tamanns, with their towns, are under the jurisdiction of two ottomanns, who reside at Tscherkasky. The troops of these Cossacks likewise consist entirely of cavalry. In this country, all the towns and villages are fortified and encompassed with palisades, to defend them against the incursions of the Calmuks and Kuban Tartars, with whom they are continually at war. The Cossacks, in general, are of great service to garrison towns by way of defence, or to pursue an enemy; but are not so good at regular attacks.

Sietsh Cossacks.

The Sietsh Cossacks, who are also called Haidamacks, have their particular hettman. They inhabit the Russian, Polish, and Turkish dominions, along the banks of the Dnieper.

Yaik Cossacks.

The Yaik Cossacks dwell on the south side of the river Yaik, and upon the success of the Russian arms in the kingdom of Astracan, voluntarily submitted to them. In stature they greatly resemble the other Cossacks; though, by their boorish manner of living, and inter-marriages with the Tartars, they have not the shape and air peculiar to the rest of their countrymen. Their natural dispositions and customs are, however, nearly the same. Husbandry, fishing, and feeding of cattle, are their principal employments, and, like the other tribes, they let slip no opportu-

nity of making depredations on their neighbours. Their continual wars with the Kara-Kalpacs, and the Kasatshaia-Horda, oblige them to keep their towns and villages in a state of defence. They are indeed subject to Russian waiwodes, to whom they pay an annual tribute in corn, wax, honey, and cattle; but they have also their particular chiefs, who govern them according to their ancient customs. Though the generality of the Yaik Cossacks profess the Greek religion, yet a great many reliques of Mahometanism and Paganism are still found among them. Being naturally bold and hardy, they make excellent soldiers; and they are not so turbulent as the other Cossacks. They live entirely at peace with the Calmuks, and their other neighbours, and even maintain a commercial intercourse with them.

Division of the government of Kiew.

The government of Kiew is divided into the circles of Starodub, Severien or Neshin, Tshernigow, Kiew, Pereieslawl, Priluki, Lubni, Mirgorod, Gaditsh, Pultowa, and Samara.

Kiew, or Kiow, formerly Kisovia, the capital of this government, is said to owe its origin to Kius, a Sclavonian prince; and, according to the Polish writers, to have been built in the year 430: but this account is not to be depended on. It was, at first, the residence of Skold and Dir, two celebrated Waregarian chiefs; but in the year 1037, the great-duke Jaroslaw declared it the capital of all Russia; and it continued to be the residence of the great-dukes till the twelfth century. Afterwards it fell into the hands of the Poles, who, by the treaty of Andrussow, in 1667, gave it up to the Russians for a certain term of years, and in 1686 ceded it for ever. While Kiew was subject to the Poles, the Papists had a bishop there; but it is now the see of a Greek archbishop, who is the principal of its university. In this town, there are some Greek inscriptions twelve hundred years old, but not such as can throw any light upon the history of the people.

Pultowa, famous for the siege laid to it by the Swedes in 1709, and for the defeat of Charles XII. after which it fell into the hands of the Russians, stands on the river Worskla, and is not a place of any great strength.

VII. The Government of BIELOGOROD,

Part of Little Russia, inhabited by Cossacks, is one of the most fruitful provinces in this whole empire, and supplies Poland with prodigious quantities of black cattle, well known by the name of Ukraine oxen. This province, and that of Kiew, are defended from the incursions of the Crim

Crim Tartars by lines and forts, which reach from the Dnieper to the Don.

The government of Bielogorod includes the districts of Izium, Carkow, Sumyn, Kursk, the circles of Bielogorod, Waluiki, and Siewsk, and the province of Orel. *Its division.*

Its capital, formerly called Sarkel, now Bielogorod, stands on the river Donez, was built in the year 990 by the great-duke Wladimir, and is an archbishop's see.

VIII. The Government of WORONESH and ASOW

Includes the districts of Woronesh, Idez, Shatzk, Tambow, Korotoiak, and Bachmut. Its principal places are,

Woronesh, a bishop's see, and the residence of the statthalter or governor. It lies upon the narrow but very deep river of the same name, and most of its streets are laid with beams of timber, instead of a stone-pavement.

Asow, or Asoph, is a celebrated and important fortress, once a town of considerable trade, but now demolished. Near this place, which lies in the district of Bachmut, the Greeks, many centuries ago, built the city of Tanais, which was very famous for its trade, and, from time to time, underwent many vicissitudes.

The Don Cossacks are the most numerous part of the inhabitants of the government of Woronesh and Asow. Their ottomann, or chief, resides chiefly at the town called Tscherkask, built after the Turkish manner, on the river Don.

These eight governments include the country supposed always to have been ancient Russia.

The Duchies of LIVONIA and ESTHONIA

Were formerly possessed by three different nations, viz. the Livonians, Lettonians, and Esthonians; consequently divided into Liefland or Livonia, Lettland or Lettonia, and Estland or Esthonia; not to mention the duchies of Courland and Semgallen, which also made a part of this country, till the sixteenth century.

The name of Liefland or Livonia, which properly belongs only to the district that lies along the Duna, has in time been applied also to Lettonia; and, generally speaking, the name Livonia comprehends the country properly so called, together with Lettonia and Esthonia: but, strictly, Livonia is only the south, and Esthonia is the north part of the country.

Livonia, including Esthonia and Lettonia, borders on Courland, the Baltic, the gulf of Finland, Ingria, Russia Proper, and Poland; and extends in length from north *Their boundaries and extent.*

to south, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, and in breadth from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and sixty, exclusive of the islands belonging to it.

Air, soil, and product. This country consists partly of woods and morasses, and in many parts the soil is very fruitful. The air is clear and healthy; and though the winter be severe and long, and the summer consequently short, yet the heat of the climate during this last season is such, that the grain sown immediately before or just after winter, ripens perfectly, and yields such plentiful crops, that Livonia is called the granary of the North. It likewise produces abundance of flax, hemp, and linseed, reckoned the best of any; and exports great quantities of hides and leather. Its horned cattle, horses, and goats, are very numerous, and much esteemed: but its sheep are not extraordinary, their wool being coarse.

Rivers and lakes. The rivers which water this country are the Duna, the Aa, the Embek, the Pernaw, and others of less note. It has also several lakes, as the Peipus lake, the Werczer lake, which is twenty-three miles in length and nine in breadth, the Lugan lake, &c. These, as well as the rivers, afford plenty of fine salmon and other fish. Turbots are likewise caught in the gulf of Riga, and a great part of the inhabitants subsist by their fisheries. Upon these coasts are taken prodigious shoals of stromlings, a species of herrings, which, when salted, are the ordinary food of the lower sort of people. A Swede has of late set on foot a pearl fishery, and there are between forty and fifty rivulets and lakes in Esthonia and Livonia where it is carried on; but the former yields more pearls than the latter, which almost equal the Oriental in size and clearness.

This country was formerly over-run with vast forests of oak, fir, pine, and birch trees; but the great quantities of timber used in building houses and other structures, almost all of which are of wood, as well in the towns as villages, and the making of the harbour of Roderwyck, together with what the inhabitants have cut down in order to clear their lands for tillage, have thinned them considerably, and thereby helped to free this country from numbers of wild beasts, with which it used formerly to be exceedingly infested.

This country was formerly interperſed with many towns and villages; but they have been so destroyed by wars and civil commotions, that scarcely any thing more than the ruins of them now remain.

Besides inhabitants who are descended from the Germans, Livonia contains great numbers of Esthonians and Let-

Lettonians, people of a very different extraction and language; though their manners and customs are pretty much the same. The Esthonians, from their similarity of speech, and other circumstances, seem to be derived from the same stock with the Finlanders. The Lettonians, both from their name and language, seem to have sprung from that of the Lithuanians, who were composed of a variety of Sarmatian tribes. The Livonians call both these Undeutschen, that is people who are not Germans. Their stature seldom exceeds the middle size, but they are vigorous and hardy, enduring cold and heat, and undergoing the greatest fatigue and labour with alacrity. They are all vassals, or rather slaves to their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them. They are chiefly employed in agriculture, grazing, and fishing; have a natural genius for mechanics, though there are few artificers among them; are much addicted to drunkenness, and indulge many superstitious practices in private. There are also many Russians in this country. The languages usually spoken here are the German, the Russian, the Swedish, the Finlandish, the Lettonian and Esthonian tongues. Most of the inhabitants of Livonia are Lutherans; but the Calvinists, Papists, and members of the Greek church, residing among them, are indulged with the free exercise of their religion. Their nobility, who are very numerous, and mostly of foreign extraction, being descended from such families as came anciently into Livonia, with the king of Denmark, or removed thither from different parts of Germany, particularly Lower Saxony, together with some Swedes and Poles, have, in general, always chosen a military life. Those who are otherwise inclined, who chuse to reside upon their estates, and make improvements in agriculture, are commonly invested with civil and juridical employments; and of this class are governors, prefects, land-marshals provincial, and hake judges, &c. They have no reason to complain of having fallen under the dominions of Russia; all their rights and privileges have been since confirmed to them, and the estates which the crown of Sweden had resumed, have also been restored to the former feudatories.

A diet, or provincial assembly, is held for Esthonia once in three years at Reval; in which one of the chief of the nobility, who is equal to a land-marshal, is elected by vote, and, at the expiration of his office, he is intitled, on the first vacancy, to the post of land-rath, or provincial counsellor. All matters relative to the public utility are discussed in this diet, and out of it a committee is appointed,

in

in which the land-raths have a seat. The diet is convened by the chief of the nobility on any important occasion; but it is never held at Riga, without leave from the court of Russia, which being obtained, a land-marshal is chosen, whose business is chiefly restricted to the affairs under the consideration of the diet.

Government. All the parishes in Esthonia, which are only forty in number, are subject to the nobility in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They are divided into provostships, according to the circles in which they lie. The consistory of nobles is composed of a president, who is a land-rath, provosts, the preachers at the cathedral of Reval, and some other assessors. Here is also a supreme spiritual court of appeals, which consists of some of the clergy, land-raths, and nobles.

Livonia, or the general government of Riga, contains upwards of a hundred and twenty parishes, which are likewise under the jurisdiction of a consistory of nobles, and a general superintendant, who resides at Riga, where the high consistory is held. Each circle has a governor in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, who must be a nobleman. The ministers of Pernau, Dorpat, and other little towns in Livonia, are subject to the general superintendant; but the cities of Riga, Reval, and Narva, have their consistories, which, as well as their magistracy, are independent of the nobility.

The highest tribunal in Esthonia is called the Government, or Supreme Provincial Court, which assembles yearly for the administration of justice, about the middle of January, and continues sitting till Easter. It is composed of the governor, who is president, and twelve land-raths, who are all noble, and have the rank of major-general. The land-raths have power to fill up at their own discretion the vacancies in their college from among the nobility, without any licence or nomination from the crown; and the senior land-raths compose a government in the absence of the other governors. Subordinate to this tribunal are the mann-gerichte, or inferior courts, and haken-richter, or inferior judges.

The chief tribunal in the general government of Riga, or Livonia, is the hof gericht, or supreme court of judicature, which is appointed by the czarina. There are also twelve land-raths, or provincial counsellors; but only one of them has a seat in the hof-gericht. Each of these land-raths resides in his turn at Riga, for a month, in order to preside in the college of the nobility, and takes cognizance of the same affairs as fall under the chief of the nobles in Esthonia,

Eſthonia. The land-raths, indeed, elect the college; but their choice muſt be approved by the Ruſſian court. The inferior courts are the land-gericht, and ordnungs-gericht, the members of which have their reſpective aſſeſſors; and they are on the ſame footing as the mann-richter and haken-richter in Eſthonia. But from all theſe courts there lies an appeal to the college of judicature, eſtabliſhed at Peterſburg for the provinces of Eſthonia and Livonia, and from that again to the ſenate, which is the ſupreme tribunal for the whole Ruſſian empire.

Their ancient hiſtory very obſcure.

The ancient hiſtory of theſe duchies is very dark and obſcure. Paganiſm prevailed in them till the twelfth century, when the Chriſtian religion was firſt introduced into Livonia by the following accident. In the year 1158 ſome Bremen merchants, bound to Wiſby in Gothland, being driven by ſtreſs of weather upon the coaſt of Livonia, landed at the mouth of the river Duna, near the Baltic. The inhabitants, who called themſelves Liven, at firſt oppoſed their landing; but becoming more tractable by degrees, at laſt traded with the ſtrangers. In the ſequel the Bremeners came hither in greater numbers to traffic with the natives, with whoſe conſent they formed a little ſettlement about two leagues up the river. Theſe new coloniſts ſoon increaſing, brought with them from Germany, about the year 1186, one Meinhard, an Auguſtine monk, of the convent of Segeberg in Wagria, who, having learned the language of the country, perſuaded ſome of the Livonians to be baptized, and was ſoon after ordained biſhop of Kerkholm, one of their towns, which was made an epiſcopal ſee. From this æra a great many German families ſettled in Livonia. In the year 1196, Canute VI. king of Denmark, made an expedition into Eſthonia, and, after having conquered that province, introduced Chriſtianity, built churches, and ſent prieſts to officiate in them. With a view towards effecting the reduction of Livonia, biſhop Albert inſtituted an order of knighthood, called the Knights of Chriſt, and pope Innocent III. gave them the ſame ſtatues with the Knights Templars, and a croſs and ſword to be worn upon their coat by way of badge, at the ſame time enjoining them obedience to the biſhop of Riga. In the year 1206, biſhop Albert gave this order a grant of a third part of Livonia, with all the privileges of a ſovereignty; which was confirmed in 1210 by pope Innocent III. who exempted the knights from tithes and other impoſts. Theſe knights were, by order of Winno, their firſt grand-maſter, ſtyled Fratres Enſiferi, or Sword-bearing Knights. In 1231 they were united with the knights of the Teutonic order; and

and as their habit, when thus incorporated, was a white mantle with a black cross, they called themselves Brothers of the Cross; which humble title they, however, changed in 1382, into that of Lords of the Cross. In 1346 these knights purchased Esthonia of Waldemar III. king of Denmark, for eigteen thousand Lothige marks in silver (F). In 1521, the grand-master of the Teutonic order in Prussia sold his chief jurisdiction in Livonia to Walter Plettenberg, the general of the Knights of the Cross, who, together with the states of Livonia, were discharged from their oath of obedience to the Teutonic grand-master; and the emperor, Charles V. afterwards admitted them among the princes of the empire. By this privilege the Livonians had a right of appealing from their high court of judicature to the aulic council at Spires. About this time the reformation began o extend over the whole country.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the czar Iwan Basilowitz formed the design of subduing this country; upon which the city of Reval, and the duchy of Esthonia, put themselves under the protection of Sweden: and upon these grounds was founded the claim of the crown of Sweden to Livonia, as well as the superior privileges which Esthonia enjoyed beyond Livonia. Gothard Ketlern, grand-master of the order of the Cross, surrendered Livonia to the king of Poland, as great-duke of Lithuania; upon which it was annexed to the crown. He solemnly resigned his command; and in 1561 was created the first duke of Courland, but was to hold this duchy as a fief of Poland. The Poles also got possession of Riga and Lettonia: immediately a dreadful war broke out betwixt Russia, Sweden, and Poland, and laid waste this country in particular, for a whole century, till, by the famous treaty of Oliva, in 1660, Livonia was given up by Poland to Sweden, and the Duna was agreed on as the boundary betwixt the Swedish and Polish dominions. This country was again miserably ravaged in the great northern war, which broke out in the beginning of the present century; till at last, by the treaty of Nystadt, concluded in the year 1721, Sweden agreed to cede Livonia for ever to Russia.

Their present division and principal places.

It is now divided into

1. The general government of Riga;
2. The general government of Reval; and,
3. The government of the city of Narva.

(F) A Lothige mark is nine ounces twelve penny-weights Troy weight.

IX. The

IX. The general Government of RIGA

Contains Lettonia, to which the name of Livonia is alſo given in a reſtricted ſenſe, and conſiſts of the circles of Riga, Wenden, Pernau, Dorpat, and the province of Oeſel.

The principal places in this government are,

Riga, the capital not only of this circle and government, but alſo of the whole province. It ſtands upon the river Duna, and is ſaid to have taken its name from a rivulet formerly called Rige, now Riſing, which is almoſt dried up. This city, though populous, well fortified, and famed for its opulence and commerce, is not large. Charles XI. king of Sweden, in 1660, not only declared it the capital of the country, but ranked it next in degree to Stockholm, and honoured all the members of its council, and their ſucceſſors, with the title of noble, whilſt they ſit in the council. This city has an excellent harbour, carries on a good trade with England, Holland, and the Hanſe Towns, in ſummer; and in the winter-ſeaſon it trafficks with the Ruſſian provinces by means of ſledges. The ſupreme court of judicature for Livonia, and the high conſiſtory, are held in this city, which is alſo the reſidence of the governor and general ſuperintendant. Riga was built in the year 1200, and ſhortly after encompaſſed with a wall. It has ſuffered greatly both by fires and ſieges.

Dunamunde, formerly a convent of Ciſtercian monks, founded by Albert, biſhop of Livonia, in the year 1201, is now a noble fortification, at the mouth of the Duna, where the ſhips which ſail out of the Baltic into that river, pay toll or cuſtom.

Wenden, in the circle of that name, though once the ſeat of the grand-maſter of the Teutonic order, and a place of great importance, is now reduced to a ſmall mean town.

Dorpat, or Dorpt, a town upon the river Embeck, ſtands in the circle of the ſame name, and is alſo called Odempe. It was built in the year 1030, by Jurü Jaroſlaw Wladimirwitz, great-duke of Ruſſia, who gave it the name of Juriew; but the Ruſſians continued in poſſeſſion of it only to the year 1191. Volgum, great maſter of the knights of the Croſs, took Dorpat by ſtorm in 1210; after which it was rebuilt by thoſe knights, and made an epiſcopal ſee. It was formerly a member of the Hanſeatic confederacy, a place of conſiderable trade, and a rich and beautiful town; but its wealth and beauty have, from time to time, fallen a prey to the frequent ravages of war.

The

The province of Oesel includes the islands of Oesel, Moen, and Runoe. Oesel lies at the entrance of the gulf of Riga, is about sixty miles long, and from nine to twelve broad, and formerly belonged to the Teutonic order, who resigned it to the Danes. Moen and Runoe are little islands of no sort of consequence.

X. The general Government of REVAL

Includes the province of Esthonia. Its chief places are,

Reval, which lies upon the Baltic, and once made no inconsiderable figure among the Hanse Towns. Though not large, it is opulent, well fortified, and still has a flourishing trade. Both the town and castle were founded by Waldemar II. king of Denmark, in the year 1218; and received, as well as the whole duchy of Esthonia, most of its privileges from the Danish monarch.

The little triangular island of Dagho, in the Baltic, is tolerably fertile. Each side of it is about twelve miles long.

The city of Narva, upon the banks of a rapid river of the same name, which runs from the Peipus lake into the gulf of Finland, was built in the year 1224, in the reign of Waldemar II. king of Denmark. It is not large, but its houses are handsome; and its trade, particularly in flax, is very considerable. Narva has frequently felt the calamities of war. In 1704, it was besieged by the Russians, and carried by assault; and since that time it has been a part of the Russian dominions, but with the full enjoyment of all its former rights and privileges; the Russians only reserving the right of appeal to the senate at Petersburg.

XI. INGRIA, which now constitutes the Government of PETERSBURG,

Its situation and rivers.

Lies between the gulf of Finland, Carelia, and Russia, properly so called; and is watered by the Luga, the Sista, the Cowassa, and the Newa, or Neva; which last is a broad rapid river. It flows from the lake Ladoga, and runs through the city of Petersburg, where it divides into several channels, and, after a course of about forty miles, discharges itself into the gulf of Finland. This country is fertile, both in corn and pasture, and abounds in all kinds of game, particularly elks. The Russians had been in possession of this province so early as the thirteenth century; but were afterwards obliged to give it up to Sweden. They recovered it again in 1702; and it was confirmed to them, with their other conquests, by the treaty of Nystadt in 1721.

The

The most remarkable places in this government are, *Principal places.*
Iwangorod, or John's Castle, a strong fort, built by the great-duke Iwan Basilowitz, in the year 1492, on the river Narva, close by the city of the same name.

Kronstadt, a good town, well fortified, upon the island of Retusari, which is about four miles long, and one mile broad, and is called by the Russians, on account of its form, Kotlinnoi-Ostrow, or the Kettle-island. Kronstadt lies in the gulf of Finland, about eight leagues, by water, from Petersburg, and near two leagues from the coast of Ingria. It was built by Peter I. who also erected near it the strong fort of Kronschloss, in 1703, in the winter-season. The inhabitants of Kronstadt are a mixture of all nations, consisting of soldiers, sailors, and burghers; and amount to about twenty thousand souls. The town is defended by its own wall, on which several great guns are planted, and also by the citadel and fort of Kronschloss, which are at a very small distance from it, on the Ingrian shore. Kronstadt has three harbours, which are all large, safe, and commodious; but the fresh water in them is very prejudicial to ships. The harbour for merchantmen lies westward, and is very convenient; but that for ships of war, in which the greatest part of the Russian fleet is laid up, lies towards the east. The powder-magazine is built in the water in this harbour. The middle harbour is for other ships and yachts belonging to the crown. Peter the Great intended to fit up this place for the conveniency of repairing his large men of war, by making a stone canal, of an extraordinary breadth and depth, with several docks in it. But this great work was not completed till the present reign.

St. Petersburg, situate in 59 degrees 57 minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the Russian empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in Ingria and Finland, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channels of the Neva, which divides itself into two main branches, called the Great and Little Neva, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers Fontanka and Moika, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands, has been considerably raised with trunks of trees, earth, and stone: its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city is about six English miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The beginning and increase of this flourishing metropolis were very extraordinary; for till the year 1703, the only buildings on the spot, where it now stands, were two small fishing huts; and Peter the Great having in that year taken Nyenschanze, upon the river

river Neva, and made himself master of this country, its convenient situation for the Baltic trade determined him to build a town and fortress here; a design which he immediately began to put in execution, calling the town by his own name. It was at first intended only for a place of arms, to which all kinds of military stores might be conveniently brought from the interior parts of the empire, in order to facilitate the prosecution of the war with Sweden. Both the public edifices and private houses were then built only with wood; the dock and the town had no other fortifications than a rampart of earth, nor were the streets paved; so that if the czar had been deprived of the place at that time, his loss would not have been great. But, shortly after, the victory at Pultowa, and the reduction of Livonia, inspiring him with hopes that he should be able to keep his conquests, influenced also by his fondness for maritime affairs, by a desire of perpetuating his name, an aversion to Moscow, where he had received much ill treatment in his youth, and, some add, the pleasure of mortifying the Russians, who were extremely attached to the city of Moscow, he began to think seriously of rendering Petersburg the capital of his empire. Accordingly he ordered the castle to be built with stone, the admiralty to be walled-in, with the same materials, all the buildings to be erected in a handsomer and more durable manner than before, and gardens to be laid out.

In 1714 he removed the council to Petersburg, and handsome edifices were erected in a strait line, for the public offices, which were also translated thither in 1718. The principal families were likewise ordered to make this their place of residence, and to build houses here according to their abilities.

The Russian nobility expressed great reluctance to settle at Petersburg; nor is it to be wondered at, as they can neither live so cheap, nor so commodiously there, as they did at Moscow. The soil about Petersburg is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom abounded in money. Besides, Moscow seemed to them much fitter for the imperial seat; being in the center of the empire, from whence justice might be more easily administered, and the national revenues be received and disbursed with greater conveniency and dispatch. They likewise thought that Petersburg stood too near the frontiers of Sweden. However, notwithstanding all these disadvantages,

tages, this city became large and splendid in the time of its founder, and has been so improved since, by his successors, that it is now ranked among the most elegant places in Europe.

The inhabitants of this large city, besides Russians, consist of all nations; so that a person hears a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs at Petersburg. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred; but the place contains upwards of a hundred thousand souls. The splendor of the court is copied by the inhabitants in general; though all kinds of furniture and apparel, especially if made by foreign artificers, are very dear, and houses in a good situation sometimes bear a very high price in this city. Provisions, however, are very cheap here, though frequently brought, especially in winter, from the distance of several hundred miles. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupt and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the Russian government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circumspect in his behaviour and words; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say any thing against the Greek religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

A south-west wind in autumn frequently lays great part of Petersburg under water.

Upon another small island in the middle of the Neva, just where it runs out of the lake Ladoga, is the strong fortress of Schlusselburg, which commands the shores on either side. It was formerly called Oreshek, or Oreckowitz; and in the Swedish language Notteburg, from the form of the island whereon it stands, which resembles a nut. But Peter I. having subdued it in the year 1702, changed the name of this fort to Schlusselburg; that monarch esteeming it the *key (schlussel)* of his conquests. Its walls are two fathoms and a half thick, and built in the old manner. In one angle of this fort is a small, but very strong castle. The Russians have improved this fort both within and without, and added to it several new works. It has undergone many sieges. When Peter the Great took it, in 1702, he ordered two medals to to be struck in commemoration of his success. On one of them is the following inscription:

NOTTEBURGUM, NUNC SCHLUSSELBURGUM, POST ANNOS XC. AB HOSTE RECUPERATUM ACTUM D. 12 OCTOB. S. V. MDCCII.

"Notteburg, now Schluſſelburg, recovered from the enemy after ninety years poſſeſſion, on the 12th of October 1702."

The late acquiſitions of the Ruſſians in Carelia, which form the preſent

XII. Government of WIBURG,

Its diviſions, include a conſiderable portion of the great duchy of Finland, and conſiſt of part of Finlandiſh Carelia, part of Kexholm, and part of Sawolax.

and principal places. The principal places in thoſe parts of theſe diſtricts, which are poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians, are Wiburg, Wilmannſtrand, and Frederickſhamn, in Carelia; Kexholm, or Carlerogorod, i. e. the *Fortreſs of Carelia*, a ſtrong place, built upon two ſmall iſlands, at the influx of the river Waxen into the lake Ladoga, in the country of Kexholm; and in that of Sawolax, the town of Nyſtot, called, in the Finnean language, Sawotinna, ſituate on the lake Saima. Its caſtle, which ſtands on a rock in a river near the town, and from which the latter derives its name, is extremely well fortified both by art and nature.

Wiburg, by the Finlanders called Somerlinde, was formerly the capital of all Carelia, a biſhop's ſee, and the bulwark of Sweden againſt Ruſſia. It is ſituated on the gulf of Finland, and carries on a conſiderable trade. Peter the Great having taken this town by capitulation in the year 1710, improved its fortifications; which have been ever ſince kept in ſuch good condition, that Wiburg may now be looked upon as the bulwark of Ruſſia againſt Sweden.

Wilmannſtrand ſtands on the lake Saima, and is called in the Finnean language Lappi-Weſſi, i. e. *Lapp-water*. It had formerly the name of Lap-ſtrand, was a conſiderable mart for tar, and the reſidence of a Swediſh governor.

Frederickſhamn lies alſo on the gulf of Finland, on the ſpot where the town of Wekelax, which was burnt by the Ruſſians in 1712, formerly ſtood. This place had a conſiderable trade, and was fortified by a caſtle built in 1722. But in the laſt war between the Swedes and Ruſſians, it was burnt to the ground, and ceded to the latter. The limits betwixt the Swediſh and Ruſſian Carelia were fixed near this place by the treaty of Nyſtadt.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Description of Asiatic Russia.

THE Russian dominions in Asia make a considerable part of Great or Asiatic Tartary, and may be properly divided, in general, into the west and south parts of Russian Tartary, which contain the governments of Astracan, Orenburg, and Casan; and the northern and eastern parts of Great Tartary, in which is the government of Siberia (G). *General division of Asiatic Russia.*

The principal rivers in the Asiatic part of the Russian empire, are, *Rivers.*

First, Those which run into the Caspian sea, namely,

The Wolga, which has been already described in our account of European Russia. *The Wolga.*

The Yaik, formerly called Rhymnus, which rises among the Uralian mountains, in latitute 54 degrees, and longitude 87 degrees; and after running a course of about one thousand wersts, empties itself by two channels into the Caspian sea, in latitude 47 degrees, 30 minutes, and longitude 74 degrees. It abounds with excellent fish, and has an extremely rapid current, but is very shallow in some places. *The Yaik.*

The Yem, or Jemba, as the Russians call it, is rapid, but very shallow, being hardly five feet deep at its mouth. Its waters are clear, and its banks fertile; but there are neither towns or villages upon the borders of it. The Tartars of the Kasatsha Horda dwell in tents and little huts on the west side of this river, which empties itself into the Caspian sea. *The Yem.*

(G) Under the name of Tartary, a part only of this vast tract is properly included; but custom has extended it to the whole country. This extensive region has, no less improperly, been called Mungalia; for it is uncertain whether the people who live more northerly or easterly, had ever any connections with these Tartars and Mungalians. The Yakuthians, and the more remote nations, differ extremely from the Tartars, properly so called, in their customs and manner of living. The country of the Siberians and Ostiaks came to be looked upon as a part of Tartary, because those nations had been conquered by the Tartars, or rather by the Mungalians, who sent several colonies among them; or because it formerly belonged to the kingdom of Great Tartary, which was founded by Jenghis or Zingis Khan (1). This distinction should be particularly observed with regard to Russian Tartary.

(1) Busching. Geog. vol. i. p. 469

The Gihun. The Gihun, which is alſo called by the ſeveral names of Amu, Amol, Amu-Daria, Midergius, Sheherbas, Nahar, (H) or ſimply Roud Kanern, that is, *the Great Stream*, was the Oxus and Bactrus of the ancients, and formerly diſcharged itſelf by two channels or mouths into the Caſpian ſea: but theſe are now become dry, and the ſtream has been diverted by art into the ſea or lake of Aral. In the reign of Cyrus it was the boundary of the Perſian monarchy, and is by ſome authors ſuppoſed to be the Araxes of the ancients. Its ſource is in the mountains of Paropamiſſus.

The Sihun. The Sihun, which has always emptied itſelf into the lake of Aral, was formerly called Alſhaſh, Saert, Acſaert, Sir, Daria, Sirdergias, Jaxartes, and Siris. The Macedonians miſtook it for the Tanais.

Thoſe which diſcharge themſelves into the Ice-Sea, are,

The Oby. The large and famous river Ob or Oby, which iſſues from the Altin lake (called by the Ruſſians Teleſkoi-Ofero), in latitude 52 degrees, and longitude 103 degrees 30 minutes. Its name ſignifies *Great*; and accordingly in Ruſſia it is often ſtyled the Great River. The Calmuks and Tartars call it Umar. Its ſtream is very large and ſmooth, its current being uſually ſlow; and it is, in general, between two and three hundred fathoms broad; though in ſome places it is much wider. It affords plenty of fiſh, and is navigable almoſt to the lake from which it ſprings. After a long winding courſe through a vaſt tract of land, in which it forms ſeveral iſlands, it empties itſelf in latitude 67 degrees, and longitude 86 degrees, into a bay, which, extending near four hundred miles farther, joins the Ice Sea in latitude 73, 30, and longitude 90. The ſprings from which this river riſes, are not very copious; but it receives in its courſe, the waters of a great number of conſiderable ſtreams. Of theſe, the Tom and the Irtis are the moſt conſiderable.

The Tom is navigable as far as the town of Kutſneſk. Its ſource is near the river Abaken, in latitude 53 degrees, and its influx into the Oby is in latitude 58 degrees.

The Irtis, or Irtiſh, riſes in the country of the Calmuks, in latitude 46 degrees 30 minutes, and 103 degrees longitude, runs through the lake of Saiſſan, and, after a long courſe, falls into the Oby, in 61 degrees of latitude, and 86 degrees of longitude. This river is full of iſlands, which are more viſible in ſummer, when the water is low, than during the floods in ſpring.

The Jeniſei. The Jeniſei, or Jeniſea, is little inferior to the Oby. The Tartars and Moguls call it Keen; but the Oſtiaks give

(H) נהר or Nahar, in the Hebrew tongue ſignifies *a river*.

it

it the name of Guck or Keses, that is the *Great River*. It is formed by the conflux of the two rivers Ulu-Kem and Bri-Kem, in latitude 51 degrees 30 minutes, and 111 degrees of longitude. From thence it runs almost due north; and in latitude 70 degrees, and 103 degrees 30 minutes longitude, forms a kind of bay, which contains several islands. This bay runs about 3 degrees 30 minutes in length northward, in which latitude (that is to say, in 73 degrees and a half) and the 100th degree of longitude, it at last join the Ice Sea. At the town of Jenisseisk, in autumn, when this river is lowest, the breadth of it at the surface of the water is five hundred and seventy, and in the spring, when it is highest, about seven hundred and ninety-five fathoms. The bottom of the Jenisei is stony and sandy, and the banks, especially on the east-side, are very mountainous and rocky. The fish in this river are good, and its stream for the most part is rapid; but this rapidity lessens gradually towards the mouth, so that at last it has hardly the appearance of a current.

The Lena. The great river Lena waters the eastern part of Siberia, and runs on the north-side of the lake of Baikal, in latitude 52 degrees 30 minutes, and longitude 124 degrees 30 minutes. Having traversed a large tract of land, in latitude 73 degrees, it divides itself into five branches; three of which run westward, and two eastward; and by these channels it discharges itself into the Ice Sea. Its three western mouths lie in 153 degrees of longitude; but the eastern extends no farther than 143 degrees. The current is every where very slow, and its bed is entirely free from rocks. The bottom is sandy, and the banks are in some places rocky and mountainous.

The rivers which discharge themselves into the eastern ocean, are these:

The Amur. The Amur, formerly called Karan-Muran; but now, by the Chinese and Manshurians, Sagalin-Ula. It is also called Yamur, Onon, Helong-Kiang, and Skilka. The Amur is formed by the conflux of the rivers Skilk and Argun, abounds with fish, and is navigable a great way from its mouth. The length of its course is near two thousand English miles.

The Uda. The Ud, or Uda, is the only considerable river that runs into the sea of Kamtschatka.

The Penshina. The Penshina, is the river from which the gulf of Penshinska takes its name.

The Anadir. The Anadir is a considerable river, which runs into the eastern ocean.

Lakes. The principal lakes in this part of Russia are, the Aral, the Baikal, and the Altin lakes.

Aral. The lake, or as it is often called the Sea of Aral, is one of the largest lakes in all Asia, and lies within a little distance from the Caspian sea. Its length from north to south is said to be near one hundred and fifty miles, and its breadth from east to west about seventy. Its water, which is very salt, is for that reason conveyed by the neighbouring Karacalpacks, the Kasatsha-Horda, and the Turkomanians, by small narrow canals, into sandy pits, where the heat of the sun, by exhaling the water, leaves them a sufficient quantity of salt for their necessary uses. The same kinds of fish are found in this lake as in the Caspian sea, and, like that, the Aral has no visible outlet.

Baikal. The Baikal lake, by the neighbouring people called Swiatoie-More, or the *Holy Lake*, is from west to east five hundred wersts in length, but from north to south it is but twenty or thirty in a direct line, and in some places only fifteen. It is environed on all sides by high mountains. In that part of it which lies near the river Barguzin, it throws up an inflammable bitumen, called maltha, which the people of the adjacent country burn in their lamps. There are likewise several sulphureous springs near this lake. Its water, at a distance, appears of a green sea-colour: it is very fresh, and transparent. It affords great plenty of large sturgeon and pike, with several black seals, but none of the spotted kind. It contains several islands; and the borders of it are frequented by black sables and civet cats.

Altin. The Altin lake, which the Russians call Teleskoi-Osera, from the Teleski, a Tartarian nation who inhabit the borders of it, is near ninety miles long, and fifty broad. The bottom of this lake is rocky. The north part of it is sometimes frozen so hard, as to be passable on foot; but the south part is never covered with ice. The water in the Altin lake, as well as that in the rivers which run through the adjacent parts, contrary to what happens in other lakes, &c. rises only in the middle of summer, when the great heats melt the snow on the mountains, which had remained indissoluble during the spring.

The west and south part of Russian Tartary, inhabited by the Circassians. The west and south part of Russian Tartary, which, from time immemorial, has made a part of the Russian dominions, and belongs to Tartary, properly so called, is inhabited by the following nations.

The Circassians, who inhabit the country lying to the north-west of the Caspian sea, between Georgia and the entrance of the river Wolga. Circassia is near three hundred

dred miles in length, and about the same in breadth. It is partly subject to Russia, and partly to the Crim Kan; though some of its inhabitants still preserve their independency. The Circassians, and especially the women, are reputed the most beautiful of all the Oriental nations. In point of religion they seem to be half Mahometans, for they use circumcision and other Mahometan rites; but have no mulhas nor mosques, nor do they express any veneration for the Koran. They are chiefly employed in hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture.

Grebinian and Yaik Cossacks.

The Grebinian and Yaik Cossacks, the latter of which dwell near the river Yaik.

Great Nogayans.

The Great Nogayans. These are Mahometan Tartars, and live near the Caspian sea, between the rivers Wolga and Yaik. They subsist by hunting and feeding of cattle, and some of them are employed in agriculture. Great numbers of the Nogayans have been converted to the Greek religion.

Torgautians.

The Torgautians, or rather the Torgut-Calmuks, who inhabit the country between the Wolga and the Yaik, are Calmuks and Pagans. Torgut signifies *the illustrious tribe*, or *the great, noble, celebrated Horde*; and the Torgutes are supposed by the learned to be the Thyssagetes or Thyrsagetes, mentioned by Herodotus above two thousand years ago.

Tsheremissians and Tshuwashians.

The Tsheremissians and Tshuwashians.

The Wotiakians, who belong to the government of Casan, live in a very savage and sordid manner. They believe indeed in a Supreme Being, whom they call Yumar, and think that he resides in the sun; but they neither worship, nor pay him any regard. Upon any emergency, they apply for counsel and assistance to a person whom they call Dona. They speak both the Russian and Tartarian languages, and subsist chiefly by hunting.

Casan Tartars.

The Tartars of the government of Casan profess the Mahometan religion, and are more civilized than the Tsheremissians and Wotiakians.

Bashkirian and Usian Tartars.

The Bashkirian and Usian Tartars, who likewise inhabit the government of Casan. The former live in the country towards the east, between the river Kama, the mountains of Ural, and the Wolga; but the latter inhabit the north part of that government. They live together and intermarry, without mixing with other nations. These Tartars are strong and well-made. Their faces are broad, their complexion brown, their hair black, and their beards long. Their dress is somewhat like that of the Russians. They are exceeding good horsemen, and remarkable for their

courage and dexterity in managing their bows and arrows. With respect to religion, they are rather heathens than Mahometans; circumcision, and some few other ceremonies being all that they practise of the latter. Some of them indeed have embraced the Greek religion. Their habitations are in towns or villages, and their occupations hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture. They pay their tribute in the produce of the country, which is corn, wax, honey, cattle, and furs. They take as many wives as they can maintain, and give horses in exchange for them; sometimes six or seven horses for a wife.

XIII. The Government of ASTRACAN.

This province, which is a part of the ancient Kapjak, conquered by Zingis Khan, and afterwards by Tamerlane, contains what was formerly the Tartarian kingdom of Astracan, and was subdued by the czar Iwan Basilowitz, in the year 1554. It includes the country on the north, and partly on the west side of the Caspian sea, from whence it extends, along mount Caucasus, to the 50th degree of latitude. In the neighbourhood of Astracan are small lakes and ponds, so impregnated with salt, that sometimes it incrusts the surface of the water like ice. This saline incrustation is so thick, that one may walk upon it with safety; and salt is likewise found at the bottom of these pools, in the form of crystal salts. In this country are vast tracts of land, on the west side of the Wolga, quite uninhabited, though naturally so fertile as to produce grass of a great height, many sorts of leguminous plants, cherry, almond, and other fruit-trees, the best arbuses, or water-melons, in the whole Russian empire, and great numbers of wild sheep, whose flesh is delicate. The vines also, which have been planted about Astracan, produce grapes of so fine a flavour, that nothing is wanting but skilful persons to make excellent wine.

Astracan, the capital, is situated near the Caspian sea, on an island formed by the Wolga. It is about four miles in circumference, encompassed with a good stone wall, and opposite to it is a fort. The Lutherans have a church here, as have also the Armenians, who, to the number of forty families, live here for the conveniency of trade, for which Astracan has been always famous; and above thirty different nations resort hither for the same purpose. One of its suburbs is entirely inhabited by Indians. A garrison of three thousand men is always kept in this city.

XIV. The

XIV. The Government of ORENBURG.

This government, which has been but lately erected, lies in the province of Ufa, and derives its name from the town and fortress of Orenburg, built at the junction of the rivers Or and Yaik, by order of the empress Anne, in the year 1738. But that situation being found inconvenient, the inhabitants were removed, and the town built lower down on the Yaik in 1740. This place was intended to protect the new subjects, who, from time to time, put themselves under the protection of the Russians, and to promote the trade with the people that live more to the south. Since the establishment of a considerable commerce here, all the Russian and Asiatic merchants are permitted, on paying a certain duty, to sell their goods by wholesale or retale; and all European foreign merchants are allowed to bring their goods from the harbour and frontier towns to Orenburg.

XV. The Government of CASAN.

This government, which reaches from that part of Astracan to Siberia, is much more extensive than the ancient kingdom of Casan, conquered by the czar Iwan Basilowitz, the greatest of all the Russian conquerors, in the year 1552.

It is divided into the circles of Casan, Sinbirsk, Persisk, Alatyrsk, Swuask, Zywilsk, Thebaksar, Kusmodemiank, Korkshaisk, Carewo-Kokthaiskoi, Carewo-Sontshurskoi, Yaransk, Ursum, Klynow, Kaigorodok, Tsherdyn, Solikamskoi (I), and the barony of Straganow; in all eighteen circles. *Its divisions.*

Casan,

(I) Called also formerly Biaomo, and now frequently Great Permia. This province, in particular, was once a famous mart for the various merchandise of Persia, and the furs of Tartary. A great quantity of gold coins, stamped by the first Tartar Khalifs, and some golden idols of the old Tartars, have been found of late years in places that are now desarts in this country (1): many Syrian, Arabian, Grecian, Roman, and Cimbrian coins, have also been found in these parts, in the burial places of their ancient inhabitants, who traded with these nations. Pliny and Pomponius Mela (2) mention a king of the Suevi, who, in the time of Augustus, made Metellus Celer a present

(1) Strelow in Præfat. Guthiland. Chronic. (2) Strahlenburg, in his Description of the North and East Parts of Europe and Asia, p. 3.

of

Principal places.

Casan, the capital of this government, is situate on the river Kasanka, which, at the distance of about five miles, falls into the Wolga. This large city is defended by a strong fort, and is an archbishop's see. At one end of the town is a manufactory of cloth; all of which is bought up by the crown, at a set price, for clothing the troops. In a convent called Siliandowo, about two miles off, is a school, where the children of the Tkuashian, Tsheremission, and Mordunian Malmucks and Tartars are taught the Russian and Latin languages, the principles of the Christian religion, and the elements of philosophy, in order to qualify them as preachers for the conversion of the nations to which they belong. The Russians first made themselves masters of this important place on the 3d of October, 1552.

About seventy wersts from Casan, and not far from the river Kama, are the ruins of the ancient city of Bulgar, formerly the capital of Bulgaria, which still makes a part of the czar's titles.

XVI. SIBERIA.

The name Sibiria, or Siberia, was originally applied, and still properly belongs, only to the south part of the province of Tobolsk; but, in a more extensive sense, it now includes all the northern part of Asia, which borders on Russia to the west, on the Ice Sea to the north, on the eastern ocean towards the east, and on Great Tartary on the south. Its length from east to west is near four thousand miles, and its breadth from north to south upwards of twelve hundred, which is the smallest width of the Russian empire.

Siberia seems to derive its name from an old city called Sibir; which, according to a received tradition, stood on the river Irtis, about eighteen wersts from Tobolsk, and was the residence of the ancient sovereigns of Siberia.

Ancient inhabitants.

This very country was formerly the abode of those Huns who ravaged the western world, and sacked even Rome,

of some Indians, who had been shipwrecked near the Elbe. Our moderns, especially since the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, have looked upon this account as fabulous: but, as M. de Voltaire observes, it was not more extraordinary for an Indian to go into the northern countries of the western world to trade, than for a Roman to go to India through Arabia. The Indians travelled by land to Persia, embarked upon the Hyrcanian sea, sailed up the Rha, now the Wolga, passed through the Kama into Great Permia, and could there take shipping on the north or Baltic sea. The Tyrians performed much more surprising voyages.

under

under their commander Attila; and they themselves came originally from the north of China. Such have been the vast migrations of the human race! The Usbek Tartars succeeded the Huns, and the Russians succeeded those Tartars.

The air of Siberia is, in general, extremely piercing; the cold there being more severe than in any other part of the Russian dominions. The Siberian rivers are frozen very early, and it is late in the spring before the ice is thawed. If the corn does not ripen in August, there is little hope of a harvest in this country; and in the province of Jenisseisk it is sometimes covered with snow before the peasants can reap it. To defend the inhabitants against this extreme severity of the climate, Providence seems more liberally to have dealt out to them, wood for fuel, and furs for clothing. As the winter's day in the north parts of Siberia last but a few hours, and the storms and flakes of snow darken the air so much, that the inhabitants, even at noon, cannot see to do any thing without artificial lights, they sleep away the greatest part of that season (K). *Climate.*

These severe winters are rapidly succeeded by summers, in which the heat is so intense, that the Tungunsians, who live in the province of Jukutsk, go almost naked. Here is scarcely any night during that season; and towards the Frozen Ocean, the sun appears continually above the horizon. The vegetables and fruits of the earth are here extremely quick in their growth.

The whole tract of land beyond the 60th degree of north latitude, is a barren waste; for the north part of Siberia yields neither corn nor fruits; though barley is known frequently to come to perfection in Jakutzk. For this reason, the inhabitants of the northern parts are obliged to live on fish and flesh; but the Russians are supplied with corn from the southern parts of Siberia, where the soil is surprisingly fertile. The countries beyond the lake of Baikal, especially towards the east, as far as the river Argun, are remarkably fruitful and pleasant; but such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that several fine tracts of land, which would make ample returns to the peasant for cultivating them, lie neglected. The pastures are excellent in this country, which abounds in fine horned cattle, *Soil and produce.*

(K) In those parts where the river Jenesei falls into the Ice-Sea, the northern lights appear from the beginning of October till Christmas; and the corruscations of one kind of them are said to be very terrifying.

horses,

horses, goats, &c. on which the Tartars chiefly depend for subsistence. However, there are several steppes, or barren wastes, and unimprovable tracts in these parts; and not a single fruit tree is to be seen. There is great variety of vegetables, and in several places, particularly near Krasnaia Sloboda, the ground is in a manner over-run with asparagus of an extraordinary height and delicious flavour. The bulbs of the Turkish bundes, and other sorts of lilies, are much used by the Tartars instead of bread. This want of fruit and corn is richly compensated by the great quantities of wild and tame beasts and fowls, and the infinite variety of fine fish which the country affords.

In that part of Siberia which lies near the Ice Sea, as well as in several other places, are woods of pine, larch, and other trees: besides which, a considerable quantity of wood is thrown ashore by the waves of the Ice Sea: but from whence it comes is not yet ascertained.

Wild beasts. Besides the wild fowl, with which Siberia abounds, there is a prodigious number of quadrupeds, some of which are eatable, and others valuable for their skins or furs.

The animals most valued for their skins are the black fox, the sable, the hyæna, the ermine, the squirrel, the beaver, and the lynx. The skin of a real black fox is more esteemed than even that of a sable. In the country near the Frozen Ocean are also blue and white foxes. The finest sables come from Nertshinsk and Jakutzk, the inhabitants of which places catch them in the mountains of Stannowoi Krebet. The tributary nations were formerly obliged to pay their taxes in the skins of foxes and sables only. But now the skins of squirrels, bears, rein-deer, &c. and sometimes money, are received by way of tribute; and this not only from those who live near the Lena, but also in the governments of Ilinsk, Irkutzk, Selenginsk, and Nertshinks. When the Tartars first became tributary to Russians, they brought their furs indiscriminately as they caught them, and among them were often sables of extraordinary value; and formerly, if any trader brought with him an iron-kettle, they gave him, in exchange for it, as many sables as it would hold. But they are now better acquainted with their value. They sell their sables to smugglers at a very high price, and pay only a ruble instead of a skin to the revenue-officers, which now receives more ready money than sables, by way of tribute. The subjects plead the scarcity of furs, and, indeed, not without some appearance of truth.

Minerals. Siberia has still other and more valuable treasures than those we have yet mentioned. The silver mines of Argun

are

are extremely rich, the silver they produce yield some gold, and both of these are found among the copper-ore of Koliwan. This country is also particulary rich in copper and iron ore. The former lies even upon the surface of the earth; and considerable mines of it are found in the mountains of Pictow, Koliwan, Ploskau, Woskeresensk, Kuswi, Alepaik, and several others, and in the government of Krasnoiarsk. Iron is still more plentiful in all these places, and very good; but that of Kamenski is reckoned the best. Several hundred thousand puds of these metals are annually exported from the smelting-houses, which belong partly to the crown, and partly to private persons. Most of them lie in the government of Catharinenburg. The Tartars also extract a great quantity of iron from the ore.

Precious stones.

The topazes of Siberia have a fine lustre, and in open sandy places, near the river Argun, as well as on the banks of other rivers and lakes, are found single small pieces of agate. Here are also cornelians and green jasper with red viens; the latter is chiefly met with in the deserts of Gobiskoi.

Marienglas

The famous marienglas, or lapis specularis, great quantities of which are dug up in Siberia, is by some called Muscovy or Russian glass; and by others, though with less propriety, isinglass. It is a particular species of transparent stone, lying in strata, like so many sheets of paper. The matrix, or stone in which it is found, is partly a light yellow quartz or marcassia, and partly a brown indurated fluid; and this stone contains in it all the species of the marienglas. To render the marienglas fit for use, it is split with a thin two-edged knife; but care is taken that the laminæ be not too thin. It is used for windows and lanterns all over Siberia, and indeed in every part of the Russian empire, and looks very beautiful; its lustre and clearness surpassing that of the finest glass, to which it is particularly preferable for windows and lanterns of ships, as it will stand the explosion of cannon. It is found in the greatest plenty near the river Witim.

Magnets.

Siberia affords magnets of an extraordinary size, and even whole mountains of loadstones. Pit-coal is also dug up in the northern parts of this country. The kamennoie masso, a yellowish kind of alum, unctuous and smooth to the touch, like tophus, is found in the mountains of Krasnoiarsk, Ural, Altaish, Jenisea, Baikal, Bargusik, Lena, and several others in Siberia.

Salt lakes and springs.

In this country are not only a great number of fresh-water lakes, but likewise several whose waters are salt; and these reciprocally change their nature, the salt sometimes

times becoming fresh, and the fresh changing into saline. Some lakes also dry up, and others appear where none were ever seen before. The salt-lake of Yamusha, in the province of Tobolsk, is the most remarkable of all; for it contains a salt as white as snow, consisting entirely of cubic crystals. One finds also in Siberia saline springs, salt-water brooks, and a hill of salt.

Natural curiosities. Siberia affords many other things which deserve notice. That useful root called rhubarb grows in vast quantities near the city of Seleginsk. The curious mamont's bones and horns, as they are called, which are found along the banks of the Oby, Jenesei, Lena, and Irtis, are unquestionably the teeth and bones of elephants. But whether these elephants teeth and bones were conveyed to these northern regions by the general deluge, or by any other inundation, and were by degrees covered with earth, is a point which might lead us into long and very fruitless disquisitions: we shall therefore only observe, that such bones have likewise been found in Russia, and even in several parts of Germany. A kind of bones of a still larger size than these have also been dug up in Siberia, and seem to have belonged to an animal of the ox-kind. The horn of the whale called narwhal, has been found in the earth near the rivers Indigirka and Anadir; and the teeth of another species of whales, called wolross, about Anadirskoi. The latter are larger than the common sort, which are brought from Greenland, Archangel, and Kola.

Mountains. The chain of Siberian mountains reaches from that of Werchoturie towards the south, as far as the neighbourhood of the city of Orienburg, in a continued ridge, under the name of the Uralian mountains; but from thence it alters its direction westward. These mountains are a kind of boundary between Russia Proper and Siberia. Another chain of hills divides Siberia from the country of the Calmucks and Mongalians. These mountains, between the rivers Irtis and Oby, are called the Attaic or Golden Mountains; which name they afterwards lose, particularly between the river Jenesei and the Baikal lake, where they are called the Sayanian Mountains.

Inhabitants. The inhabitants of Siberia consist of the aborigines or ancient inhabitants, the Tartars, and Russians.

Some of these nations have no other religion but that of nature; others are Pagans or Mahometans; and some of them have been converted to Christianity, or rather only baptised by the Russian missionaries.

The

First inhabitants of Siberia.

The Wogulitzians.

The Wogulitzians, or Wogulians, who live in the province of Tobolsk, may more properly be classed here than among the Tartars. These, by living among the Russians in a constant intercourse of trade, before the latter had conquered this country, are more civilized than the other Siberian nations. They have some notion of a God, the Creator and Preserved of all things. They also believe a resurrection of the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments; which important truths they probably received from the Russians. They generally take as many wives as they can maintain. Their dress and method of building are, for the most part, copied from the Russians; though they furnish the inside of their houses rather in the Tartarian manner. As they have not a sufficient quantity of arable land, they chiefly subsist by grazing and hunting. They are entirely subject to the Russian government; and many of them have embraced the Christian religion, as professed by the Greek or Russian church.

Samoyedes.

Of the Samoyedes, who live in the province of Jenesei-skoi, we have already spoken in our account of the government of Archangel.

Yuraki.

The Yuraki, is a numerous tribe of the same people, who inhabit the sea-coast, and farther up the continent between the rivers Jenisei and Oby. Most of these still live without any form of government; and though some of them pay tribute to the Russian empress, the generality have not yet submitted to the yoke.

Ostiaks.

The Ostiaks, or Ashaks, are divided into different tribes, known by the names of Narim, Jenisei, Oby, Surgut, and Irtis. The ancestors of this people are supposed to have emigrated hither from Weliki Permia, when Christianity was first introduced into Russia, to enjoy their idolatrous worship without molestation; at least their language is said to have a great analogy with the Permian, which is very different from that of the neighbouring Samoyedes and Wogulitskians. They are of a middling stature, and generally well-shaped, but excessively filthy in their way of living. They give their children the name of the first animal they meet, and as they grow up instruct them in hunting and fishing. They never leave off fishing in summer, till they have caught enough to last them the whole winter, during which they go out with their dogs to hunt hyænas, lynxes, sables, ermines, and bears; which enables them to pay their tribute, and to carry on a trade with strangers. In these excursions they also catch a great number of birds and rein-deer for food. They are excessively fond of shaar, or

Chinese

Chineſe tobacco. Their dwellings are little low huts made with ſhrubs and buſhes, and covered with the bark of birch-trees; and in the middle is the hearth for fire. They worſhip three deities called ſtariks, beſides a great number of frightful idols: but many of theſe heathens have been converted to Chriſtianity.

Barabinzians. The Barabinzians inhabit the country on both ſides of the river Irtis, and ſeem to derive their name from the Barabaian deſart, the lakes of which ſupply them abundantly with fiſh; and on theſe and on feeding of cattle they chiefly ſubſiſt. They have plenty of game and wild fowl of every kind, particularly ducks and puffins. Moſt of them are heathens: but Mohamedaniſm gains ground daily among them. Some of them pay tribute to the empreſs of Ruſſia, and others to the Kan Taiſhia.

Tunguſians. The Tunguſians, or rather Tingiſians, is a populous nation diſperſed throughout the provinces of Jeniſeiſk and Irkutzk.

They are divided into the following tribes: the Konnie Tunguſi, who live in Dauria, and near the town of Nertſhinſk, and are ſo called from the horſes they uſe in travelling with their ſledges. Grazing and feeding of cattle are the chief ſupport of this tribe, who, in dreſs and ſeveral other reſpects, greatly reſemble the Mongalians. They pay no attention to agriculture; but content themſelves with a kind of meal made of the roots of yellow lilies, which they uſe inſtead of flour. They are good horſemen, ſtrong made, and behave with great courage in war.

The Olennie Tunguſi, ſo denominated from their rein-deer, live about the rivers Lena, Niſhnaia, and Tunguſka. They ſubſiſt by hunting and fiſhing, and alſo breed ſome cattle. They make their cloaths of the ſkins of rein-deer, and wear caps of fox-ſkin.

The Sabatſhie Tunguſi live chiefly in the province of Irkutzk, and are ſo called, not only becauſe they uſe dogs to draw their ſledges, but alſo becauſe they eat the fleſh of thoſe animals. They are likewiſe termed Lamuts, from the country about Ocotzk, which is alſo called Lama. The ſkins of rein-deer are their winter-clothing.

The Podkamenie Tunguſi inhabit the country that lies between the rivers Jeniſei and Lena, or about Iliniſk. Theſe people are poor, and live much in the ſame manner as their neighbours the Oſtiaks and Samoyedes.

Theſe ſeveral nations reſemble one another ſo ſtrongly in their manners and cuſtoms, as well as in their perſons, that no doubt can be made of their being deſcended from the

the same stock. Their complexion is not so yellow as that of the Calmuks, nor have they such large eyes and flat noses. Their stature is generally low, and, from a custom of plucking off the hair, very few of them have any beard. The religion of these nations is pretty much alike; and they style their idols shewuki. They obstinately adhere to their superstitions, and render all attempts to convert them fruitless. They allow polygamy, but one man has seldom more than two wives. Most of them live in small tents or huts, which they remove from place to place. They are active and sprightly, naturally inclined to justice and equity, and are even inspired with a desire of fame. They are all under the protection of the Russian government, excepting some few that belong to China. They are divided into tribes or families, over a certain number of which presides a saissan, or chief, who has a deputy styled taisha. Both these officers are appointed by, and receive a pension from the empress of Russia. The furrs of the Tunguſians are reckoned the very best.

Buratians.

The Buratts, or Buratians, whom the Russians call Bratski, differ from the Tunguſians only in their language, which resembles that of the Mongalians. They formerly lived on the south side of the lake Baikal; but removed gradually to the north of the province of Irkutzk, towards the close of the last century. About the year 1644, a handful of Cossacks, sent from Krasnoiarsk, prevailed with them, by fair words, to become subjects of Russia. They were formerly one people with the Jakutians. They are well made, and subsist by feeding cattle and sheep, and hunting. A Buratt has been, more than once, known to possess a thousand sheep, besides a great number of bullocks and horses. They have a sort of priests, or soothsayers, whom they call Bo, and who dress themselves in a frightful manner. Several of the poorer Buratts have been persuaded to be baptized, especially those who live near Balaganskoi Ostrog; and these, contrary to the custom of the rest of their nation, apply themselves to husbandry and trades, so that many of them are very expert mechanics. They ride either on horses, oxen, or cows, taking the first that comes in their way; and seldom continue above a month or two in the same place: for as soon as they find that their herds and flocks have eat up the pasture, they immediately remove to another spot.

Jakutians.

The Jakutians, in their features, are very like the Calmuks, and in their way of living resemble the other Pagan nations we have been speaking of, excepting that they wear long hair and short garments. They give themselves little

trouble about bread, living on several sorts of roots, garlic, onions, milk, the flesh of horses and cows, and of all kinds of wild beasts; but mice, mountain-rats, and wild fowl, are their favourite dishes. They have both summer and winter-cottages; and the cattle lie under the same roof with their owners. They use mortars of frozen cow or ox dung, in which they bruise not only dried fish, roots, and berries, but the more wealthy among them pound pepper and salt. They have a great number of idols, which look like so many puppets, and are all made of rags; for they hold wooden images in great contempt. They rub the mouths of these wretched figures with the fat or blood of animals. It is said, that the Jakutians formerly either burnt their dead, or exposed them to the air on trees, or left them unburied in the huts where they expired. But at present they generally bury their deceased friends; which custom they have probably learnt from the Russians. Several of these people are now baptized.

Yukagirians. The Yukagirians are a tribe of the Jakutians, who live mostly among the mountains, and near the Ice Sea.

Tshukshians and Oluterskians. The Tshukshians live in the north-west part of Siberia; and the Oluterskians, a savage, fierce nation, according to all accounts, are so far from submitting to the Russians, that they commit all possible hostilities against them.

Shelatians, &c. The Shelatians, Kurilians, and Coriekians, also live in these parts, but are little known.

Kamtshadatians. The Kamtshadatians, or inhabitants of the peninsula of Kamtshatka, supposed to have been originally a Japanese colony, are more tractable and civilized than their northern neighbours. They pay the Russians a tribute in furrs.

Siberian Tartars. The second principal class of the inhabitants of this country are the Tartars, who are the most civilized of all the foreign nations in Siberia; and those Tartars who are Mohammedans are still more so than than the pagan Tartars. The latter have their kamen, or priests and sorcerers, who impose vilely upon the people by their juggling tricks. They affect to seem as if they were possessed; and have their magic drum, by which their deluded followers believe they can procure lost things, heal the sick, and foretell future events. Their common dress is a leather coat, with several pieces of iron hanging to it, leather stockings, with a variety of ornaments, and a cap well adapted for terrifying the ignorant. The houses and huts of the Tartars are distinguished by a broad low seat, and a hearth with a chimney.

The

The Siberian Tartars consist of several populous and less numerous tribes, and live under the protection of Russia. They derive their names from the countries, towns, and rivers, near which they dwell. *Their several tribes.*

Those in the province of Tobolsk are divided into the following tribes:

Those that inhabit the city of Tobolsk are more cleanly than the Tartars of Casan, but so poor that they seldom drink any other liquor than water. *Tartars of Tobolsk.*

The Tartars who live about Tibyk-Aul, or Siniarskoi Prud, as the Russians call it, near the river Siniar, pay no tribute whatever to the crown; but are obliged to perform Cossack service, and are called Moshtshiaraki. They have fixed habitations, and reside always in the same place. *Tartars of Tibyk Aul.*

The Tartars in the government of Turinsk are more savage than any of the others. They were baptized in the year 1720, by Philophei, archbishop of Tobolsk. *Tartars of Turinsk.*

The Mirow Tartars, in general, are independent, exempt from tribute, and live decently. *Mirow Tartars.*

The Tartars who dwell near Ishmisk, a town upon the river Irtis, have commonly one village for the summer, and another for the winter: a custom which, however, is not peculiar to them. *Ishmisk Tartars.*

Those who live near the city of Tara are called Yesachnie Tatari, that is, Tartars who pay a tribute to the crown. *Yesachnie Tartars.*

The Theleuti Tartars live about the river Tshumush. These were formerly much more numerous, great multitudes of them having removed farther up into Siberia, to avoid the ravages of the Calmuks; but they now begin to return to their old habitations. *Thelenti Tartars.*

The Tartars who live in the province of Jenisea, with several of the Theleuti and Kashtim Tartars, who inhabit the parts about the river Kaltirak in the neighbourhood of Ilünskoi Pogost (L), were baptized by the above mentioned prelate, but they are far from being Christians. They do not even wear the cross that is given them at baptism, which is here accounted the essential part of Christianity; but publicly declare that they were compelled to be baptized against their inclination. However, they are very *Jenisea Tartars.*

(L) Pogost signifies properly *a church* with the buildings belonging to it: but, in a more extensive sense, it denotes the whole territory of a parish belonging to a church. The villages dependent on the church have also the same name.

ready to make the sign of the cross, are generally married by a Russian priest, and sometimes look into a Russian church.

Theleuti Tartars. The Theleuti Tartars, who live near Kusnetsk, are not Mohammedans, nor have they any settled form of religion. They, indeed, believe the existence of a God; but almost the only worship they pay him is, that every morning at the rising of the sun, they turn towards the east, and say this laconic prayer, "Do not strike me dead." They eat no pork, but drink brandy as often as they can get it. They are so immoderately fond of tobacco, that they swallow the very smoke of it. Some of these Tartars bury their dead, and others burn them.

Abintzi Tartars. The Abintzi Tartars, who also live near Kusnetsk, are said to be of the same religion with the Theleuti. Their huts are chiefly built with earth, and their employment is agriculture.

Beltiri Tartars. The Beltiri are the only Tartars in the Kusnetsk government, who, besides paying a tribute to Russia, are likewise taxed by the Calmuks, and are obliged to pay the latter in iron and Russia leather. In this country are also the Kabal and Saga Tartars.

Tuliberti and Kistimi Tartars. Farther up in the continent, near the river Jom, live the Tuliberti and Kistimi Tartars.

Tshulimzians. The Tshulimzians are also baptized, though they have but a very imperfect notion of a God. They eat dead horses, and offer up the skins to the devil. When they bury their dead, every person present leaps through a fire which is kindled on the spot, that the deceased may not follow him; for they imagine that the dead are very much afraid of fire. When archbishop Philophei went to these parts, to baptize the people, he ordered the dragoons who attended him, to force such as expressed any reluctance to conversion into the river Tshulum; and upon their coming out of the water, crosses were hung about their necks, and then they were called baptized Tartars. They have not the least knowlege of the essential part of Christianity: but idly think that it consists in carrying the cross about them, and making the sign of it; in abstaining from eating the flesh of horses and squirrels; in going to church; in having their children baptized; in restricting themselves to one wife; and in observing the fasts of the Greek church.

Krasnoiarsk Tartars. The Tartars who live near Krasnoiarsk have very much the air of Europeans. They are generally thin, but brisk and sprightly. They are civil, sociable, and honest, and do not want a capacity for business. Some caution must, indeed,

indeed be used in trading with this people; but robberies and thefts are never heard of among them. They practise polygamy; and are not over-cleanly, or scrupulously neat in their apparel. They have a good breed of horses and horned cattle, and are tolerably well acquainted with agriculture. They have hitherto been so tenacious of Paganism, that neither the Mahometans, Russians, nor Mongols, have ever been able to make any impression on them, in favour of another religion.

Arinzi Tartars.

The Arinzi were formerly a principal tribe of Tartars; but their number is now become inconsiderable.

Kotowzi and Kamatshinzi Tartars.

The Kotowzi and Kamatshinzi inhabit the country between Abakansk and Ransk. The Tartars who live near Kansk, are poor and slovenly. Their only occupation is hunting of sables: and as they have not yet applied themselves to agriculture, like many of the other Tartars, they use the bulb of the Turkish bundes, and other lilies, instead of bread.

Assani Tartars.

The Assani Tartars, formerly a very numerous tribe, are now almost entirely extinct. The few of them that remain live near the rivers Ussolka and Ona.

Soieti Tartars.

The Soieti, who are a sort of roving Pagan Tartars, live near Tunkinsk Ostrog, in the province of Irkutzk, and speak the same language as the Tartars of Krasdoiarsk.

Russian inhabitants of Siberia.

The third principal class of the inhabitants of Siberia, are the Russians, of whom great numbers have settled there since the conquest of that country; but most of them have fled thither, from time to time, from other provinces. Since their establishment, they have founded a great many towns, ostrogs (M), and villages; which, according to their custom, are built and fortified with timber. Most of the villages take their names from the peasants who first built them, and but few from the rivulets on which they stand. The Siberian dialect in the villages, is very different from the common language of Russia, and is intermixed with many barbarous words, never used in that country. Idle-

(M) Ostrog, in the Russian language, signifies a place inclosed with palisades; of which there are numbers in Siberia. Instead of a wall, they are surrounded with long piles driven perpendicularly into the ground, or with wooden breast-works, like ramparts, made of logs and beams of timber laid upon each other. These ostrogs have only the principal buildings inclosed within them, as the waiwode or governor's house, the public offices, a magazine of provisions, an armory, a furr-ware-house, a church, &c. But most of the ostrogs stand near a town or village.

neſs, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, are ſo univerſal throughout all Siberia, that in many parts of it one meets with few perſons who are free from the venereal diſeaſe.

General miſtake in regard to ſtate priſoners ſent thither.

The notion believed and propagated by foreigners, that the criminals exiled by the Ruſſian court to Siberia, whoſe number is very conſiderable, are obliged daily or weekly to catch and deliver in a certain number of ſables, is a vulgar error; for that is an employment to which they are little accuſtomed. Of the unhappy exiles, who are ſent thither as ſtate-priſoners, ſome are ſtrongly guarded in fortified houſes, and maintained at the expence of the crown; others enjoy their liberty, but under certain reſtrictions; and others again are ſent thither into ſlavery, to work in the mines, and fortifications. Several decayed merchants who are baniſhed to Siberia, as debtors to the crown, meet with more favourable opportunities of getting money, and gradually retrieving their affairs, than if they had continued in Ruſſia; and theſe opportunities they are ſuffered to embrace as often as they occur. To ſuch induſtrious perſons, Siberia muſt be looked upon rather as a deſirable and advantageous country, than as a place of baniſhment.

Trade of Siberia.

The many navigable rivers that water Siberia greatly facilitate its commerce, which is very conſiderable. By means of its trade with China, foreign European commodities are often ſold in the towns of Siberia, nearly as cheap as at Peterſburg and Moſcow: nor is there a city in Ruſſia from which merchants do not travel to Siberia, with foreign goods. Theſe traders vend their merchandize partly among the inhabitants of the Siberian towns, but chiefly to the Chineſe merchants, who frequent the great yearly fairs in Siberia; and purchaſe ſome of their commodities in return.

Siberia ſubjected to the Ruſſian government.

All Siberia is at preſent ſubject to the Ruſſian government, under which it was reduced towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century.

Its preſent government, and diviſion.

Siberia now conſtitutes a very extenſive government, conſiſting of three large provinces, each of which includes ſeveral ſubdiviſions and towns, with their reſpective diſtricts. Every town has its waiwode, whoſe juriſdiction extends to the diſtrict belonging to it, without any uprawitel or deputy under him. The ſtatthalter, or general governor of Siberia, reſides at Tobolſk; and the deputy ſtatthalter, whoſe ſeat is in Irkutzk, and all the waiwodes are ſubordinate to him: but he has not the power of appointing a waiwode, they being always nominated by the chancery or office for the Siberian affairs at Moſcow. All eccleſi-

ecclesiastical persons and affairs in Siberia are under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Tobolsk.

The three provinces into which Siberia is now divided, are,

I. The province of TOBOLSK,

Tobolsk,

The south part of which includes Siberia Proper, formerly called Tura: but the whole province strictly belongs to Tartary, properly so called; as it once made a part of the kingdom of Great Tartary, and is peopled with Tartarian colonies.

which is subdivided into the circles of Wercoturie.

This province is subdivided into the circles or districts of Wercoturie, Cathrinenburg, Turinsk, Tiumen, Isetsk, Tobolsk, Surgut, Pelym, and Beresow.

The principal town in the circle of Wercoturie, is the town so called, the first that the Russians built in Siberia. It lies on the river Tura, has a stone-castle, some pretty good buildings, four churches, two or three chapels, a convent of monks, a nunnery, and about two hundred and fifty dwelling houses, most of which are of wood. Its situation is pleasant: but the country round it, produces little corn, the inhabitants finding their account more in gathering pine-nuts, of which vast quantities grow in these parts, than in agriculture, which is of course neglected. All goods brought to or carried out of Siberia are strictly examined here.

Neiwianskoi, is a town on the river Neiwa, consisting of a wooden fort and about eight hundred houses, built in the year 1701, at the expence of the crown, on account of some considerable iron works which are there. It is plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life; and among its inhabitants are great numbers of starowerzi, or old believers, as they style themselves: but the Greek church calls them schismatics. Very curious and serviceable utensils of brass and copper are made here; and likewise at Bynkowski, another iron work and brass manufacture a little farther up on the same river.

Cathrinenburg.

In the circle of Cathrinenburg, called in Russia Ekaterinburgskoi Viezd, are very rich mines, and several considerable iron and copper-works, At Kamenskie Sawod, one of these works, is made the best Siberian iron.

Several forts were built of late years on the south side of this circle, as a defence against the incursions of the Bashkirians and the Kasatshia-Horda.

Cathrinenburg or Ekaterinburg, is a regular town upon the river Iset, which runs through the middle of it. It is built in the German manner, and was begun by Peter I. in the year 1723, and finished in 1726, by his consort the

czarina Catherine, after whom it is named. Cathrinenburg may be accounted the centre of all the Siberian mine-works belonging to the crown; and on this account it is the residence of the director of the Siberian mines, who issues out his instructions to the sub-directors, and passes their accounts.

Turinsk. In the circle of Turinsk lies the town of Turinsk, formerly called Yepantshin, which name it likewise still retains. It is situate upon the river Tura, and contains a wooden fort, a mother-church, with six subordinate ones, and about three hundred and fifty houses. Provisions are very good here; and so cheap, that a pud of excellent beef, equal to thirty-six pounds of our weight, may be bought for twenty or thirty copeiks, that is to say, for about a shilling or fifteen pence.

Tiumen. In the circle of Tiumen are, Tiumen, anciently called On-Zigibin, a town, consisting of about five hundred houses, on the south side of the Tura, at its junction with the little river Tiumsenka, which runs through it. Over the Tura is a bridge eighty-three fathoms long, which leads to a suburb on the north side of the river, inhabited by Russians, Mahometan Tartars, and Bukarians. Tiumen is defended by a stone fort, has several churches, six of which are of wood, and a convent of nuns with a church. In the suburb are a church, and a metshed or mosque.

Tobolsk. In the circle of Tobolsk stands the city of that name, the capital of all Siberia, and the residence of the governor-general. It is situate in latitude 58° 12′, on the Irtis, near the influx of the Tobol into that river. This city is divided into the Upper and Lower Town, the former of which stands upon an eminence, on the east side of the river Irtis, and the latter in a plain between that eminence and the river. Both towns taken together are of a very large circumference; but the houses are all built with wood. Tobolsk is very populous; and almost the fourth part of its inhabitants are Tartars, partly descended from those that were settled there before the conquest of Siberia, and partly from the Bukarians. These Tartars, in general, behave very quietly, and carry on some commerce; but practise no mechanic trades. The rest of the inhabitants are Russian exiles, or people whose ancestors were such. As every thing is sold so extremely cheap at Tobolsk, that a common man may live there very well for ten rubels (N)

(N) The commercial value of the rubel varies according to the course of exchange; the par of which makes the rubel worth just four shillings and six pence sterling.

a-year;

a year; indolence and sloth prevail to such a degree, that it is difficult to get the least utensil made, though the town abounds with artificers, who want neither tools nor materials to carry on their respective trades. The traffic carried on by the Calmuk and Bukarian merchants, in Indian goods, with which they supply all Siberia and part of Russia, is here very considerable. All the Chinese caravans are obliged to pass through this town; and all the furs furnished by Siberia, are brought into a warehouse in this city, from whence they are sent to the Siberian chancery at Moscow.

The fameus salt lake Jamusha.

About six wersts from Yamushewa Krepost, a fort on the river Irtis, lies the famous salt-lake called Jamusha, which gives name to the fort, and may be looked upon as a prodigy in nature. It is of a round form, and about nine wersts in circumference. Its banks are so full of salt that the ground is in a manner crystalized with it. The water is saline to the highest degree; and the salt that it yields is excellent, surpassing all other salt in whiteness, and consisting entirely of cubic crystals. It is found here in such quantities that several ships might be soon loaded with it; and the places where the salt has been taken away, are filled up with it again in five or six days. The provinces of Tobolsk and Yenisei are supplied with salt from this lake; which yields a sufficient quantity for fifty such provinces. This salt-trade has been monopolized by the crown.

Desert of Barraba.

The tract of land called the Desert of Barraba, which is in this circle, lies between the rivers Irtis and Oby, and extends from the town of Tara to Tshawskoi Ostrog. This place yields but little wood; but has an excellent soil for tillage, and part of it might also be laid out in meadows and pastures. However, it is as yet uninhabited. Barraba is interspersed with a great number of lakes, which yield plenty of karawschen, a species of carp, and abounds with elks, deer, foxes, ermines, and squirrels.

Copper-mines.

Between the Irtis and the Oby are some rich copper-mines; and from the Ploskaia Gora, or Flat Mountains, fine ore is carried to the copper-works at Kolivan. The copper-mines in the mountain Pictowa (so called from the picta, or white firs, that grow on it) yield a vast produce; and there is no need of digging deep to come at the ore, as it lies near the surface of the ground. Every hundred weight of this ore yields twelve pounds of pure copper. Not far from Pictowa are two other hills, near the surface of which ore is also found. The Woskresenskian mountains likewise abound with ore, but it lies mostly in strata,

or

or veins, at a considerable depth. Most of these ores, besides being very rich in copper, yield a great deal of silver, which affords so much gold as makes rich returns for the trouble and expence of extracting it. It is thought that the whole country between the Irtis and the Oby abounds in rich ore of various metals; and that the ore generally lies near the surface of the earth.

Surgut. The circle of Surgut has its name from Surgut, a pretty large town on the river Oby, surrounded with palisadoes and towers. The Ostiacks, who live in this country, pay annual tribute to the waiwode of Surgut. The adjacent country abounds with sables, black, white, and red foxes, and fine grey furs, and has plenty of excellent fish, but produces no corn. The inhabitants of this town have the nick-name of Gliwue, because most of them squint.

Pelym. The circle of Pelym, to which the famous field-marshal count Munich was banished, is large, but contains no remarkable place. The small town of Pelym, from which it is called, stands on a river of the same name. There are several lakes in this district, and some of a considerable extent.

Berefow. The circle of Berefow is bounded on the north by the streights of Waigatz, and on the east by a large bay of the Frozen Ocean, which runs into the land towards the south; and at the sixty-fifth degree of latitude separates into two arms, one of which is called the Obskaia Guba, or Oby Bay, and the other Tazowskaia Guba, or the Bay of Tazow. The river Oby empties itself into the former, and the Taz into the latter. This district was under the Russian dominion long before the other parts of Siberia were conquered; for it was added to the empire by the czar Gabriel, so early as the year 1530.

The most remarkable places in it are:

Liapinskoi, from which the Ostiacks, who live in those parts, are called Liapinians.

Kuiskoi, on the river Kuiskoi, which gives name to the Ostiaks and Samoyedes who inhabit the adjacent country.

Obdorskoi Ostrog, which lies near the mouth of the Oby, and to which the Samoyedes bring in their tribute: and

Berezow, a town on the river Oby, fortified with palisadoes, where the court-favourite, prince Menzikoff, died in exile.

Novaia Semlia. The island and streights of Waigatz, and Novaia Semlia, or New Land, which lies beyond them, and is erroneously written Nova Zembla, are but little known. This country was first discovered in the year 1566, by Stephen Barrow, an

an Englishman. In 1596, William Barentz and Jacob Heemskirk, two Hollanders, wintered there with their crew. The sun disappeared on the 3d of November, and they never saw it again till the 24th of January following. The Russians have not yet ventured to sail round the coast of Novaia Semlia; but as they go in small vessels between that country and the coast of Asia, and the Dutch navigators have discovered the northern coast of it, we may conclude that it is an island; and it is represented as such in the Russian Atlas. The Samoyedes, who live in this neighbourhood, on the coast of the Ice Sea, sometimes cross over to Novaia Semlia, to hunt rein-deer, elks, and white bears. It is yet uncertain whether this island be inhabited or not; for, granting that men have been seen on it, that circumstance does not absolutely prove that they always dwell there.

II. The Province of YENISEI.

Its divisions.

The south part of this province must have been included in the ancient kingdom of Great Tartary; but whether the north part ever belonged to it is doubtful. We have already spoken of the Tunguſians, Ostiaks, and other Tartarian nations, who inhabit this province, which is now divided into the districts or circles of Mangasea, Narym, Tomsk, Kutsnesk, Krasnoiark, and Yenisei.

Mangasea.

In the circle of Mangasea, which the Russians call Mangaseiskoi Viezd, are four bays, into one of which the Yenisei discharges itself; besides the large gulf of the Frozen Ocean, of which that of Tazow is only a bay. Though the climate of the country near the mouth of the Yenisei be most excessively cold, yet it is well peopled; the all-bounteous Creator having liberally bestowed many advantages on this country, which is generally represented in very dismal colours. The white and blue foxes, and the white wolves and bears which are caught here, surpass those of all other parts in size. Their hair is also finer, and grows closer than ordinary; on which account these skins always bear a higher price than those that are brought from the Oby and the Lena. These profitable captures induce more Russians to settle on the banks of the Yenisei, than near any other river in Siberia. From Mangasea to the sea, and along the coast to the river Piasiga, and from the Piasiga to the Cantanga, on which is situate Catanskoi, which lies also in this circle, in latitude 70 degrees 30 minutes, and along the banks of this last river the country is full of Russian habitations. In summer, when only rein-deer are to be caught, the people of these parts employ

employ themselves in fishing, in order to lay up provision for the winter.

The principal place in this circle is Mangasea, or Mangazeia, the most northern town in Siberia, upon the parallel of 66 degrees of north latitude. The time when Mangasea was first discovered and peopled by Russian colonies, cannot be well ascertained. According to an ancient tradition of the country, the old Ostrog of Mangasea was built by a colony from Archangel, before there was a Russian town known in Siberia. It takes its name from a tribe of Samoyedes, called Mangasea, who inhabited these parts, and, by promising to pay tribute to the Russians, gave occasion to the building of this town. Old Mangasea, which stood on the river Taz, fell gradually to decay; and in the year 1600 the present town was built, and the inhabitants of the Old Ostrog were removed to this, which stands on the north bank of the Nikolskoi Shar, about a werst from the place where the river Turukan falls into that branch of the river Yenisei. The houses in this place, which is enclosed within a small wooden fortification, with four pieces of cannon, are not contiguous, nor do they exceed one hundred. Most of the inhabitants of Mangasea have always been Coffacks, placed there in order to subdue, or at least check the Pagan nations of this country, particularly the Tungusians and Samoyedes. The Mangaseans are nick-named Swietlobi, from their shining foreheads; and Parsowiki, because they eat dried and putrified fish instead of bread. This town carries on a good trade in furs. In summer-time the sun is seen here continually above the horizon; and during that season prodigious flights of birds, particularly water fowls, and several kinds of wild geese, ducks, plovers, snipes, &c. frequent the neighbouring country. Since the year 1721, this town and its district have been annexed to the province of Yenisei; whereas, before that time, it depended immediately on Tobolsk, and prior to that was in the jurisdiction of Tomsk.

Narym. In the circle of Narym, the chief place, is the inconsiderable town of Narym, which stands on an island in the river Oby, and is fortified with pallisadoes and wooden towers.

Tomsk. The principal place in the circle of Tomsk is the town of that name, situated on the river Tom, at the place where it is joined by a rivulet called Ushaika, which runs through the town. The foundation of Tomsk was laid in the reign of the czar Feodor Iwanowitz, who built an ostrog upon this spot. Several nations of these parts having been reduced by force of arms, and others submitting voluntarily to the Russians,

Russians, the ostrog was, by degrees, converted into a fort; and the fort, in time, increased to a town, which now consists of above two thousand houses. It was once the second city in Siberia, being next in degree to Tobolsk, and continued such for many years; but has since been included in the province of Yenisei. This place is well situated for trade, and carries on a considerable commerce. It lies in the great road from Yenisseisk, and all the towns in the northern and eastern parts of Siberia; so that all caravans going to or from China, besides one or two from the country of the Calmuks, pass through it every year. Here are indeed tradesmen and artificers of all kinds; but they are extremely indolent and slothful; owing to the extraordinary cheapness of provisions in this town, and their brutal propensity to drunkenness and venery, there being scarcely a family in the place that is entirely free from the foul disease. The adjacent country is very fertile, and produces all sorts of grain.

Kutsnetsk. The chief place in the circle of Kutsnetsk is Kutsnesk, a large town on the river Tom, formerly inhabited by the Kirgisian Tartars, who retreated by degrees to the borders of the country of the Calmuks, when the Russians settled in this place. This town has been built above a hundred years, and was peopled with colonies from the districts of Tomsk, Wercoturie, and Weliki Novogrod. Before that time the Tartars, who dwelt in the place where the city now stands, used to smelt iron from the ore, and subsisted partly by that employment, and partly by the iron which they wrought. Hence the town had its name; Kusnetz, in the Russian language, signifying *a forge*. In 1689 Kutsnetsk was declared a city.

Krasnoiarsk. The circle of Krasnoiarsk contains, among other less remarkable places, the town of Krasnoiarsk, situate at the junction of the river Katsha with the Jenesei. It was first built in the year 1728, as an ostrog, or fort, to check the incursions of the neighbouring tribes; and afterwards, gradually, became a town. The inhabitants are called Buntowshike, by way of contempt, on account of their frequent revolts. Most of them are slushiwie, or a sort of irregular infantry; though some of them are not without such wealth as the country affords, which consists in horses and cattle, that feed all the year round on the steppe, or heaths. The adjacent country is so fertile, that, provided it be only superficially plowed, without any manure, it will bear crops of corn five or six years running; and, when the land is impoverished, there is plenty of other waste ground, which may soon be rendered fit for sowing.

Many

Many antiquities were formerly found in these parts, particularly in the town of Krasnoiarsk. These remains of ancient times, several of which are still to be seen near Abelansk and Saganſk, were taken out of old graves and monuments. Even considerable quantities of gold and silver have formerly been found in them; and copper is now frequently dug up in such places. The great road from Tomsk to Irkutzk goes through Krasnoiarsk.

The surprising dexterity of the Tartars in catching sables near Kanskoi Ostrog, which stands on the bank of the river Kan, renders that place one of the best in Siberia for the fur-trade; on which account the merchants, who travel to the frontiers of China, generally make some stay there.

Yenisei. The principal place in the circle of Yenisei is the city of Yeniseisk, the capital of this province, situate on the river Yenisei, which is there about a werst and a half in breadth. This city, which is built along the banks of the river, is about six werſts in circumference. An ostrog was erected in this place in 1618, which at first depended on Tobolsk, and then was under the jurisdiction of Tomsk; but it was afterwards raised to a town, and, in 1719, made the capital of the province. A considerable trade is carried on at this place, in which most of its inhabitants are more or less concerned. Here is great plenty of corn, flesh, and fowl; but the only fruit this country produces are two or three sorts of berries. Drunkenness, sloth, and debauchery, with all their concomitant diseases, prevail here as in the other towns of Siberia.

III. The Province of IRKUTSK,

Its government and divisions. Is governed by a deputy statthalter, under whose jurisdiction are the waiwodes of Ilimsk, Selengensk, Nertshinsk, Yakutsk, and the officers who preside over Obotsk and Kamtshatka; though he is himself subject to the governor of Tobolsk. The Buratians, Yakutians, and other inhabitants of this province, having been already spoken of, we have now only to mention its seven circles, and their principal places.

Ilimsk. The circle of Ilimsk contains the town of the same name, situate upon the river Ilim, which, though a poor mean place, consisting of only eighty houses, and a palisadoed fort, is nevertheless the residence of a waivode. But it is remarkable for the quantities of fine black sables that are caught in its neighbourhood. Great numbers of Tungusians live near Bratskoi Ostrog, which stands on the river Angara, and consists of about fifty dwelling-houses.

Kiren-

Kirenskoi Ostrog, which was built on the bank of the Lena in 1665, is now in a mean condition. The country round it is very fertile, and, considering its latitude, which is in 57 degrees 47 minutes, has a surprising verdure, and produces various sorts of vegetables, which are remarkably large in their kind. The sturgeons and strelegs are caught in the rivers near this ostrog are reckoned the finest in all Siberia.

Irkutsk the capital of this province, and the residence of its deputy statthalter, is situate near the river Angara, in a fine plain not far from the lake Baikal. This city, one of the most considerable and populous in all Siberia, takes its name from the river Irkutzk, which runs into the Angara near the place where it stands. It contains near a thousand good dwelling-houses, and is inclosed with palisadoes, within which are fourteen small forts, a moat, and some chevaux-de-frize. It is also defended by a fort, without the town, near the Angara, and by sixteen pieces of cannon. There are two churches built with stone, and four with wood, within the city; and two other churches, one of which belongs to a nunnery, stand without it. The bishop of Irkutzk has a jurisdiction over all the clergy of the province. The inhabitants, who are chiefly traders, live in the Siberian manner, that is, in drunkenness, indolence, and debauchery. The neighbouring country is pleasant, and diversified with hills and vales; but as it lies uncultivated, great quantities of corn are brought hither from other places. Here is plenty of game, as elks, stags, wild-boars, and roebucks; with partridges, woodcocks, moor-hens, and snipes. The lake of Baikal is an inexhaustible magazine of fish. Foreign goods are sold here almost as cheap as at Moscow and Petersburg; for merchants resort hither from every town of any note in Russia, and barter their commodities for Chinese goods. *Irkutsk.*

In the circle of Selengensk, is the town of that name, situate upon the river Selenga, made an ostrog in the year 1666, about twenty years before the fort which now defends it, and to which the place chiefly owes its prosperity, was built. Its extent is small, containing only about a hundred and fifty houses and two churches, inclosed within a fortification, which is defended by five pieces of brass cannon, and as many iron guns, with a regiment for its garrison. All the neighbouring country is very mountainous and barren; but at the distance of fifteen wersts lower, there is good arable land. The district about Selenginsk yields great plenty of rhubarb; and indeed all the rhubarb that is exported from Russia is the produce of these parts. *Selenginsk.*

Kiatka,

Kiatka, or Kiaktinskoi-Krepost, and Kiaktinskaia-Torgowaia-Sloboda, are the limits between Russia and China towards the south, as they were settled by a treaty concluded in 1727. Before that time the river Bura, which lies about eight werfts farther towards the south, was looked upon as the boundary between the Russian and Chinese empires; and this was more agreeable to the natural divisions of the countries, as well as more advantageous to Russia, than the present limits, which are arbitrarily laid out across deserts, and over mountains, and ascertained by pillars set up along the frontiers. By this alteration, the Russians have also lost the fine iron-ore, which the mountains near the river Bura, afforded. Two slobodes were also built on the banks of the little river Kiatka in 1727; one on the north side of that river, inhabited by Russians, and the other on the south side, occupied by Chinese. They lie about one hundred and twenty fathoms asunder, and are surrounded with an ostrog; besides which, the Russian slobode is defended by six bastions, and a moat. Between these two slobodes a barrier is erected, and a guard placed, who, on both sides, are very careful that no encroachments be made on the frontiers. As these slobodes lie in a barren waste, all sorts of provisions are very dear there. The Chinese traders are more numerous than the Russian merchants in these frontier towns.

Nertshinsk. The circle of Nertshinsk contains Nertshinsk, a frontier town towards China, built upon the river Nertsha, in the year 1658, in a country which is very mountainous, but yields excellent pasture for cattle. It has some public edifices, and one hundred and fifty houses, most of which are very indifferent. The fort, which first gave rise to the town, mounts thirty-two brass and one iron cannon. The inhabitants of this place are indolent, debauched, and drunkards. The Chinese Caravans used formerly to pass through Nertshinsk, but they now take another road. However, the Russian envoys are well received and handsomely entertained by the Chinese, and the like compliments is paid to those of China by the Russians, in this town. A treaty of peace was concluded between the two empires, at this place, in 1689.

Argunsk, the farthest fort of the Russians, towards the east on the Mongalian frontiers, was first built in the year 1682, on the east bank of the Argun, for the conveniency of levying the tribute payable by the Tungusians, who inhabit these parts; but was rebuilt in 1689, on the west side of that river. It is well garrisoned, and carries on a considerable trade with the Mongals. The country round it is very

very fertile, and the air healthy; but so cold, that even in summer, the earth, in many places, is not thawed above two or three feet below the surface. The territory of Argunsk is frequently visited with slight shocks of an earthquake in the spring, and about the beginning of winter; and its inhabitants, besides the venereal disease, with which both young and old of both sexes are miserable afflicted, are very subject to epilepsies. The Chinese erect new pillars every year on the eastern bank of the Argun, to mark the limits of their frontiers.

Silver mines

Not far from Argunsk, are the Argunskian, or as they are sometimes called the Nertshinskian silver mines. The smelting-houses belonging to them, stand on the little river Tusatki. The ore does not lie deep; though it is found in masses or strata: nor does any great profit arise from these mines, which, however, answer the expence of working them. One pound of fine silver extracted from this ore, contains the value of two ducats and a half of fine gold, which has a beautiful colour and is exceeding malleable. Twenty-six puds and some odd pounds of pure silver, and twenty-seven pounds of fine gold, both which were the produce of this mine, were delivered in at Petersburg, for the use of the crown, in 1740 and 1741. About six miles south-east of this place, is a mountain of beautiful green jasper; but so mixed with common stone, that it is rare to find any large piece, quite transparent and without flaws. In the neighbouring waste are several salt lakes, one of which is upwards of three wersts in circumference, and produces great quantities of good common salt, which floats on the surface of its water.

A mountain of green jasper.

In the circle of Jakutzk the chief town of that name, consists of between five and six hundred poor houses, and wooden fort, situate near the river Lena. It is supplied with plenty of fish; and the adjacent country is very fit for tillage: but the inhabitants prefer hunting.

The territory of Ocotzk.

The territory of Ocotzk lies on the coast of the sea of Kamtshatka, and takes its name from the Ocotzkoi Ostrog, which stands on the little river Ocota, and is the residence of a governor, under whose jurisdiction are the ostrogs of Taviskoi, Udskoi, and Anadirskoi, situated in the same district. From the harbour of Ocotzk, which is three wersts from the Ostrog, the Russians cross over into the peninsula of Kamtshatka. The soil about the Ocotzkoi Ostrog produces little or no grass; and provisions are brought thither from Jakutzk, both by land and water. This last conveyance is very tedious, and attended with some danger: nor is the land-carriage free from difficulties; for the

distance is nine hundred and nineteen werfts, and the road lies over mountains and through morasses and thick woods, of larch and birch trees, so that the journey takes up near six weeks. Besides, every thing must be carried this way on horses or rein-deer; which last are furnished by the neighbouring Tunguſians.

The north-east extremity of Siberia is still but very little known. The cape at the farthest north point of this country, called Tshuketskoi (in the Russian maps Shalaginskoi Noss) is in Siberia, and consequently belongs to Russia. Near the promontory, or north-east point of the continent, is an island called Diomedes; and near the east point lies the island of St. Laurence.

The peninsula of Kamtshatka; its inhabitants, &c.

The peninsula of Kamtshatka, which the Chinese call Jecco, and the Germans Jesso or Jedso, joins to the extreme north-east part of Siberia, and runs upwards of seven hundred miles in a south-east direction, between the latitudes of 60 and 52 degrees, and from about the 172d to the 177th degree of longitude. On the north of it lies the continent; to the west and south, the bay of Penshinsk and the sea of Kamtshatka; and towards the east it is bounded by the eastern ocean. From the south-east point of this peninsula a chain of islands extends as far as Japan. This country was not at all known to the Russians, till about the middle of the last century, when some Jakutskian fishermen were driven by a storm to its south-east promontory; and towards the same time, viz. in 1643, the Dutch discovered part of its eastern coasts by sea. The next information of it was given to the office of trade at Moscow, in the year 1701, by Wolodimir Atlassow [a], a Cosack officer, who travelled all the way by land, from Jakutzk to Kamtshatka. According to his account, there is a double promontory, called by some Nos-Tschalatskoi and Anadirskoi, between the Kolym and Anadyr, two of the principal rivers in this country, which no vessel can pass; because the west side of this cape is choaked up with large floats of ice in summer, and quite frozen in winter; whilst the sea on the east side of Nos-Anadyrskoi, where the Hollanders navigated, is open and clear. The whole country is extremely barren and quite uncultivated; and yet its inhabitants, who consist of Kurili, Lutorzi, Koræiki, Trunshki, Stugagiri, and other savages, besides the Kamtshadali themselves, are at continual war with one another, as if they had things of value to contend for. Their usual arms are poles, clubs, slings, and bows and arrows, in the use of which

[a] Strahlenberg's Appendix.

they

they are tolerably dexterous; but they are exceſſively afraid of fire arms. In winter, they go to war in ſnow-ſkaits, which, like thoſe of all the people along the coaſt of the frozen ſea, are upwards of four feet long; or in ſledges drawn by rein-deer; and in ſummer they march to battle on foot, ſome clothed and others naked. Atlaſſow ſays, they had ſeveral ſettlements and forts, particularly on the river Jelowka, when the Ruſſians entered their country; and that they endeavoured to reſiſt their invaders; but that theſe laſt terrified them with their fire-arms, drove them into their huts, then ſurrounded and ſet fire to them, and killed them one by one as they ran out to eſcape the flames, till at laſt they were forced to ſubmit. The conquerors have ſince ſettled colonies among them, the principal of which are Niſchnei-Kamtſhatzkoi-Oſtrog, near the mouth of the river Kamtſhatka, Werknei-Kamtſhatzkoi-Oſtrog, Bolſheretzkoi-Oſtrog, and St. Peter and St. Paul's habour; and have built ſeveral forts, to ſecure their trade; and a tribute they have laid on them, both of which conſiſt chiefly in furs. The Ruſſians barter with them knives, blue glaſs beads, and other ſuch trifles, for ſable, fox, beaver, otter, bears, and wolves ſkins, of which there are great numbers in Kamtſhatka. Some of the Kurili informed Atlaſſow, that the people of the neighbouring iſlands, meaning the northern iſlands of Japan, came frequently over to their coaſt, and brought them china and lacquered ware, ſtriped and coloured ſilks, cotton-ſtuffs, and garments of thin ſilk: and that others, in larger ſhips, which they call buſſi, went farther on, towards the beaver-rivers, from whence they fetched away train-oil, and blubber of ſeals and whales, of which very large ones often came near the ſhore at high-water, and being left behind, by the ebb, were killed by the inhabitants of thoſe parts.

The Kamtſhadali had no ſort of government or magiſtracy before the Ruſſians came among them; but the poor were ſubject to the rich: which we may ſuppoſe to be nearly the caſe now. They keep no cattle, or other beaſt, but dogs; which are generally very large, and have hair ſeven or eight inches long. Their huts are made of reeds or hides, ſometimes big enough to contain one hundred and fifty or two hundred men; but they live moſtly under ground. Their cloaths are made of ſkins, with the fur-ſide outwards, and the ſhoes or boots are ſoled with ſeal-ſkin. Polygamy is allowed among them, and they have no idea of any religious ceremonies; but place great confidence in their ſchamans, who, like thoſe of the Oſtiaks, wear a frightful garb, beat

a drum, make a hideous noise, and pretend to foretell future events. All the plants in Kamtschatka are of the dwarf kind, except the pine, birch, and larch trees, which are very common, and said to grow as high as in other countries. The inhabitants of these regions, especially towards the sea, live chiefly on fish; which they generally eat either raw or frost dried. In winter they dig holes in the ground, and fill them with raw-fish, covering them with the bark of birch, and over that with earth. When this food is thoroughly putrified, they take some of it out of the hole, put it into a wooden-trough with water, throw in red-hot pebbles, and keep stirring it till it boils; which raises such an abominable stench, as even a Russian can hardly bear. The Kurili inhabit the south part of this country, the Lutorzi the east, and the Korœiki the north. Another tribe called Czucktschi live near the mouth of the river Anadir.

There are two volcanos in the northern parts of Kamtschatka, not far from the river of the same name, in the neighbourhood of which violent shocks of an earthquake are frequently felt, and a hideous roaring noise is almost continually heard. One of these near the river Jenisei, towards the Ice Sea, throws out a sort of ashes, which some take to be the flores salis ammoniaci, or flores sulphuris nativi.

Kamtschatka has, of late, been rendered famous by the attempts made from thence to discover whether Siberia be joined to America towards the north; or whether there be a north-east passage by sea between these two continents.

Peter the Great, ever desirous of knowlege, and of extending as well as civilizing his vast empire, gave orders that captain Beering and lieutenant Spangenberg, two Danes, and M. Tschirikow, a Russian, should sail from hence upon this expedition; but, unfortunately, died before they could go. His successor, the czarina Catharine actually sent them out in the year 1725, and after spending near five years in the voyage, they returned, without success in the spring of 1730.

In 1732, the same officers were sent out a second time. Spangenberg steered his course to the south-east, arrived at the northern coast of Japan, and from thence sailed back to Ocotzk. They went as far as the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude, and found that the land extended no farther towards the north.

Captain Beering, accompanied by one M. Steller, sailed from the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and steered to

ward

wards the south-east; but not meeting with any land after he had sailed about two hundred and fifty leagues, he directed his course to the north-east, and, at last, discovered land towards the north-west. On the 20th of July, 1741, he anchored near an island in 59 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, to which he gave the name of Elias island. From thence he sailed betwixt the south and west points, nearer to the continent of America, of which he had sight. He afterwards landed on an island, to which he gave the name of Skumagin, in the 53d degree of north latitude; and had some little traffic with the Americans, who lived upon it. In the 51st degree and some few minutes of north latitude, he discovered an island to the north-west and-by-north, which he called St. Martian. Two days after, he saw several other islands to the north-north-west, to which he gave the name of St. Stephen's islands; and the next day he discovered another island to the west, which he called St. Abraham's island. In his return, he was ship-wrecked on an island near the coast of Kamtshatka, where he ended his days.

M. Tshirikow, who was accompanied by professor de l'Isle de la Croyere, set sail from Kamtshatka, continued his course till he came within fourteen degrees west of California, and sailed twelve degrees and a half to the north of that country, where no navigator had been before. On his return, he saw land for several days together to the north of his course; and when he sailed near the coast, he could distinguish the inhabitants, several of whom rowed towards him in small boats, like those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux. M. Busching[b] conjectures, that this land is, perhaps, a continuation of that near the north pole, which joins to America; and thinks it highly probable, from these discoveries of the Russians, that Asia and America, about the 66th degree of north latitude, are separated from each other only by a very narrow channel.

[b] Geograph.

SECT. IV.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce of Russia.

Climate, and soil.

IN a country of such vast extent as the Russian empire, at one extremity of which it is noon, when it is almost midnight at the other, the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

In the parts which lie beyond the 60th degree of latitude, the cold is intense, the winter lasts nine months, the days are extremely short during that season, the country is full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley sowed near Archangel, and about Jakutskoi; nor are any garden-fruits, or even trees, produced there: but strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, juniperberries, black and red currants, and several sorts of shrubs, grow naturally; game, wild-fowl, and fish abound, and horned cattle are bred in the neighbourhood of Archangel [b]. With these the inhabitants not only subsist, but are clothed, and enabled to pay their tribute.

From the 60th to the 57th degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn, and garden-productions.

The countries between the 57th and 54th degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild-fowl, cattle, and honey [c]; in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

From the 54th degree of latitude to the most southern boundaries of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot; the whole extent of the country is flat and even; it has few morasses; is watered by several rivers, which abound with fish; and has sufficient plenty of game, though it be not over-grown with woods. The provinces in these parts are the most inhabited of any in the Russian empire, and naturally so fertile, that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing; but that the natives are deterred from, partly by the overflow-

[b] Busching and Strahlenberg. [c] Idem.

ings

ings of the Wolga, which lays the country on both sides of it under water in the spring, for many miles together, towards Astracan; and still more by the ravages and inroads of the neighbouring Tartars. Tobacco, wine, and silk, might be produced in most of these parts, as the two former are near Astracan and in the Ukraine.

The common observation that eastern countries are much colder than the western, which lie in the same latitude, is greatly confirmed in Russia: for the river Neva has frequently been covered with ice at Petersburg, so early as the 24th of October; but it generally thaws by the 26th of April, old style, which it has hardly ever been known to exceed. In the middle and northern parts of the Russian empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts there near three quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spittle has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped; birds have fallen down dead in the midst of their flight; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses, and come into inns, sitting upright; and numbers have lost their nose, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off through the intense rigour of the weather, though their bodies have been well covered with furs (O). Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as great a degree of heat, as the other season had of cold: so that the Russian peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season; during which, infinite swarms of gnats, flies, and other insects, arise from the lakes and fens, and are excessively troublesome.

Produce.

The middle provinces of Russia produce much more wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buck-wheat, and a grain called psnytha, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them [d], and they accordingly supply therewith most of the other provinces, in exchange for their native commodities; besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to Holland. Apples, pears, plums,

[d] Fletcher, of the Russe Commonwealth, cap. iii.

(O) To approach a fire, or go suddenly into a warm room, would occasion almost immediate mortification of the part thus violently struck with cold. Instead of that, the Russians rub it with snow, and chafe it with their hands, till it begins to glow; after which, the danger is over.

cherries, ſtrawberries, raſberries, gooſeberries, and ſeveral other kinds of fruit, with all manner of pulſe, pot-herbs, aſparagus, onions, garlick, roots, cucumbers, melons, &c. grow in plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the Ruſſian dominions, even ſo far north as Moſcow.

The argali, a ſort of wild goats in Siberia, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and ſheep; but with their heads erect, at the bottom of mountains, by reaſon of the ſize and weight of their horns [e]. It is doubtful, whether the Siberian be the true ſort of beaver, though it has a tail like that of this laſt, and lives chiefly in water. The Ruſſians tell the ſame ſtories of the induſtry of this creature, as are related of the beavers of other countries. The Ruſſians call the civet-cat of Siberia, and its muſk, cabardyn, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the true muſk of Thibet and China, which has a much ſtronger ſmell, and is, in proportion, dearer. The Siberian muſk is of a whitiſh grey; the other is yellow. Theſe animals, of which there are great numbers between Craſnoiark and Abakan, live chiefly upon a white moſs, in the thickeſt woods, in ſummer; and never appear but in winter, when they are ſo very wild, that it is extremely difficult to catch them. They do not run like other beaſts, but ſkip and leap continually. When cloſe purſued by hunters, or by a fox or wolf, they fly to the higheſt and ſtrongeſt rocks, and from thence leap down upon any part that happens to project, though it be but two hands broad, and twenty feet deep, or more. The cabardyn is ſhaped like our deer; is full as long, but not ſo high: and has much ſuch hair, but harſher, and of a light grey. The females of theſe animals have no muſk; nor is their fleſh, which the Tartars and Ruſſians in Siberia eat, as they do veniſon, ſo rank as that of the males. Olearius ſays [f] there are no deer in Muſcovy; meaning, we ſuppoſe, the country properly ſo called; for Strahlenberg [g] enumerates nine different ſpecies of this animal in Siberia. It has been remarked of the hares in Ruſſia and Livonia, that they change their colour in winter, and become white. The ſable hides itſelf, ſo as not eaſily to be diſcovered, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itſelf up like a ball, and ſleeps for a while ſo ſound, as to bear pulling about, without waking. Theſe creatures live chiefly upon mice, cedar-kernels, red-berries, and fiſh; and it is obſerved of them, that their fur is moſt beautiful when they are put to the greateſt exerciſe for ſubſiſtence. Upon the iſlands in the north-eaſt ſea, beyond Kamtſhatka, the

[e] Strahlenberg, cap. xiii. [f] Lib. iii. [g] Strahlenberg. ibid.

ſkins

ſkins of the ſables are very indifferent; but they have tails ſeven or eight inches long, ſtreaked red and black. The wool of the Ruſſian and Siberian ſheep is generally very harſh, and, therefore, uſed only for making common ſtuffs. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do prodigious miſchief in moſt parts of theſe countries.

Snakes are deemed ſacred among the Calmuks, who never kill any, but make them ſo familiar, that they will creep into bed to them; nor has it ever been heard among them, that they have done any hurt to man or beaſt. The reaſon why they have ſuch a regard for this animal is, that they imagine the god of the water ſometimes puts on the form of a ſnake, and comes aſhore; and that if they ſhould hurt or kill any of theſe creatures, that deity would be offended, if not killed [h].

In Lithuania and Ruſſia, bees are not kept in hives near houſes, but in the woods, upon the higheſt and ſtraiteſt firs, the branches of which are cut off almoſt up to the bees neſt, near the top of the tree; and a ſcaffold, like the round-top of a maſt, is made round the tree, that neither men nor bears can eaſily climb up [i].

Fowls. There are three ſorts of eagles in Siberia; the largeſt about the ſize of our turky-cock, is quite black, except the ſkin round the noſtrils and legs, which is a of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The ſmalleſt ſort, which the Tartars uſe, as they do falcons, for hawking, a diverſion they are extremely fond of, is the aquila mævia. In the province of Dauria, and near the river Amur, there are great numbers of milk-white falcons, many of which are ſent yearly to China. Partridges are found only in the ſouthern parts of Siberia, about Craſnoyahr and Abakan; but almoſt all Ruſſia abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild-fowl. There is a ſpecies of owls in Siberia, as white as ſnow, and as large as hen-turkeys [k]. The Ruſſians call them lun and ulun, and the Calmuks hold them ſacred. What Strahlenbeg deſcribes as the Siberian ſtork, ſeems to be a bird of a different ſpecies.

Fiſh. The beluja is, perhaps, the largeſt eatable fiſh in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the Caſpian and Baltic ſeas. Strahlenberg ſays, he ſaw one of them fifty-ſix feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. It is ſhaped like a ſturgeon, but has a ſhorter and thicker ſnout; its fleſh is very white, tender, and well-taſted; it has few or no bones, and but little griſtle, except in the

[h] Strahlenberg, lib. iii. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

head.

head. The largest are cut in pieces, salted, and sent to Moscow, and other places. The smaller, that is to say, those which do not weigh above fifteen puds, are sent whole, if caught in winter. The best ising-glass is made of the inner skin of the gut of this fish, and cavair of its roe. The beluja-rybiza, of which there is great plenty in the river Wolga, is a white salmon, and one of the most delicate fishes in Russia. Its roe is red, and the grains of it are as big as small peas. The Russian sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh is white, intermixed with yellow fat; and caviar, carluk, and weliga, are made out of this fish; but greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled sturgeon are exported every year.

Mines, minerals, precious stones, &c.

We have spoken, in general, of the mines and minerals of Russia; some of which, particularly a silver-mine near the city of Argun, and the river Serebrinka, in Siberia, and another of copper, in the Uralian mountains, near the new city of Catharinenberg, would seem, by the accounts of travellers, to deserve more labour than has been yet bestowed upon them, if a greater number of carriages and hands could be spared. The iron-mines of Russia, and especially those in Ugoria and Siberia, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of Europe. Strahlenberg says, that twenty thousand muskets and ten thousand pair of pistols are made annually near the city of Tula; and twelve thousand muskets and six thousand pair of pistols, in the same space of time, at the Sawods, or fabrics of Petroka, Ustrowka, and Alexei in Carelia, besides anchors and other iron works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a-day is cast at Petrowka. The iron-works in Siberia are still more numerous than those in Russia.

Amethists, and the brown-red sort of the hæmitates, or blood-stone, are found in the mountains of Catharinenberg, and in places near the river Iser, in Siberia; and near the city of Argunskoi, in the province of Dauria in the same country, there is a considerable mountain, which affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale-green colour, so hard, that no steel tool will touch it; but it bears as high a polish as a looking-glass. An ordinary sort of lapis lazuli is common enough at Kongur; but a very fine kind of it is said to be in Dauria. Very large cornelians, and of a high colour, are likewise found in Siberia; and

and abundance of red, white, and black agate, particularly near the rivers Amter and Agun. Near the Iſet and Tomber, not far from the city of Tomſkoi, are great quantities of cryſtal, naturally formed into perfect hexangular cylinders, ſomewhat more than an inch long, and ſuperior in luſtre to any yet produced in Bohemia. The load-ſtones of Ugoria are mixed with ſo much iron, that their magnetic virtue is not great. There is a kind of black pumice-ſtone in Siberia, between the cities of Craſnoyahr and Abakan. The amiantus, or aſbeſtos, is of a light-grey, when dug; but becomes as white and ſoft as cotton, when wrought. The natural grottos, or ſubterraneous paſſages, which the Ruſſians call Pitſchorets, in the alabaſter mountains near Todma, and Kongur in Ugoria, are much talked of by travellers. This alabaſter is ſo ſoft and like chalk, that they who call them chalk-caverns, are, perhaps, not much miſtaken [l].

In the kingdom of Caſan, a pure ſolid ſulphur is dug out of the rocks of Talc, or Marienglas, as clear as amber.

A lake near the river Iſet, in Siberia, yields, like ſeveral other lakes in the Ruſſian empire, great quantities of ſalt; one-third of which, in this, is ſaltpetre; but for want of wood near enough at hand, the expence of boiling and ſeparating the ſaltpetre from the ſalt, is greater than the price of that commodity will bear. Thirty thouſand puds of ſaltpetre are delivered annually into the imperial ſtore-houſes from Aſtracan. Between Tula and Kaluga, near a place called Revolſki, in Ruſſia, there is an alum-mine; and a lake in Siberia, though its water is clear and freſh, leaves an aluminous ſalt on its ſhores, eſpecially in ſummer. Aſphalt, a bituminous, inflammable matter, is found in ſeveral parts of Siberia, and particularly near the river Irtiſch.

Some pieces of amber have been found between the rivers Chantaga and Yemſei, towards the Frozen Ocean; and others in the ſandy deſart between Mungalia and China.

Ruſſia has its mineral waters in ſeveral places; and towards the Frozen Sea, there are baths naturally hot.

Manna is found upon a certain graſs, and in particular places of the large deſarts in the country of the Calmuks and Bukarians, who call it ſherkeſt, and bring great quantities of it to Tobolſk. It muſt be gathered before the the ſun ſhines upon it; for otherwiſe it melts away [m].

[l] Strahlenberg, cap. xiii. [m] Idem ibid. Olearius. Tavernier.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs.

Population. THOUGH Russia contains as great a number of subjects as any one state in Christendom, it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent. M. de Voltaire [n]; by a calculation founded on an actual register of the males who paid the poll-tax in 1747 (P), proves clearly, that there cannot be less than twenty-four millions of souls in Russia, besides the inhabitants of the conquered provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; the Ukraine, the Don Cossacks, the Calmuks and other Tartars, the Samojedes, the Laplanders, the Ostiaks, and all the idolatrous nations of Siberia, a country larger than China. These twenty-four millions, continues he, make after the rate of eight persons to every square mile; so that Russia is, in proportion, exactly five times less peopled than Spain, though it contains near four times as many inhabitants; and thirty times less peopled than France or Germany.

Some of the now most desolate parts of the Russian empire, particularly the deserts of the Calmuks on each side of the river Irtis, and others farther on towards China, were once much more inhabited than they are at present, by people who had some knowlege of the fine arts, before the small-pox, brought from Arabia by Mahomet, and the other from America by Christopher Columbus, two scourges which have depopulated the world even more than war, began to ravage those northern climates (Q); but when, and

[n] Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 52, & seq.

(P) Neither women, nor the nobility or clergy throughout the empire (which last amount to about two hundred thousand) nor foreigners of any country or profession, are liable to the poll-tax. Out of near six millions six hundred and forty thousand males who paid the poll-tax in 1747, according to M. de Voltaire, about nine hundred thousand, that is to say a seventh part, belonged to the ecclesiastics of Russia only, exclusive of the clergy of the conquered provinces, of the Ukraine, and of Siberia. But we must not from thence infer, that the clergy of this empire enjoy a seventh part of the revenues of the state, as they do, at least, in many other countries.

(Q) Numbers of medals, statues, monuments, and other remains

and how, they lost their ancient inhabitants, by whatsoever name they were called, whether by their own voluntary emigra-

remains of antiquity, have been found even of late years, in Siberia, and the deserts bordering on that government. In the tombs, which are numerous, are found all sorts of vessels, urns, wearing apparel, ornaments, and trinkets, scimetars, daggers, horse-trappings, knives, all sorts of little idols, medals of gold and silver, chess boards and chess-men of gold, and large plates of gold, on which the dead bodies were laid. The sepulchres of the poorer sort have likewise the same kind of things in them, of copper and brass; arrows of copper, and iron, stirrups, large and small polished pieces of metal, or mirrors, with characters upon them; earthern urns of different sizes, some almost two feet high; and, in short, a great many other curiosities. Before the czars of Russia were acquainted with this matter, the governors of the cities of Tara, Tomsk, Crasnoyarsk, Batsamki, Isetkoi, and others, used to give their people leave to go in caravans to these tombs, to ransack them, on condition of having an allowance, generally about one-tenth, of what things of value they found there. To this circumstance it is owing, that most of these antiquities, which might otherwise have been very valuable, and would, perhaps, have afforded great insight into the history of the country, were broken to pieces, that each might have his share by weight. As to the tombs themselves, they are of different structures: some are only of earth, raised up as high as houses, and placed so near together, and in such numbers, on spacious plains, that, at a distance, they appear like a ridge of hills. Others are set round with rough-hewn stones, and some with square stones, and are either of an oblong, or a triangular form. We find them called in the ancient maps of Great Tartary, "The pyramidal sepulchres of the Tartarian kings;" though, in fact, they are not strictly pyramids. In the war between Cyrus and the Scythians, these last, being asked why they did not stand their ground, but always retreated, answered, that they lost nothing by giving way; but that, if they should come near the sepulchres of their fathers, their enemies might then chance to see whether they could fight or not. Some ancient records in Tanguthian, Mungalian, and Calmukian characters, found in the time of Peter I. not near Samarcand, or the Caspian sea, as the author of the Verændertes Russland, and others, who have copied him, pretend, but brought from the upper parts of the deserts of the Calmuks, on the river Irtis, from pagan tombs and temples, and sent by that inquisitive emperor to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, where nobody could make any thing of them; were upon a thick paper, made of cotton or silk, done over with black and blue varnish, and rolled up, according to the custom of the ancients. The characters or letters upon them, which

emigrations in quest of other regions, or whether driven away by invaders more powerful than themselves, is one of those points of history, which in all likelihood will never be cleared up.

Classes of the people.

As the far greatest part of the lands in Russia lie untilled for want of hands to cultivate them; and as every gentleman's revenue depends upon the number of his peasants, or subjects[o]; it has long been the maxim of the officers of this nation, in all their successful wars, to carry off as many prisoners as possible, and plant them on their own estates. Several towns on the Wolga, are the fruits of their former expeditions in Poland and Lithuania; and they have drained above one-third of the inhabitants from Ingria and Livonia, and settled whole villages of them in the southern parts towards Woronesh (R), where their descendants are now become, in a manner, natives of the soil; an irreparable loss to Sweden, if ever those provinces should return to that crown. Ingria, indeed, has in some measure been re-peopled by colonies of Russians. Many, or perhaps most of the great families now in Russia, are of foreign extraction; as the Galitzyns, Apraxins, and Nareskins, from Poland; the Czerkaskis, from Tartary; and the Miletinskis, from Mingrelia and Georgia.

The Russians, in point of rank, are divided into three general classes; the nobility, called Kneas; the gentry, denominated Duornins; and the peasants.

The

[o] Lord Whitworth's Account of Russia, p. 29.

which were partly of a yellow or gold-colour, and partly of a white, like silver, were not written, but printed, as we print linen or calico. A proof that that great prince was very right in saying, that the sciences have made the tour of the world. Should we, without such demonstrations as these, have dreamed that the art of printing was known to the once inhabitants of what is now one of the most savage parts of the whole universe, probably before we had any idea of it? Besides these characters, which have been published by the learned M. Mencke, in the Acta Eruditorum Lipsi. others of a different kind, unintelligible to several Russians, Tartars, and Calmuks, to whom baron Strahlenberg shewed them, but which M. Kohr, professor of the oriental languages at Leipsic, has explained, were found towards the source of the river Jenisei, near the spot where the little river Kemtschyk falls into it, and where there was formerly a temple. These last were impressed on fine white linen.

(R) Lord Whitworth, M. de Voltaire, and several other writers call it Veronis and Veronitz; but the Russian name is Woronesh.

The kneas, or dukes, were anciently heads of the little governments into which this country was divided; but they were all subdued in time by the princes of Wolodimer, who translated their residence to Moscow, and took the title of Weliki Kneas, or Great Dukes. The descendants of these families still retain their ancient title; and several Poles, transplanted thither, as they became considerable, assumed the same marks of distinction, on pretence of being descended from their waiwodes, or palatines. This title is differently respected, according to the revenue or employment of the person; for those dukes who submitted on condition, and received estates in exchange for their petty sovereignties, still continue in some splendour; and others, again, have raised themselves by their civil or military service, while the rest are reduced to the lowest poverty and contempt. In the year 1708, there were near three hundred kneas[p] common soldiers in prince Menzikoff's regiment of dragoons. Peter I. after his return from his travels, introduced into Russia, as an additional distinction, the dignities of count and baron. His prime-minister and great-chancellor, Golowin, and general Gordon, were made counts by the emperor of Germany, and his favourite, Alexander Menzikoff, was created prince of the empire. But the czar's ambition increasing with his success, he resolved to bestow his own honours, and soon after created prince Menzikoff duke of Ingria, and Golowin, his high-admiral Apraxin, and his lord privy-seal Sotoff, counts, without having recourse to the imperial court. Afterwards, he introduced the title of baron, instituted an order of knighthood in honour of St. Andrew, distinguished by a blue ribbon and star, in imitation of the Garter. Bojar is not a title of nobility, but anciently denoted a post or office in the state: nor, indeed, does any birth or title give a person rank, according to Peter's wise regulation, unless he likewise merits it by his service and abilities; by which means many foreigners, of mean extraction, have risen to very great honours in Russia. In regard to unlimited subjection to their sovereign, the nobility are on a level with the rest of the people. Even the greatest of them used to glory in styling themselves the czar's golu, or *slave*, when they either spoke or wrote to him; but Peter I. abolished that harsh expression, and ordered them to use, instead of it, the word raab, *subject*.

The duornins are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the sunbojarskoys, or sons of bojars,

[p] Lord Whitworth.

are

are ranked in this class, and hold their lands by knights service. Formerly, it was sufficient to send a man well armed and mounted: but Peter I. made them, or their sons, serve in person, unless they found ways to make interest enough with his ministers to be excused. When they appear in the field, they are not allowed a servant, though they be masters of ever so many peasants, and are obliged to do all the duties of common soldiers: but their greatest mortification is, that such of their peasants as will enlist volunteers, are immediately declared freemen, and in equal consideration with their masters.

The peasants are perfect slaves, subject to the arbitrary power of their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them, and liable to be transferred, with goods and chattels, from one master to another. They can call nothing their own; and this consideration makes them so lazy, that when their master's task is done, and a little bread and firing provided for the year, they think the great business of their life is over, and idle or sleep away the rest of their time; yet they live content. Professor Busching says, the Russian peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural parts, and, when properly disciplined, they become excellent soldiers [q].

Government. The government of Russia is absolute in the last degree; not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided; the common compliment, even of the greatest of the nobility, to him, being, "I am thy slave, take my head;" and every class of Russians frequently saying, even in common discourse, that "all they have belongs to God and the czar." When puzzled about any thing, nothing is more usual than to say, "Only God and the czar knows it:" and when banished, or in disgrace at court, their greatest complaint is, that they are deprived of the honour of seeing the brightness of the eyes of his czarish majesty [r]. However, such as are employed in the state have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men, they have precedents and written laws, particularly a code called Sbornoe Uloshenie, an uniform and universal law, drawn up by order of Alexis Mi-

[q] Busching Geograph. vol. i. p. 383.

[r] Olearius, lib. iii.

chaelowitz,

chaelowitz, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars. The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is: and their punishments are very severe; though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The battogen, katze, and knute, are now deemed infamous (S).

In

(S) The ordinary punishments in Russia are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the battogen, which is inflicted thus: he who is to receive this last chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting cross-wise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands, or switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the knute, as it is given in Russia, is one of the most barborous punishments ever heard of. The executioner's man, having stripped the criminal, takes him on his back with his feet tied together; and the rope being passed between the man's legs, is held by another assistant, so hard that the patient cannot stir. The executioner stands three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps, or thongs, of an elk's skin, not tanned, with which, springing forward, he strikes with such force, that the blood gushes out at every blow. This is so cruel a punishment, that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrap themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to M. de la Motraye, only what is called the moderate knute. When the sentence orders it between the moderate and the severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner, striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

The bastinado is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

For certain crimes, the strappado is likewise inflicted. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaven, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water, drop by drop, upon his crown; which occasion such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping and branding.

Thieves are tortured to make them discover their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. Theft, however, is never punished with death in Russia: but the receivers and concealers of stolen goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder is a capital crime. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison, upon bread and water only; then he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

Present administration of the affairs of the Russian empire, by

In former times, justice was very ill administered by chetfirds and pricases, under the direction of governors of provinces, all of whom were equally ignorant, rapacious, and corrupt: but in consequence of the regulations of Peter I. the affairs of the Russian empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called.

the senate,

The senate, or directing council, is the supreme court of judicature, to which all processes are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues out orders to them all accordingly.

the synod,

The holy synod, or ecclesiastical-court, instituted by Peter I. when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the church.

the war-office.

The war college has the care of recruiting and exercising the whole Russian army, except the guards, who are under the immediate direction of the sovereign. This office likewise receives the taxes appointed for the maintenance of the troops, and nominates the officers as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonels.

the admiralty-college,

The admiralty-college manages all naval concerns without exception; and such forests as lie near navigable rivers, are under its inspection.

the college for foreign affairs,

The college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the Russian ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the expences of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed. The members of this college are the chancellor of the empire

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer appointed for that purpose, and has a certain farther time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, from whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin-bones with a wand about the bigness of a man's little finger, for an hour together. Then he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen: and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

and

and the vice-chancellor, who, upon any momentous affairs, are aſſiſted by ſome of the counſellors of ſtate.

Under the college of juſtice at Moſcow, is the ſudnoy pricaſe, ſome of the members of which conſtitute a college of juſtice at Peterſburg, which determines ſuits brought hither by appeal from the conquered provinces. *the college of juſtice,*

The wotſhinoi college, or feudal chancery, is held at Moſcow, and has the care of every thing relating to the eſtates of private perſons, and their boundaries or limits. *the feudal chancery,*

The college of the treaſury has the direction of levying all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce of the ſalt-works. The office which has the care of the monies ariſing from the conquered provinces is now held at Peterſburg; but all the other departments belonging to the treaſury are at Moſcow. *the college of the treaſury,*

The ſtate-office iſſues out the public money, and gives the neceſſary directions to the chamber of accompts. The revenue-chambers at Peterſburg and Moſcow are accordingly dependent on this office. *the ſtate-office,*

The reviſion-college is a ſort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them. *the reviſion-college,*

The colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, are diſtinct offices; and, beſides the departments from which they take their names, they have alſo the management of the naval cuſtoms or tolls, and decide all commercial diſputes between merchants and traders. *the colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures,*

The confiſcation-chancery directs the ſale of all forfeited eſtates, and the levying of all fines impoſed by the other colleges. *the confiſcation-chancery,*

The ſalt-office has the direction of the revenues ariſing from the ſalt-works, which are appropriated for the ſovereign's privy purſe. *the ſalt-office,*

Beſides theſe, there is a college of the magiſtracy, as it called, to which all the magiſtrates in the empire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy-chancery, which takes cognizance of all hoſpitals, diſpenſaries, and medicines. *the college of the magiſtracy, and the privy-chancery.*

The Ruſſians profeſs the religion of the Greek church, which is ſaid to have been firſt embraced by the great-ducheſs Olha, or Olga, in the year of Chriſt 955, and afterwards by her grandſon, the great-duke Wolodimir, in 988, whoſe example was followed by his ſubjects: but their ignorance and ſuperſtition have greatly corrupted even that. They hold three ſacraments, baptiſm, the Lord's ſupper, and extreme unction; which laſt they look upon as extremely conducive, but not abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. They hold tranſubſtantiation, and receive the eu- *Religion of the Ruſſians.*

chariſt in both kinds, obſerve four lents, and have ſervice daily in their churches. They uſe auricular confeſſion, and think they are cleanſed by it from as many ſins as they confeſs by name, and in particular, to the prieſt. The Athanaſian Creed is their rule of faith. They believe in God the Father, as Creator of all the world; in God the Son, as Sanctifier and Redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghoſt, as Sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father only. Their Bible, of which they will not ſuffer the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, to be be ſo much as carried to church, for fear of polluting that place of worſhip by ſome not over-modeſt paſſages; they ſay, the Levitical law is tranſlated from the verſion of the Septuagint into the Sclavonian tongue, which very few, if any of the congregation, underſtand, when the prieſt reads any part of it to them, if even he can read it. They are, however, permitted to have the whole Bible in their houſes; but they ſet little value upon any part of it, except the New Teſtament, the prophets, and ſome verſes out of the Pſalms. They hold tradition to be of equal authority with the written word of God; and think to ſatisfy the ſecond commandment by allowing no carved images: but their churches are filled with miſerable paintings, without ſhade or perſpective.

The reſpect paid to theſe pictures is the groſſeſt kind of idolatry. To them they bow and croſs themſelves; and all the religious inſtruction they give their children, eſpecially thoſe of the lower ſort, is to reverence and ſay their prayers before thoſe vile repreſentations of their ſaints; to whom, and to the apoſtles, and the Virgin Mary, the ignorant among them apply, not only as to interceſſors, but as to immediate cauſes and co-operators of their ſalvation. Every room has its guardian picture of this kind in a corner, the Ruſſian place of honour, to which ſtrangers pay their reverence on coming in, before they begin their buſineſs, or take any notice of the company; or if the viſitor does not immediately ſee the ſaint, he turns round and aſks, Jeſſi le Bog? *Where is the God?* the name they give to theſe wretched paintings; before which it is another great part of their devotion to light up wax-candles, at the hazard of ſetting fire to their houſes, as they often do, and to repeat frequently the words, Ghoſpodi Pomilui, *Lord have mercy upon me*; without any farther attention. They refrain ſcrupulouſly from certain meats, and think it particularly a great crime to eat a pigeon, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt is painted in the ſhape of a dove.

Their

Their private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the papists. Wednesdays and Fridays are stated fasts all the year round. *Fasts.*

They are, indeed less rigid in their fasts now than they used to be, the more frequent travels of their young gentry having helped to enlighten them: and the czar Peter himself set them an example, by eating flesh on all their fast-days, in private houses, though he refrained from it in public.

In their private devotions they kneel before a picture of our Saviour, the virgin Mary, St. Nicolas, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb, fore-finger, and third-finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's prayer, and some other short ejaculations. *Private devotions.*

Their church-service, which is recited in the Sclavonian tongue, unintelligible, at least, to the common people, consists of abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the mean time saying, Ghospodi Pomilui. A lecture from one of the ancient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached but in a few churches; and even there but very seldom (T). *Public worship.*

The Russians, like other people, have had their sectaries ever since the institution of Christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance, as well as of pretended knowlege. But Russia is the only great Christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there. The oldest of these separatists, established in the twelfth century by a set of zealots who were just able to read the New Testament, are termed, by way of contempt, roskolniki, or roskoltshtshicken, *heretics*; but they call themselves sta- *Sectaries.*

(T) Towards the beginning of the last century, the protopope, or parish-priest of Morum, taking upon him to preach, and making use of the word of God to exhort the people to piety, the patriarch deposed him, together with all the other priests who would have followed his example, excommunicated them, and banished them into Siberia. Only the bare text of the Bible was then allowed to be read, with certain homilies: and the reason given for it was, that the Holy Spirit, having grounded the church upon the pure word of God, without any explication, they were not to trouble themselves about any, as the different interpretations of the scriptures are, in a great measure, the cause of the errors and heresies which divide the church.

rowierzi, or *old believers*. Their chief peculiarities are founded on the interpretation they give their own books; the most essential of which was written, say they, by Cyril of Jerusalem. According to them, it is a great sin to say halleluja three times; nor should the sign of the cross ever be made, or the benediction given, but with the fore and middle fingers; whereas the clergy of the established church in Russia use the thumb as well as those two fingers. They let their beards grow to their full length, and pay a high tax for that privilege, besides double taxes for all other things. They totally abstain from spirituous liquors, and account other Russian priests unworthy of administering the sacraments, because they drink brandy: neither will they eat or drink out of a vessel that has been used by a Russian of the national church, or have any sort of intercourse or society with them. They are strictly regular in their lives, and say, with Jesus Christ, that there is neither first nor last among the faithful. They hold civil government to be no Christian institution; for that all men ought to be upon an equality, and to live as brethren; and they maintain, that a man may, not only lawfully kill himself for Christ's sake, but that therein consists a high degree of spiritual happiness. The other Russians charge them with some abominations, of which, in all probability, they are not guilty. They say, that after putting out the fire and lights, they intermix without distinction of kindred, age, or even sex: that if, through such chance-medleys, a maiden proves with child, and brings forth a girl, they let it live; but if a boy, they kill it, and drink its blood. Some attempts were formerly made to bring them over by persecution; but they then shut themselves up in their houses and barns, set fire to them, and burnt themselves alive. Peter I. took the only prudent method with them, that of letting them live unmolested. Their number now scarcely exceeds two thousand males[s] in Russia proper: but their opinions have spread greatly in Siberia, and prevail much among the inhabitants of Tomsk and Tara[t].

The inhabitants of the provinces conquered from Sweden, profess Lutheranism: and the protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the Russians, as also the papists, enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches, and priests or ministers at Petersburg, Cronstadt, Moscow, Archangel, and Astracan; but the papists have no longer the

[s] Voltaire, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 70.
[t] Busching, Geogr. vol. i. p. 386.

privilege

privilege of hanging up bells in their churches. Feodor, and more particularly Peter the Great, admitted indifferently into their armies and councils, those of the Greek, Latin, Lutheran, and Calvinistical persuasions, and allowed them to serve God after their own way, provided the state was well served. There was not, indeed, in the beginning of the reign of Peter, one Latin church in all his vast empire. Only when that prince established new manufactories at Astracan, about sixty Roman catholic families settled there, under the spiritual direction of a few Capuchins; but when the Jesuits attempted afterwards to glide into his dominions, he banished all these by a public edict in 1718. The Capuchins were suffered to stay, as monks of no consequence; but the Jesuits were looked upon as dangerous politicians.

The Jews never had any settlement in Russia, as they have in so many other states of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome.

A considerable number of the Russian subjects profess the Mahometan religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of Christian knowlege; and some accounts say, that many thousands of them have been converted to Christianity. But it appears too plainly from M. Gmelen's journey through Siberia [u], that great constraint and violence have been used to bring them over; and that the people, most of whom are baptized against their will, have but a very imperfect, and even a contemptible idea of the Christian religion.

Hierarchy and clergy.

The Russian bishops and archbishops are called Archüerei. The metropolitans, of which there are but two, one at Kiow, and the other at Tobolsk, differ from the bishops only in their title. The first Russian metropolitan, whose name was Michael Cyrus, was ordained by the celebrated Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who deputed a prelate to baptize Wolodimer. Formerly, the primate or supreme bishop of the Russian church was a suffragan to the patriarch of Constantinople: but the czar Feodor Iwanowitz made the Constantinopolitan patriarch, Jeremias, install Hiob, or Job, patriarch of all Russia, in the year 1588. These prelates, assuming by degrees an exorbitant power, which at last became dangerous even to the czars themselves, Peter I. on the death of the patriarch, Adrian, in 1701, suppressed the patriarchate, and declared himself head of the church of Russia: but it is not true that he ever officiated in that character. He committed the spiritual

[u] M. Gmelen's Journey, vol. i. p. 257, 334, 335, &c.

adminiſtration to the archbiſhop of Rezan, and the management of temporal affairs to a lay-commiſſion, with the diſpoſal of the abbey-lands and revenues, which he found a fine opportunity to ſequeſter; for the abbots, on his enquiring into their circumſtances, pretending great poverty, and, alleging that they were ſcarce able to maintain their monks, though they confined themſelves to the poor pittance of fifteen rubles a-year for each of them; Peter, in a ſeeming compaſſion, told them, he would take care of their revenues, and double that allowance; which, in fact, he did, and thereby added to his revenues the value of a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling a-year; beſides breaking the formidable power of the clergy, who have now no more freehold left; and their peaſants, or ſubjects, depend immediately upon the officers of the crown.

In the thirteenth century, ſeveral popes laboured hard to put the great dukes of Ruſſia out of conceit with the Greek religion, by recommending to them that of Rome, but without ſucceſs. The doctors of the Sorbonne, at Paris, made the ſame attempt of late years; endeavouring, at the ſuppreſſion of the patriarchate by Peter I. to bring about an union of the Ruſſian church with that of Rome; but they were not able to carry their point. The members of the Greek church, whoſe tenets are embraced in an empire of near ſix thouſand miles, whilſt the Roman has not half that extent in Europe, have always been bent upon maintaining, at leaſt, an equality with thoſe of the Latin communion; and have ever feared the zeal, or, as they not improperly call it, the ambition of the church of Rome, which limited as it is in our hemiſphere, ſtyles herſelf univerſal, and has tried but too much to realiſe that great title.

Vaſt as the Ruſſian empire is, there are but twenty-eight epiſcopal ſees in it; and in the time of Peter I. there were only twenty-two. Voltaire ſhrewdly obſerves, that the Ruſſian church may poſſibly owe the peace ſhe has enjoyed, in ſome meaſure, to her not having more prelates.

Convents. Idleneſs, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domeſtic diſcontent, violence, and, ſometimes, the overflowings of a miſguided devotion, fill the numerous convents of Ruſſia, as they do thoſe of other countries; notwithſtanding the care of Peter I. to ſtop this evil, by wiſely ordering that no man ſhould be permitted to embrace the monaſtic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fifty*; nor even then, without the expreſs approbation and licence of the holy ſynod: a care well worthy

* Conſett.

the

the legislator of a vast empire, one of whose greatest wants is an increase of population. Almost all the religious of this empire follow the rule of St. Basil, with such austerity, that they never so much as taste any kind of flesh, but live entirely upon salt-fish, honey, milk, cheese, herbs, and pulse, especially cucumbers, both fresh and pickled, which they mince very small, and eat with a spoon in some of their quas. They have this in common with most of their countrymen, that they can hardly write or read. Not one of them in ten can say the Lord's Prayer, and much fewer are acquainted with the Creed and the Ten Commandments[x]. They have set hours for their service, and say their prayers by beads. These monks, however, do not lead so retired a life, but that they are seen in great numbers, both in cities and all over the country, where their employment, if they have any, is the same with the peasants, from whom they are distinguished only by their habit. Till the time of the czar Peter, there used also to be in Russia numbers of Anchorets, who built themselves chapels, near the highways, and lived in woods, like hermits, subsisting only by the charity of travellers; but there are now much fewer of them. The Russians, indeed, if they have not many other shining virtues to boast of, are very ready to give alms; because they look upon that as an atonement for almost every sin.

The abbot, or head of a monastery, is called archimandrite, and the prior of a convent, ingumen. An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is styled ingumenia. Deacons, popes, or papas, as they are sometimes called, and protopopes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal churches, are exceeding numerous in Russia. Every large village there has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

The Russians baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though never in the room where the mother lies-in: but if well, it is carried to church by the god-father and god-mother[y]. *Baptism.*

The sovereigns of Russia have declined matching with foreigners ever since the year 1490. Since their possessing Casan and Astracan, the customs of the Asiatics seem greatly to prevail among them, and particularly in their marrying none but their own subjects. The manner, too, in which the four last czars chose their wives, resembles

[x] Olearus, lib. iii. [y] Idem ibid. Fletcher, cap. xxiii.

still

still more strongly that of ancient Asia. The handsomest maidens in the empire were sent for to court, when the monarch thought of marrying. The great-mistress of the court received them in her house, and lodged them separately, but made them all dine together. The czar saw them, either under a borrowed name, or without disguise. The day of marriage was fixed, and the sovereign's choice not yet declared; when a wedding-garment was presented to the lady in whose favour he had secretly determined. The rest were sent back, with handsome presents. Thus it was that the czar Michael Romanow married Eudoxia, the daughter of a poor gentleman called Streshneu, who was tilling his land with his own domestics when the chamberlains sent to him by the emperor, with presents, informed him that his daughter was on the throne. The name of that princess is still dear to Russia [z].

Manners and Customs.

Before the time of Peter I. the Russians were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about, by degrees, such an alteration in their manners, as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations of Europe. The work which he begun would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The Russians are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

Fondness of drink.

The insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to the coldness of the climate, their rigorous fasts, and the slender diet they live upon throughout the year, for though provisions of all kinds are extremely cheap in almost every part of Russia, their food chiefly consists of turneps, cabbages, peas, large cucumbers, onions, garlic, and coarse ill-tasted fish. Their usual drink is quas, which is a kind of small beer, and braga, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them, brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men are those who give themselves up most to excessive drinking. Nor is it at all uncommon to see their women drunk, staggering along the streets [a].

[z] Voltaire. [a] Fletcher, lib. iii.

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The ancient dress of the Russians, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar Peter obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of prominent bellies, they were great admirers. Their women, looking upon a ruddy complexion as the very essence of beauty, are so extremely fond of paint, that even the poorer sort among them will beg money to buy red. Both sexes wear a cross on their breasts, which is put on when they are baptized, and is never laid aside as long as they live. The peasants crosses are of lead; but those of higher class are of gold or silver. If any one were to be found dead, without a cross, the corpse would be thrown upon a dunghill, or cast into a ditch. *Dress.*

The women of fashion in this country live extremely retired, seldom going out of their houses, and receiving the visits of their friends and relations much oftener than they return them. As those of this rank are not much brought up to housewifery, they give themselves but little trouble about it, especially after they are married. Their chief employment is sewing, embroidering silk handkerchiefs, and making little purses and toys. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value: but when they go to church, or their husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently. In visits of ceremony, it is usual for the men and women to salute each other with a kiss, if they are nearly of equal rank: but those of the lowest class prostrate themselves on the ground before persons of high distinction. Olearius, and other writers, some of whom seem to have been too much prejudiced against the Russians, tell us strange stories of their unaccountable brutality to one another in the usual intercourse of life: but Busching says, that even the common people among them salute each other with great civility when they meet. However, that most of them are brutal enough, is very certain. *Domestic life.*

The Russians seldom fail of bathing twice a-week; for which purpose almost every house is provided with a bath; and he that has none of his own goes to the public baths. They often sally out naked from the warm bath, run about in the cold, roll themselves in the snow, and then plunge again into the bath; looking upon this vicissitude of heat *Baths.*

and

and cold, as beneficial to the constitution, by rendering them hardy and robust: but many are of opinion that it helps to give them a fallow swarthy complexion; though it must at the same time be owned, that they are extremely subject to the scurvy, especially in the northern provinces, where few escape without visible marks of that raging distemper. Another disorder, peculiar to those who live in the farthest parts of Siberia, between Tomsk and Kusnetsk, is very singular: the tip of the tongue begins to rot, without any pain, and this mortification proceeds gradually till it gets into the throat, and they not knowing any remedy to stop the evil, at length kills them [d]. The coldness of their climate preserves them from pestilential distempers.

Houses. Some of the principal people have handsome houses of stone; but the most usual way of building in Russia, both in the towns and country, is to lay one beam or log of wood upon another, fastening them at the four corners, and filling up the crevices with moss. The house is afterwards covered with shingles, and holes are cut in it for doors and windows. There is commonly a brick stove or large oven in every room in the house of a peasant, which takes up a fourth part of the area, and is flat at the top, and boarded. On this, and a kind of shelves round the room, the whole family sleep, without beds. Their habitations look like so many chimnies; the fire-place, which is the stove or oven, having no vent for the smoke, but into the room. As soon as it is dark, they swarm with insects called tarakans, which are a species of goat-chaffers. The houses in most villages are built contiguous, as they are in the towns: so that when a fire breaks out, as very often happens, through the reigning vice of the Russians, drunkenness, or their negligence in putting out the many tapers which they stick about the pictures of their saints, it spreads with vast rapidity. Luckily, those who can afford it, have only to go to market, where they may immediately suit themselves with other houses, or even single apartments, ready made, which want only being tacked together. The loss of the furniture is easily replaced; that of the common people, in particular, seldom exceeding three benches, an oblong table, and a picture of a saint or two.

[d] Strahlenberg, cap. xiii.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of Russia.

THE Russian language, which is remarkably soft, derives its origin from the Sclavonian, though it differs greatly from it at present, and, with regard to religious subjects, is intermixed with numbers of Greek words. The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which are Greek characters, as they were written in the ninth century, when the knowlege of letters was first introduced into Russia. But as those letters did not express evey particular sound in the Sclavonian tongue, recourse was had to several Hebrew letters, and some arbitrary signs. The Muscovite, Novogrodian, and Ukrainian dialects, are the most used in Russia, together with that of Archangel, which greatly resembles the Siberian. *Language.*

The several branches of learning were but little known in Russia before the reign of Peter the Great, who, sparing neither pains nor expence, to dispel the clouds of ignorance in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy of sciences, an university, and a gymnasium or seminary at Petersburg, besides other schools in the different parts of his empire; invited persons of distinguished abilities from other nations, to settle at Petersburg; collected a great number of books; and, contrary to the mistaken policy of his predecessors, encouraged his subjects to travel into those countries where arts and sciences were known to flourish. These wise and laudable measures are still continued, and have been the means of cultivating, among the Russians, some geniuses, who have made no inconsiderable figure in the republic of letters. *Learning.*

Formerly the Russians, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding cattle, hunting, and fishing. What they chiefly excelled in, was making of yuchte, or Russia leather, which had been a secret of long standing among them; but they were entirely unacquainted with the more ingenious mechanic arts. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to Petersburg by Peter the Great, the Russians shewed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want a capacity for all kinds of handicraft-trades; for they have now flourishing manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin; and make great guns, fire- *Arts, manufactures.*

fire-arms, wire, cordage, sail-cloth, paper, parchment, glass, and gun-powder.

Trade of Russia.

Russia affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners; and as the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour. The Russian home commodities are sables and black furs; the skins of blue and white foxes, ermines, hyenas, linxes, squirrels, bears, panthers, wolves, martens, wild cats, white hares, &c. Likewise Russia leather, copper, iron, a transparent fossil called Marienglass, or Muscovy glass, tallow, wax, honey, pot-ash, tar, linseed-oil, rosin, pitch, train-oil, caviar, salt-fish, castor, ising-glass, hemp, flax, thread, Russia linen, sail-cloth, callimanco, matts, Siberian musk, mamonts teeth and bones, as they are called, soap, feathers, hogs bristles, and timber; to which may be added the Chinese goods, rhubarb, and other drugs, with which the Russians partly furnish the rest of Europe.

The trade to China, at present, is carried on by caravans, and partly by private adventurers. The greatest in quantity, and the most valuable commodities which the Russians carry to China, are furs; in return for which they bring back gold, silks, cotton, tea, &c. (U). This trade, if rightly managed, would bring into the Russian government, a yearly profit of at least three hundred thousand rubels [e].

The trade with the Calmucs is entirely in private hands, and of no great importance. They exchange with these people all sorts of iron and copper utensils, for cattle and provisions, and sometimes for gold and silver.

The trade to Bughar, or Bochara, one of the chief cities of Usbec Tartary, near the river Oxus, brings in ready money, or by bartering of goods, curled lamb-skins, Indian silks, and sometimes gems, which are brought to the yearly fair at Samarkand.

[e] Lord Whitworth, p. 90.

(U) This caravan sets out from Moscow in the winter, and is three years before it returns. Chinese commissaries receive it on the borders of Chinese Mungalia, and conduct it, at their expence, to Pekin, where the Chinese maintain both the people and camels for three months, within which time the Russians are obliged to sell or barter their goods. At the expiration of this time, the caravan is again conveyed to the borders, at the charge of the Chinese. Those who advance their money in this traffic, frequently double it in three years.

The

The trade to Perſia, by the way of Aſtracan and the Caſpian ſea, is conſiderable, and brings in return raw ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs.

The traders in the Ukrain carry proviſions to the Crim-Tartars, and traffic with the Greek merchants at Conſtantinople.

The inhabitants of Kiow trade to Siberia, in cattle and Ruſſia leather; and, notwithſtanding the ſevereſt prohibitions, great quantities of goods are ſmuggled from the government of Smolenſk, to Koningſberg and Dantzic.

The naval commerce of Ruſſia owes its origin to the Hanſe Towns, which formerly carried on a conſiderable trade with Revel, Novogrod, and Pleſkow; till, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, ſome Engliſh traders, of whom captain Chancellor was the firſt, found the way to Archangel, which afterwards became the principal mart.

Moſt of the foreign merchants uſed to reſide at Moſcow, and went in the ſummer to Archangel, where they had their warehouſes and factors. This practice continued till the year 1721, when the ſeat of commerce was transferred from Archangel to Peterſburg, by order of Peter the Great, and the foreign traders were, in conſequence thereof, obliged to remove their factories to the latter. Money was formerly very ſcarce in Ruſſia. The firſt real rubels, half-rubels, &c. were coined in 1703[f]. Their ſtandard ſhould be of the ſame goodneſs with Lyon dollars, viz. twelve ounces fine ſilver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight: but moſt of the bullion that is carried into the mint, is not above ten ounces fine ſilver; and being ſeldom tried when melted, the Ruſſian coins are of different intrinſic value, as the run happens to be good or bad; plate, dollars, and old copeiks, which laſt are received in the treaſury at an allowance of 15 per cent. diſcount, being all melted together, with an additional alloy of braſs. The ſilver chiefly uſed in the Ruſſian coinage, is croſs-dollars and Albertus dollars, with unwrought plate, brought from Holland, Hamburgh, and Bremen; partly to clear the merchants cuſtoms; and partly in return of braſs money, which the treaſury often advances to foreigners, to be repaid in dollars at the end of two years.

In 1702, the firſt ducats were coined with the czar's ſtamp, at twenty-ſix carrats, which is the fineneſs of Holland ducats: but the direction of the mint being taken, the next year, from the foreigners who had before had the ma-

[f] Lord Whitworth.

nagement

nagement of it, and Chineſe gold, of only twenty or twenty-one carrats, and from one to three grains, being uſed, without refining it, thoſe ducats were utterly decried, and very few have been coined ſince the year 1706. The gold is imported in ingots from China, about three hundred and ſixty pound weight Engliſh, yearly; beſides what is brought every ſummer from other parts, often in ſpecie, by the ſhips which trade to Ruſſia.

In 1705, the czar Peter begun to coin braſs copieks, halves, and quarters. Thirty-ſix pounds of braſs, Engliſh weight, which are bought in Moſcow for ſeven rubels, produce twenty when coined. About ten thouſand of theſe copieks are given out monthly; but no one is obliged to receive them in payment, except ſuch as are in the ſervice of the crown. They may be negociated againſt ſilver at two per cent. loſs. The braſs uſed to come by the fleets to Archangel.

The merchants and traders at Peterſburg conſiſt of natives and foreigners. The former may ſell by wholeſale or retail: but the latter by wholeſale only, and that to none but the natives: for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in Ruſſia, nor are they allowed to keep the goods conſigned to them in their own warehouſes; but are obliged to depoſit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpoſe, and to pay rent for warehouſe-room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are poſſeſſed of [b].

The Engliſh enjoyed conſiderable privileges in their trade to Ruſſia, ſo early as the year 1553, when the czar Iwan Baſilowitz was on the throne, as we obſerved before. Theſe privileges were renewed by Peter I. who gave them great encouragements; but permitted them to ſend their goods only to Moſcow. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded betwixt Ruſſia and England, by which it was ſtipulated that the Engliſh ſhould be allowed to ſend goods through Ruſſia into Perſia: but captain Elton, a Scotchman, having entered into the ſervice of Shah Nadir in 1746, and built ſhips for him on the Caſpian ſea, the Ruſſians put a ſtop to this trade to Perſia. However, the Engliſh ſtill have a more conſiderable trade to Ruſſia, than any other nation.

Next to them, the Dutch carry on the greateſt trade with the Ruſſians. Bills of exchange are drawn at Peterſburg, on Amſterdam only [c]: ſo that the traders of other countries,

[b] Buſching. [c] Ibid.

who

who give orders for buying Ruſſian commodities at Peterſburg, are obliged to procure credit, or to have proper funds at Amſterdam.

Such foreigners as ſettle at Peterſburg, without actual commiſſions, and a ſufficient credit in exchange, run a great riſk of becoming bankrupts; of which there have been too many inſtances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the Ruſſians: but they are ſo full of chicanery and fineſſe, that a ſtranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

SECT. VII.

Of the Coronation, Titles, Court, Revenues, Expences, Forces, &c. of the Czar.

Ceremonies of the czar's coronation.

AT the acceſſion of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbiſhops, biſhops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are ſummoned to Moſcow, againſt the day of the coronation; when the archbiſhop of Moſcow, conducts the new great-duke to the church of Precheſte, or our Lady, within the Kremlin, where a ſcaffold is erected three ſteps high, and covered with rich Perſian tapeſtry, on which are ſet three chairs, at equal diſtances one from the other. One of theſe is for the great duke, another for the archbiſhop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple ſattin, lined with ſable; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, ſet as thick as poſſible with diamonds, and ſaid to be the ſame which the great-duke Demetrius Monomach took at Caffa in Tartary, and immediately deſtined for the coronation of his ſucceſſors.

As ſoon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbiſhop prays to God, to St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Ruſſians, and to the other ſaints, deſiring their preſence at that day's ſolemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counſellor of ſtate takes the great-duke by the hand, preſents him to the archbiſhop, and ſays to him; "The Knez and Bojars acknowlege the prince here preſent, to be lawful heir to the crown; and deſire that, as ſuch, you immediately crown him." Upon which the archbiſhop leads the prince up to the ſcaffold, ſeats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead with a little croſs of diamonds, and bleſſes him. Then one of the metropolitans reads the following prayer: "O Lord our God, king of kings, who didſt chuſe thy ſervant David, by thy prophet Samuel, and didſt cauſe him to be

anointed king over thy people Israel, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee. Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations: anoint him with the oil of gladness; protect him by thy power; set upon his head a precious diadem; grant him a long and happy life; put into his hand a royal sceptre, and make him sit upon the throne of justice; make subject to him all barbarous nations; let his heart and understanding always continue in thy fear. In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obedient to thy commandments; suffer not any heresy or schism to come near his person or government; but shew him the salvation of thy holy and universal church; that he may judge thy people with justice; protect the children of the poor, and finally attain everlasting life: for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us."

After this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropolitans to take the cap and robe; and some of the bojars, whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on the great duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching his forehead with the little cross of diamonds. The ducal cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the prince's head, while the archbishop, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, blesses him the third time. That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach, and each of them gives the great duke his benediction; but only with the two fore-fingers. The great duke and the archbishop then sit down; but rise again immediately, to order the singing of the Litany, every verse of which ends with Gospodi pomilui, Lord have mercy upon us, and is frequently intermixed with the great duke's name. After the Litany they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans goes up to the altar, and says, singing, "God preserve in health our czar and great-duke of all the Russias, whom he hath of his love bestowed upon us, and grant him a long and happy life." The words are echoed round for some time, by every one present; after which the archbishop alone goes up to the prince, and tells him, "That since through the providence of God, all the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned him great-duke over all the Russias, and entrusted him with a government of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his commandments, administer justice, and protect and maintain

tain the true Greek religion." He then bows himself down to the ground, before the czar, even touching it with his forehead, as a token of his homage; and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of St. Michael the Archangel, and afterwards to that of St. Nicholas, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of Precheste, and, after having sung in each of them the same Litanies as before, conclude the ceremonies with dining in the great hall of the Kremlin.

His Titles. The sovereign of Russia was formerly styled Weliki Knez, Grand Prince, Great Lord, or Great Chief, which we render by the words Great Duke. The title of Czar, which, in the Sclavonian language, signifies King, and likewise Emperor, was first assumed by John Basilowitz, surnamed the Great, grandfather of John Basilowitz the Tyrant, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, upon his being crowned in Casan; and therefore is more probably derived from the Tzars or Tchars of that kingdom, or the Tshas of Persia, than from the Cæsars of Rome, whom, in all likelihood, the Siberian Tzars had never so much as heard of on the borders of the Oby [f]. Basilius, son of John Basilowitz I. lost the newly acquired title and kingdom: but his son, John Basilowitz II. recovered both, with the addition of Astracan; and accordingly styled himself Czar of Casan, Astracan, and Siberia, Grand Prince of Moscow, Wolodimer, and Novogrod, Lord of Plescow, &c. and Powelitel which signifies Imperator, Commander, and Samoderschitz Self-preserver, or Sovereign, of all the Russias. These titles remained undisputed till the year 1721, when the archbishop of Novogrod, to ungratiate himself with his prince, persuaded Peter the Great to change the Russian word Powelitel, into its equivalent in Latin, and call himself Imperator. This occasioned some altercations, arising from difficulties in point of ceremonial and rank, with the other courts of Europe; but at length the title of Emperor was universally allowed.

and power. The Russian empire has been an undivided inheritance ever since the time of John Basilowitz I. and females are not excluded from it. In 1722, the emperor Peter the Great published an ordonnance, by which the succession was wholly to depend upon the will and pleasure of the reigning sovereign: and this is the only written fundamental law relative to the succession in Russia, where the power of the emperor is quite absolute and unlimited.

[f] Voltaire.

Court, and attendants. The Russian court has always been very numerous and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the bojars, or privy-counsellors, with all the officers of each precase; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, having titles of honour and distinction, without any salary. On public feasts or ceremonies, all these received rich gowns of brocade, lined with furs, from the treasury, which they returned as soon as the appearance was over: but the czar Peter I. abolished these formalities, without settling any other court; some said, to save the expence during the wars he was engaged in; others, from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraints [g]. On any ceremony, he was attended by the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of [h].

Orders of knighthood. The first, and most honourable, is that of St. Andrew, or the blue ribbon, instituted by Peter the Great, in 1698, in honour of St. Andrew, the patron of Russia. The empress Catharine gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its ensigns, motto, and collar.

The second is the order of St. Alexander Newski, or the red ribbon, which was indeed instituted by Peter I. but the czarina Catherine first conferred it in the year 1725. This order has also its badge and motto.

The third is a female order, which Peter the Great founded in 1714, in honour of his consort Catherine; and from her name he called it the order of St. Catherine.

Formerly, the chief dignity in Russia, next to the great-duke, was that of sunderstravoi conische, or lord-high-steward; but that office was suppressed when Zuiski, who had it, was raised to the crown [i]. The greatest now, is that of dworetzkoi, or chancellor; after whom come the grand-master of the household; the orusnitschei, or master of the horse; the treasurer, comptroller, chamberlain, tasters, harbingers, &c. [k]

Table. An hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a-day at the Russian court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court-purveyor receives for this purpose two thousand rubels every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown-estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices [l].

Revenues. The revenues of the Russian empire are variously computed. Voltaire says [m], that, according to a state of the

[g] Lord Whitworth, p. 6. [h] Busching. [i] Olearius, lib. iii. [k] Fletcher, chap. xxvii. [l] Busching. [m] Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, p. 69.

Russian

Russian finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of rubels, reckoning only the taxes and duties that were paid in money, and excluding what was paid in kind; to which he adds, that this sum was then sufficient to maintain three hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred soldiers and sailors; and that both the revenues and troops have increased since. M. Busching [n] agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates at near a fifth part, in consequence of an imperial ukase, or edict, issued in 1752 by the present empress Elizabeth; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress's whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only about ten millions of rubles. Whichever of these authors is right, it is very certain that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the Russian dominions; that they do not all consist of ready money, the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of Siberia paying their tribute in furs; and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

They arise from the annual capitation or poll-tax; from the demesne lands, occupied by three hundred and sixty-thousand peasants; from the revenues of the cabaques, or inns and drinking houses, which are in all about two millions; the privilege of selling beer, mead, and spirits distilled from corn, being monopolized by the crown; from the tolls and customs by sea and land; from the continual trade carried on by the crown, in iron, pot-ash, ashes of the willow-tree, rhubarb, tar, and train-oil; from the salt-works; the duty on stampt-paper; a tax on all law-suits, which pay ten per cent. of the value contested; oven or chimney-money; all hackney horses and carriages; and likewise all bath-stoves, of which every village has one in public, and every fashionable house one in particular; from the abbey-lands, since their being managed by a secular commission for the benefit of the crown; from the caravans to China; the exportation of sail cloth; and the revenue from coining.

The annual charge of the fleet, and the canal of Cronstadt, amounts to one million two hundred thousand rubles, for which part of the cabaque, or revenue arising from the sale of liquors, is appropriated.

The charge of maintaining the army is about four million rubles, which is defrayed by the poll-tax.

The annual charge of the civil list, in the time of Peter I. did not exceed fifty or sixty thousand rubles; but in the reign of the empress Anne, the salaries of the court-officers

[n] Geog. vol. i. p. 402.

alone amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand rubles. In the present reign they are not less than one hundred and ninety thousand rubles; and the total of the annual expences of the crown is about a million of rubles.

The great-duke, or heir apparent, is allowed two hundred thousand rubles a-year, for the maintenance of his household.

The annual allowance to the Russian ministers at foreign courts, is about eight hundred thousand rubles. Those from foreign courts to the Russian, are defrayed at the expence of this last.

Army. By the indefatigable care of Peter the Great, the military establishment of Russia has been entirely new modelled. Before his time, the greatest part of the infantry consisted of strelitzes, who, being honoured with particular privileges, as the czar's body-guards, arrogated to themselves a power which often proved dangerous even to the emperor's life. But Peter I. suppressed both the name and the corps. The Russians at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined: but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the German footing. The army is cloathed once in two years. The crown finds the arms and horses of the common troopers; but the nobility are obliged to furnish horses for the dragoons.

The Russian land-forces may be ranked under the general division of regular and irregular offensive, and regular and irregular defensive troops [d].

The offensive regulars, in time of peace, are quartered in the several provinces, where every company build their barracks in vacant places; three single men, or one that is married, being allowed a room and a garden; and the common soldiers may work for the country people for wages; but no soldier is suffered to go into the villages or farmers houses without permission of his officer. They are exercised three days in every month; and to keep them from falling into idleness, they are obliged to repair the canals and roads throughout the empire, every three years.

The offensive irregulars are gentlemen volunteers, the Don and other Cossacks, the Calmuks, and sixty thousand Tartars. The rest of these are reckoned among the defensive troops belonging to each government, because they cannot be used in war, in remote countries, without great difficulty; and besides being continually annoyed by their neighbours, they are almost always obliged to be on duty, to watch their motions.

[d] Strahlenberg, chap. xi.

The

The regular defensive troops, commonly called the black regiments, and computed to be generally ninety-six thousand men, are in garrison, some in the midst of the empire to prevent insurrections and civil broils, and some in the frontier towns.

The defensive irregulars consist of the nobility throughout the whole empire, with their vassals; the country militia in every government; and those of the Cossacks, Calmuks, and Tartars, who are not ranked among the offensive troops. These have neither pay, provisions, nor cloaths of the crown, but only arms and ammunition. They have their own officers, and are dependent on the governor-general in each province.

Navy.

According to the state of the Russian forces drawn up by M. Van Hoven, in the year 1746, the army then consisted of two hundred forty-six thousand four hundred ninety-four regulars, and a hundred and twenty thousand irregulars. The fleet was composed of twenty-four ships of the line, seven frigates, three bomb-ketches, and two praams, or *flat-boats*; besides the galley-fleet at Petersburg, consisting of a hundred and two gallies. The compliment of the whole fleet amounted to ten thousand five hundred and seventy men, of whom seven thousand seven hundred and one are sailors. The fleet has continued pretty nearly the same since that time: for if some ships have been built yearly, others have become unfit for service. The men of war are laid up at Revel and Cronstadt, and the gallies at Petersburg. The Russians cannot as yet be said to have a complete good harbour in the Baltic, the water at Cronstadt being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there; the mouth of the harbour being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands, and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of May. Neither have they now any constant fleet in the Caspian Sea, where, in the time of Peter I. they had some gallies and other vessels, on account of his war with Persia; nor on the Black Sea, where, upon the surrender of Azow to the Turks, some of the ships in those parts were sold to them, and the rest laid up at Stavror on the river Don. Some sea-officers and ship-carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of Siberia, towards Japan, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships: but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made[h].

[h] Strahlenberg, chap. xi.

SECT. VIII.

From the Commencement of the Russian Monarchy, to the Death of the Czar Theodore Iwanowitz, in whom the Lineage of Ruric became extinct, after having reigned upwards of six hundred Years.

Origin of the Russians.

SCYTHIANS, Huns, Massagetes, Sclavonians, Cimbrians, Getes, and Sarmatians, were the ancient inhabitants of the several countries now united under the dominion of the czars of Russia.

Though the origin of the Russians be not prior to the ninth century, an impenetrable obscurity still covers even that not distant period; partly owing to the extreme ignorance and barbarism which then, and, indeed, till of very late years, prevailed among them; and partly to their unaccountable unwillingness to let strangers become acquainted with their history and country (X).

The use of letters was entirely unknown to them before their conversion to Christianity[1]; and the most ancient of their chronologers whose works are now extant in manuscript, is Theodosius, abbot of the convent of Petshow at Kiow, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century (Y).

The

[1] Petreius, part. ii. Strahlenberg, cap. iv.

(X) That the Russians, out of a strange mistaken kind of policy, or perhaps from a desire to conceal their former excessive barbarism, do still make a secret of the history and antiquities of their country, even since arts and sciences have been introduced among them, is attested by many writers, and particularly by baron Strahlenberg and professor Busching, two of the latest authors who have treated of them: and as a farther confirmation of this truth, we may instance the prohibition of the dissertation intended to be published by the learned M. Muller, now professor at Petersburg, De Originibus Gentis & Nominis Russorum.

(Y) He begins his annals from the coming of the Waregers into Russia, and those chronicles have been continued down to the year 1206 by an anonymous writer. Professor Muller of Petersburg, who is certainly much better qualified to write a history of Russia than any other author now living, where he but allowed to do it, has given us, in the first volume of his Sammlung Russischer Geschichte, or *Collection of Russian Transactions*, an abridgment of this Russian manuscript, in High Dutch,

The Russians, properly so called, are certainly colonists in the territories they now inhabit [k]; and derive their origin from the Slavians or Slavonians, corruptly called Sclavonians, who first settled along the banks of the Wolga, and afterwards near the Danube, in the countries now named Bulgaria and Hungary; but being driven from thence by the Wolochers, or Wolotaners, as the Russian writers call them, meaning the Romans, they first removed to the river Boristhenes, or Dnieper, over-ran Poland, and, as it is said, built the city of Kiow. Afterwards they extended their colonies farther north, to the rivers which run into the Ilmen lake, confined the Fins within narrower limits, and laid the foundation of the city of Novogrod. The towns of Smolensk and Tschernikow appear also to have been built by them, though the dates of these events cannot be exactly ascertained (Z).

In the ninth century the Scandinavians, who were Danes, Normans or Norwegians, and Swedes, emigrated from the North, and, crossing the Baltic, went to seek for habitations in Russia [l]. They first subdued the Courlanders, Livonians, and Esthonians, and, extending their conquests still farther, they exacted tribute from the Novogrodians, settled kings over them, and traded as far as Kiow, and even to Greece. These intruders were called Waregers, which, according to professor Muller, signifies *sea-faring people*, or, if derived from the old northern word war, *warlike men*, and was probably first used by the Scandinavians, afterwards by the Russians, and, in time, came to pass for

[k] Busching, vol. i. and Strahlenberg, Introduction. [l] Busching.

Dutch, with notes, wherein he corrects, in some places, the errors of the annalist, to whom he gives the name of Nestor. Monsr. de Voltaire calls him Constantine.

(Z) The Aborigines, or ancient inhabitants, not only in Russia, but all over Siberia, quite to the borders of China, are called Tshudi; for professor Muller, upon enquiring in those parts, by whom the ancient buildings and sepulchral monuments there were erected, and whether they were the works of the Russians? was every where answered by the inhabitants, that those monuments, &c. were set up by the Tshudi, who, in ancient times, had lived in that country. Now these Tshudi, who, as the Russian history informs us, inhabited the north part of Russia antecedently to the present possessors, are properly the Fins, Carelians, and Finnean Esthlanders; for the adjective Tshudski is still retained in the Russian language, as in Tshudskoi Ofero, which is the name they give to the Peipus lake, and Tshudskoi Jasick, by which they mean the Finnean or Esthonian language.

a proper

a proper name. To these Waregers the name of Russes, or Russians, which was entirely unknown before the ninth century, owes its Origin, as several eminent writers have proved (A). They first used it, according to the Russian annals; and the Fins, to this day, though they can assign no reason for it, give the Swedes the name of Russes, or rather Rossa Laine, and style themselves Suoma Laine, that is, *people living among fens or morasses.* From them the Novogrod Sclavonians seem to have borrowed the name of Russes, which they give to all foreigners that come into their country from the North, and which they give to the Waregers; and when these last afterwards became tributaries to the former, they themselves were also included under the name of Russians; as the Gauls, when conquered, were called Franks, and the ancient Britons changed their name into that of Angles, or Englishmen [m]. Those who deduce the origin of the Russians from the ancient Scythians and Sarmatians, or Sauromatians, a point which some writers have laboured greatly, give no farther proof of it than that they possess the country formerly inhabited by those nations; a circumstance which nobody disputes; but they should have considered, that as no family on earth knows its first author, so no people can know their first origin. The etymology of the word Russia is uncertain; for it is neither derived from rosch [n], *a dispersed people*, as some have thought, nor from an imaginary prince of the name of Rus, the brother of Zech and Lech, as others pretend. Nor are the Russians so called from Rus, an ancient city; for the latter rather derived its name from the former, by whom it was inhabited. To give Russia the name of Muscovy, from its capital Moscow, is as improper, as if we should term it the Peterburgian empire; or call France the Parisian monarchy, from Paris, the capital of that kingdom.

It might be worth a critic's while to enquire whether the Waregers, or Waregi, may not possibly have been Franks,

[m] Busching. [n] Ezekiel, chap. xxxviii. ver. 2, 3. and chap. xxxi. ver. 1.

(A) T. S. Bayer de Veragis, tom. iv. Comment. Acad. Scient. Imp. Petrop. p. 275. Erici Jul. Bioerner Sched. Hist. Geograph. de Varegis heroibus Scandianis, & primis Russiæ Dynastis, Stocklomiæ, 1743. 4to. Arvid Mollerus, de Varegia, 1731. Algot Scarinus de Originibus priscæ gentis Varegorum; and professor Muller, in the manuscript of his curious and elaborate work, de Originibus Gentis & Nominis Russorum.

who

who emigrated from the northern part of Europe, called Scandinavia; for though they at first differed much from the Sclavonians in their language, customs, and manner of living: yet the two nations, by degrees, became so connected, and blended together, as not to be distinguished in succeeding times; and to this day the Asiatics call the Europeans, Parengi Franks. We shall find the formation of most states to have been nearly the same.

That Russia, and particularly that part of it which is properly so called, was divided into a great number of petty principalities and lordships, in the dark ages we are speaking off, is certain; but, for want of records relative to those times, either in the Russian writers, or in historians of other nations, we cannot pretend to say, nor indeed is it of any consequence to us to know, what were those several districts, what their boundaries, nor how, or by whom they were governed. Their princes, as despotic as their power would suffer them to be, were continually at war, either to defend themselves, or to invade their neighbours. The most horrid rapine, cruelty, and devastations attended the triumphs of the inhuman conqueror, and all were plunged in the utmost misery and distress; when Gostomisel[p], a principal man among the Novogrodians, by whom he was highly revered for his prudence and understanding, pitying the unhappy fate of his countrymen, and seeing no other probable way to remedy their calamities, advised them, he himself having no male heirs, to apply to their most potent neighbours the Waregers, and offer them the government of their country. The proposal was readily accepted; and three princes, of known abilities and valour, named Ruric, Sineus, and Truwor, who are generally supposed to have been brothers, were sent to govern them. The first of these took up his residence at Ladoga, which some writers call Garderyk, in the principality of Great Novogrod; the second at Bielo Osero, or the *White Lake*; and the third kept his court at Isborsk, or, according to Petreius, at a small town then called Twertzog, in the principality of Pleskow.

Ruric, Sineus, and Truwor elected for their chiefs.

The three brothers reigned amicably, and made considerable additions to their respective territories, all of which at length devolved to Ruric, by the death of Sineus and Truwor, who left no issue; but for want of records we cannot say what these additions were, nor the exact time when the three brothers were invited to Russia.

[p] History of Kiow, and Petreius.

IGOR.

IGOR.

A. D. 878. Ruric died about the year of Christ 878 [q], and left his dominions to his son Igor, a minor, whom he committed to the care of a relation named Olech, who governed with great integrity during the young prince's minority, enlarged his possessions by the conquest of several towns and countries, particularly towards the south; undertook an expedition against Constantinople, which he besieged, but in vain, in his return home, he lost his life by the bite of a serpent [r].

Igor marries Olga. Igor then returned to Plescow, where he married Olga, a lady of the best family in that city, and had by her a son called Swetoslaw. Going to demand tribute of the Drewenses, or Drewliani, as some writers call them, a *Is killed.* people bordering on the Wolga, he was murdered by them. *Olga becomes a Christian.* His widow Olga revenged his death: she went afterwards, for what reason we know not, to Constantinople, where she was baptized, and received the name of Helena.

The emperor John Zimisces was her god-father, and fell in love with her, as we are told: but she, alleging their spiritual alliance, refused to marry him. Her example made some impression upon her subjects, a good number of whom became converts to Christianity; but none upon her son, who reigned for a long while after her death, which happened at Pereslaw, in the eighteenth year of her age, fourteen years after her baptism [s]. The Russians, to this day, rank her among their saints, and commemorate her festival on the 11th of July.

SWETOSLAW.

Swetoslaw was a great warrior, and enlarged his dominions by the acquisition of several new territories: but embarking in an expedition against the Greeks, at the head of a numerous army, he was defeated, and forced to fly to the Peucingians, or, as some Russian writers call them, the Petschenesians, whose prince Malditto killed him treacherously, and made a drinking vessel of his skull (B).

[q] Chron. Kiov. [r] Petreius. [s] Strahlenberg, cap. viii.

(B) Strahlenberg takes these Peucingians, or Petichenesians, to be the same with the Drewliani, mentioned before, who dwelt upon the borders of the Wolga; and infers from their making a drinking vessel of Swetoslaw's skull, which was customary among the ancestors of the Mungals and Calmuks, that they were probably of Hunnian extraction.

Petreius,

Petreius, indeed, says, that this was done by the Greek general, after Swetoslaw had been killed in battle.

Swetoslaw left three sons, Jaropolck, Olech, and Wolodimir, among whom his inheritance was divided. Jarapolck had the province of Kiow; Olech, the country of the Drewliani; and Wolodimir possessed Novogrod. Jaropolck raised an army, with the help of which he killed his brother Olech; and Wolodimir, in his turn, slew Jarapolck. The two former were legitimate: but Wolodimir was born of a concubine, named Malischa [t].

WOLODIMIR,

Inheriting his father's valour, and now sole possessor of a vast dominion, by the murder of his brothers, curbed all the neighbouring princes, awed the factions at home, extended his frontiers, and through the terror of his arms, his subjects enjoyed the sweets of peace, which they had never tasted before. During this happy calm, he demanded in marriage the princess Anne, sister to the Greek emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus. His suit was granted, on condition that he should embrace Christianity, to which he agreed; and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Photius, so famous for his erudition, his quarrels with the church of Rome, and his misfortunes, ordered Anastasius, bishop of Corsun, to baptize the new convert. Wolodimir received the name of Basilius, and twenty thousand of his subjects, say the Russian annals, were christened the same day. To this epocha, of the year 987, Russia owes the first effectual introduction of the Greek religion, to which it has adhered ever since. Michael Syra, or Cyrus, a Greek, sent by Photius, was received as metropolitan, or patriarch, of the whole country. Wolodimir, at the same time, put away all his wives and concubines; of the former of which he had six, according to Petreius, and other writers; and of the latter, upwards of eight hundred. By those wives he had twelve sons, who were baptized with him. The idols of paganism were thrown down; churches and monasteries were erected; towns built; and the arts began to flourish under the auspices of a prince willing and able to protect them. The Sclavonian letters were now first introduced into Russia; and Wolodimir sent missionaries to convert the Bulgarians; but only three or four of their princes came to him, and were baptized [u].

A. D. 976.

A. D. 987.

He embraces Christianity.

This dawn of happiness seemed to presage a lasting series of blessings. But Wolodimir, forgetting what he had himself

Divides his dominions among his twelve sons.

[t] Petreius, ibid.

[u] Strahlenberg, cap. viii.

self experienced in his own brothers, imprudently divided his dominions among his twelve sons. Sovereign power seldom admits of such a distribution. The rival brothers became mortal enemies to one another, and as soon as he was dead, replunged their country into all the horrors of murders, massacres, and civil wars. After a long and prosperous reign, he died in the city of Wolodimir, which he had built, and made his principal residence. He was called, whilst living, the Apostle and Solomon of the Russians, who, to this day, honour him as a saint.

Great part of Lithuania, Podlachia, Red Russia, Upper and Lower Podolia, the duchies of Smolensko, Potoczk, Witepsk, Novogrod, Twer, Muscovy, Severia, Czernicow, and all the countries between the Wilia and the Pripeck, became subject to this prince.

A.D. 1008. These extensive regions, formidable whilst they were united under one sovereign, became weak and defenceless when divided among many. The rage of ambition soon rendered them alternately the theatres of every crime.

Who destroy one another. Suetopolk, one of Wolodimir's sons, lord of the province of Twer, caused two of his brothers to be assassinated, and seized on their duchies. Jaroslaw, to whose share Novogrod had fallen, either from a desire to revenge the murder of his brothers, or willing to make that a pretence for enlarging his own territories, attacked the usurper, and forced him to fly for refuge to Boleslaus I. king of Poland, who received the fugitive prince, espoused his cause, crossed the river Bog at the head of a powerful army, and defeated Jaroslaw. Kiow became the victor's reward, and the new ally of Poland was re-established, but subjected to a tribute [w]. Suetopolk, forgetting the service done him, proved perfidious, as soon as he thought he could be so with impunity; and arming his subjects, endeavoured to destroy his benefactors; but the hand that had raised him, defeated his designs. The perjured Russian received the just punishment of his treachery: his principal cities were delivered up to the Poles, and he himself was obliged to fly from their pursuit.

JAROSLAW.

Jaroslaw becomes sovereign. Jaroslaw recruited his forces, and attacked his other brothers, all of whom he dispossessed of their dominions, which he seized; he then turned his arms against the Cossacks, over whom he gained several advantages; and, encouraged by the rapidity of his successes, resolved once more to try his fortune against the Poles: but he was again obliged to yield to the valour of Boleslaus, and to the dis-

[w] Petreius.

cipline

cipline of troops more experienced than his own. The conqueror contented himself with imposing a new tribute upon Russia, restored to Jaroslaw the prisoners of war, without ransom, confirmed him in his possessions, and reduced by his generosity a rival, whose miscarriages had served only to render him the more enterprising. The Russian prince continued quiet during the remainder of the reign of Boleslaus: but shook off the yoke under his successor, Miceslaus II. a weak and indolent king, who saw his enemies ravage his country, without daring to oppose them. Casimir, more politic than warlike, on his accession to the throne of Poland, prevented the evils with which Jaroslaw still continued to menace that kingdom, by giving up to this last the conquered places then possessed by the Poles, and offering him a lasting friendship, which he proposed to confirm by a marriage with his sister, the daughter of Wolodimir. The offer was gladly accepted. Jaroslaw continued faithfully attached to the interests of his new ally and brother-in-law, and was of singular service to him in all his wars.

This structure of power, which had cost so many crimes, murders, and battles to erect, was again overthrown by Jaroslaw's dividing his dominions among his five sons; whom he named his successors. The horrors of civil war were soon renewed under princes equally able to hurt each other, and equally ambitious. Neither party was weak enough to be forced to submit, nor strong enough to command respect. Izaslaw, prince of Kiow, the eldest among them, distinguished himself by the blackest treachery. Surprising unawares his brother Wzeslaw, duke of Poloczk, and his sons, he put them in irons, and threatened them with immediate death, if they did not renounce all their rights, in his favour. The people, incensed at his inhumanity, took up arms against him; and at the same time Wzewold and Swetoslaw, two of the other brothers, joined to oppose an enemy from whose cruelty and injustice they themselves had no less to fear. Izaslaw was defeated, and Wzeslaw reaped the fruits of the victory; his brothers putting him in possession of the principality of the rival who would have deprived him of his inheritance. Izaslaw, vanquished and pursued, sought refuge in Poland, from Boleslaus II. whom he easily engaged in his interests; that monarch wanting only a pretence to foment the divisions in Russia. Wzeslaw marched with a numerous army of Russians and Walachians, to defend the frontiers of his dominions; but the resolute appearance of the Poles, with the good order and regularity of their disciplined troops, struck him

A.D. 1052.

Divides his dominions among his five sons.

Their quarrels.

him with such terror, that he shamefully fled, and was followed by his soldiers. The king of Poland reinstated the prince his ally in his own duchy, and in that of the cowardly Wzeslaw, who continued to retreat, as fast as the enemy advanced. Boleslaus treated Russia like a conquered country, draining it by enormous exactions, to indulge his profusion and propensity for pleasures, and the unbounded licentiousness which he tolerated in his army. He took possession of the district of Perzemyslia, which he pretended to claim in right of his wife, who was a princess of Russia; but he soon quitted it again, leaving in it a few troops, not sufficient to keep the inhabitants in subjection.

Policy of the Poles to weaken Russia.

This step was, doubtless, the effect of policy; that he might have the plea of revenge to return again into a country, which he was endeavouring to weaken by frequent invasions. What he foresaw, happened; the Poles had no sooner retreated than the Russians revolted; Izaslaw was driven out of his dominions by his brothers; and all Russia was again involved in civil broils, to which Boleslaus quickly added the miseries of a foreign war. Putting himself at the head of a numerous army, he engaged and defeated the confederate princes, and penetrated as far as Kiow, to which he laid siege. This place was well defended, and held out so long, that the enemy began to despair of taking it, when an epidemic distemper broke out in the city, and made greater havock than all the ravages of war. Boleslaus then offered his assistance to its distressed inhabitants, and won them by his humanity. The Russians looked upon him as their protector, rather than their conqueror. He made this country tributary to his crown; re-established Izaslaw in his duchy, rather in quality of governor under him than as sovereign; divided among the sons of Izaslaw, the dominions which belonged to their uncles; and married his own son Miceslaus to the princess Eudoxia, daughter of Swetopolk, duke of Novogrod.

They become masters of Kiow.

The Russians invade Poland, and are defeated.

The severity of the Polish government, and the disgrace of bearing a foreign yoke, roused the Russians again to arms. Their sovereigns formed four armies, with which they invaded Poland on different sides, and afterwards assembled on the banks of the Vistula, in order to return in a body into their own country, and by that junction, preserve their booty and prisoners. But Boleslaus III. duke of Bohemia, and afterwards king of Poland, cut off their passage, defeated and despoiled them of all the fruits of their depredations.

WOLO-

WOLODIMIR II.

When foreign nations suffered Russia to enjoy tranquillity, its own sovereigns were continually raising intestine commotions. One of these, more fortunate and more enterprising than the rest, Wolodimir II. nephew to Izaslaw, possessed himself of the greatest part of these countries, and caused himself to be declared monomach, or sole universal monarch [w]. He transferred his whole power to his son Wsewold II. but this last plunged the state into fresh disorder, by dividing his dominions amongst his children, who set up so many separate states, that were incessantly employed in destroying each other. These rival princes renewed the horrid scenes of treachery, assassinations, domestic animosities, and fratricides. The Tartars, a people who live by rapine, availed themselves of these divisions to make incursions into Russia, and glut themselves with carnage, of which they are as greedy as of plunder. A.D 1106.

Divides his dominions among his children.

The Tartars invade Russia.

The principalities of Wolodimir, Halitz, and Kiow, though considerable when united, were not able separately to resist the frequent incursions of the Poles. However, Jaropolk, duke of the last of these places, collecting all his forces, resolved to make an effort to retaliate upon Poland the injuries he had sustained from that kingdom. The storm was ready to break out under the direction of this active prince, when the Polish count Wloszczoviez, formed and executed alone a scheme for preventing the calamities which threatened his country. Under pretence of being dissatisfied with his court, he desired the Russian prince to afford him an asylum, and promised to devote to him his abilities in the art of war. The duke of Kiow gave too easy credit to the counsels and pretended friendship of the perfidious Pole, who seized him, and carried him away prisoner, through bye-roads, into Poland. Wasilkon, son of Jaropolk, had likewise recourse to artifice to revenge his father. He prevailed on a Hungarian lord to repair to the court of Poland, and solicit a government. The stratagem took, and the Hungarian was put in possession of Willisca, an important place in the palatinate of Cracovia, which he immediately delivered up to the Russians, and even put himself at their head to destroy it by fire and sword, after having first loaded the inhabitants with chains. Not satisfied with this revenge, Wasilkon laid a still more fatal snare for Poland. He deprived Jaroslaw, the ally of that

Jaropolk meditates revenge against the Poles. A.D 1135.

Is betrayed and taken prisoner.

Wasilkon revenges his father Jaropolk.

[w] Petreius, par. ii.

crown, of his duchy of Halitz, and drove him from his dominions. The dispossessed prince implored the assistance of Boleslaus III. Wasilkon, who expected that he would take that step, and had laid his plan accordingly, bribed some of the principal inhabitants of the duchy of Halitz, and prevailed upon them to go to the court of Poland, and represent to Jaroslaw and the king, that their presence, with a few select Polish soldiers, would be sufficient to effect the conquest of the duchy of Halitz; that the inhabitants of that country, and almost all Russia, would second them; and that their enemy was also engaged in a foreign war. These deputies could not be suspected, and what they said bore an air of truth. Boleslaus, desirous to take advantage of these favourable circumstances, hastened away with only a small body of troops, and marched to Russia, as to a sure conquest. Wasilkon, who waited for him with a great army, suffered the Poles to entangle themselves in the defiles, and then fell upon them. Boleslaus, for the first time, was forced to seek his safety in flight, with the shame and grief of having been imposed upon, and of having seen his bravest warriors perish ingloriously, without being able to defend themselves.

A.D. 1182. *Contentions for the duchy of Halitz.*

The hostilities between Russia and Poland continued with the same violence under Boleslaus III. and Casimir II. which last made an irruption into the duchy of Halitz, to reinstate his nephew Miceslaus, who had been driven from thence: but the Russians poisoned him, and offered his dominions to Wladimir, another nephew of the king of Poland. Wladimir, to strengthen himself, sought the assistance of the Hungarians, whose friendship he had experienced before: but Bela, king of Hungary, instead of helping his ally, put him in chains, and took possession of his territories, into which he sent his son Andrew in quality of viceroy. The captive prince, however, escaping from his prison, applied to the Poles, who were always ready to take up arms against the Russians, and with their assistance defeated the Hungarians, and recovered the duchy of Halitz, which he rendered tributary to his late benefactors.

The death of Wladimir occasioned fresh feuds and contentions. The greatest part of the Russian princes asserted, sword in hand, their right to the duchy of Halitz. Romanus, duke of Lucko, took possession of it with the help of Poland, and afterwards became a most implacable enemy to that power, whose vassal he disdained to be. But fortune did not second his high sentiments. Lesko, then general

and

and afterwards king of Poland, killed him in battle on the banks of the Vistula, and made a dreadful slaughter of his numerous army.

The Russians were reduced to a most deplorable situation, perpetually distressed by their own sovereigns, harassed by their neighbours, and exposed to all the calamities of war; when, to complete their misery, the Tartars, still greater savages than themselves, poured in upon them with irresistible fury, and actually made a conquest of their country. History does not inform us of the particulars of this remarkable event, any farther than that innumerable multitudes of those barbarians, headed by their khan Batto, or Battus, after having ravaged great part of Poland and Silesia, broke suddenly into Russia [c], and laid every thing waste before them, marking their steps with every act of cruelty. Most of the Russian princes, including the great-duke George Sevoloditz, were made prisoners, and racked to death: in short, none found mercy, but those who voluntarily acknowleged the Tartars for their lords. The relentless conqueror imposed upon the Russians every thing that is most mortifying in slavery; insisting that they should have no other princes than such as he approved of; and that they should pay him a yearly tribute, to be brought by their sovereigns themselves, who were to present it humbly to the Tartarian ambassador on horseback. They were also to prostrate themselves before the haughty Tartar, to offer him milk to drink, and if any drops of it fell down, to lick them up: a singular mark of servility, worthy of the barbarian who imposed it, and which lasted near two hundred and sixty years.

A D. 1237.

Russia subjected by the Tartars.

MICHAEL SEVOLODITZ ZERNIGOUSKI,

George Sevoloditz, was succeeded by his brother Michael Sevoloditz Zernigouski, who opposed the Tartars, but was defeated by them, and lost his life. He left three sons, Feodor, Alexander, and Andrew, whose wars with each other proved fatal to all three. A son of Alexander, of the same name, was then placed on the throne by the Tartars; and his son Danilow, or Daniel Alexandrowitz, removed his court from Wolodimir to Moscow, where he first assumed the title of Great-duke of Wolodimir and Moscow. Daniel Alexandrowitz left two sons, Gregory and John, the former, surnamed Kalita, from a purse he used always to carry about him filled with money for the poor, ascended the throne; but he was soon assassinated by another prince

[c] Petreius, par. ii.

named Demetri Michaelowitz, who was himself put to death for it by the Tartars; and John, likewise surnamed Kalita, was then made czar. This John left three sons, John, Simon, and Andrew; and the eldest of these, commonly called Iwan Iwanowitz, was made czar with the approbation of the Tartars, on whom he was dependent.

Attacked by the Livonians and Poles.

During these several reigns, which fill a space of upwards of a hundred years, and which all historians have passed over as slightly as we are forced to do, for want of records concerning them, the miseries of a foreign yoke were aggravated by all the calamities of intestine discord and war; whilst the knights of Livonia, or brothers of the Short Sword, as they are sometimes called, a kind of military order of religious, on one side, and the Poles on the other, catching at the opportunity, attacked Russia, and took several of its towns, and even some considerable countries. The Tartars and Russians, whose interests were in this case the same, often united to oppose their common enemies; but were generally worsted. The Livonians took Pleskow, and the Poles made themselves masters of Black Russia, the Ukraine, Podolia, and the city of Kiow. Casimir the Great, one of their kings, carried his conquests still farther. He asserted his pretensions to a part of Russia, in right of his relation to Boleslaus, duke of Halitz, who died without issue, and forcibly possessed himself of the duchies of Perzemyslia, Halitz, and Luckow, and of the districts of Sanock, Lubaczow, and Trebowla; all which countries he made a province of Poland.

Their conquests.
A.D. 1340.

The newly-conquered Russians were ill-disposed to brook the government of the Poles, whose laws and customs were more contrary to their own than those of the Tartars had been. They joined the latter to rid themselves of the yoke, and assembled an army numerous enough to overwhelm all Poland, but destitute of valour and discipline. Casimir, undaunted by this deluge of barbarians, presented himself at the head of a few troops, on the borders of the Vistula, and obliged his enemies to retire.

DEMETRIUS IWANOWITZ.

Demetrius Iwanowitz endeavours to shake off the yoke.

Demetrius Iwanowitz, son of Iwan Iwanowitz, who commanded in Moscow, made frequent efforts to rid himself of the galling yoke. He defeated in several battles Mamay khan of the Tartars, and when conqueror, refused to pay them any tribute, and assumed the title of Great Duke of Muscovy. But the oppressors of the North returned in greater numbers than before; and Demetrius, at length overpowered, after a struggle of three years, perished with his

his whole army, which, if we may credit historians, amounted to upwards of two hundred and forty thousand men.

BASILIUS DEMETRIWITZ.

Basilius Demetriwitz revenged his father's death. He attacked his enemies, drove them out of his dominions, and conquered Bulgaria [d]. Equally politic and brave, he made an alliance with the Poles, whom he could not subdue, and even ceded to them a part of his country, on condition that they should help him to defend the rest against any new incursions of the Tartars. But this treaty was a weak barrier against ambition. The Russians found new enemies in their allies, and the Tartars soon returned. All endeavours to establish a peace merely by conventions, will ever prove ineffectual: a nation is not secure, whilst its neighbours have the power of hurting it.

Various fortune of Basilius the Blind.

Basilius Demetriwitz had a son called after his name, to whom the crown ought naturally to have descended. But the father, suspecting his legitimacy, left it to his own brother Gregory, a man of a severe and tyrannical disposition, and therefore hated by the people, who asserted the son's right, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The Tartars took cognizance of the dispute, and determined it in favour of Basilius; upon which Gregory had recourse to arms, drove his nephew from Moscow to the principality of Uglitz, and forcibly usurped and kept possession of his throne. Upon the death of Gregory, Basilius returned to Moscow; but Andrew and Demetrius, sons of the late usurper, laid siege to that city, and obliged him to retire to the monastery of Troitz, where they took him prisoner, with his wife and son, and put out his eyes; hence he acquired the appellation of Jemnoi, *blind*, by which this Basilius is distinguished. The subjects of this unfortunate prince, incensed at the cruel treatment he had received, forced the perpetrators of it to fly to Novogrod, and reinstated their lawful sovereign at Moscow [e], where he died.

The impenetrable darkness in which the history of the Russians has been hitherto involved, such as baffles all envours to trace either the regular succession of their sovereigns, or the several dynasties into which they were divided, from the time of their first monarch Ruric, down to this period, begins now to clear up a little. Their transactions become important to other nations, the historians of which,

[d] Petreius, par. ii. [e] Petreius, par. ii. & Herbertstein ap. Script. Rer. Moscovit. p. 6.

for they have not had any of their own, afford us some, though still very imperfect accounts of them; but even these will soon fail us again. What time has obliterated, or what perhaps never was recorded, we cannot call back from oblivion. Perpetually exposed to the fatal vicissitudes of both foreign and domestic wars, inexpressibly distressed by the bloody contests of its own disunited princes, and plunged into all the miseries of complicated slavery, Russia was now become a prey to the Poles as well as to the Tartars, who seemed to vie with each other which should dispose of the empire and its sovereigns. The right of conquest, which subsists no longer than whilst it is supported by power, became a title continually disputed, an inexhaustible source of cruelty and oppression.

JOHN BASILOWITZ I.

A.D. 1450. In the midst of this general confusion arose one of those men, whom violent passions inspire with boldness, activity, and resolution; in whom impetuous vices sometimes produce the happy effects of heroic virtues. John Basilowitz I. by his invincible spirit and refined policy [f], became both the conqueror and deliverer of his country, and laid the first foundation of its future grandeur. Observing, with indignation, the narrow limits of his power at his accession to the throne, after the death of his father Basilius the Blind, he began immediately to revolve within himself the means of enlarging his dominions. Marriage, though he had in reality no regard or inclination for women [g], seemed to him one of the best expedients he could begin with; and accordingly he demanded and obtained Maria, sister of Michael duke of Twer, whom he soon after deposed, under pretence of revenging the injuries done to his father, and added this duchy to his own territories of Moscow. Maria, by whom he had a son named John, who died before him, did not live long; and upon her death he married Sophia, daughter of Thomas Paleologus, who had been driven from Constantinople, and forced to take shelter at Rome, where the pope portioned this princess [h], in hopes of procuring thereby great advantages to the Romish religion: but his expectations were frustrated, Sophia being obliged to conform to the Greek church, after her arrival in Russia. What could induce Basilowitz to seek a consort at such a

f Cromerus de Orig. & Reb. Gest. Polon. lib. xxix. ap. Pist. Polon. Rer. tom. ii. p. 807. g Herberstein, Com. Rer. Moscov. p. 8. & Bodinus de Repub. lib. v. cap. i. p. 771. h P. Jovius, de Legat. Muscovit. inter. Script. Rer. Muscovit. p. 129. Du Cange, Famil. August. Byzant, p. 248.

city,

distance, it is not easy to explain; unless it be, that he hoped by this expedient to establish a pretension to the empire of the East, to which her father was the next heir: but however that may be, the Russians certainly owed to this alliance, their deliverance from the Tartar yoke. Her husband going to meet their ambassadors at some distance from the city, and standing to hear what they had to say whilst they were at dinner; Sophia told him, that she was surprised to find she had married a servant to the Tartars [j]. Nettled at this reproach, Basilius feigned himself ill when the next deputation from the Tartars arrived, and under that pretence avoided a repetition of the stipulated humiliating ceremonial. Another circumstance equally displeasing to this princess, was, that the Tartars had, by agreement, within the walls of the palace at Moscow, houses in which their ministers resided, to shew their power, and at the same time watch the actions of the great-duke [k]. To get rid of these, a formal embassy was sent to the Tartarian khan, to tell him, that Sophia having been favoured with a vision from above, ordered her to build a temple in the place where those houses stood, her mind could not be at ease till she had fulfilled the divine command, and therefore his leave was desired to pull them down. The khan consented; the houses within the kremlin were demolished, and no new habitation being provided, the Tartar residents were obliged to leave Moscow; their prince not being able to revenge this breach of promise, by reason of a war he was then engaged in with the Poles. Basilowitz, taking advantage of this circumstance, and having in the mean time considerably increased his forces, openly disclaimed all subjection to the Tartars, attacked their dominions, and made himself master of Casan, where he was solemnly crowned with the diadem of that kingdom, which is said to be the same that is now used for the coronation of the Russian sovereigns. The province of Permia, with great part of Lapland and Asiatic Bulgaria, soon submitted to him; and Great Novogrod, a city then so famous that the Russians used to express its vast importance by the proverbial expression of, "Who can resist God and Great Novogrod?" was reduced by his generals after a seven years siege, and yielded him an immense treasure: no less, say some writers [l], than three hundred cart-loads of gold and silver, and other valuable effects. Alexander Witold, waiwode of Lithuania, was in possession of this rich place, from which he had exacted for some

Shakes off the yoke of the Tartars.

His conquests.

A.D. 1477.

[j] Herbertstein, p. 8. [k] Petrei Chron. Muscovit. p. 168.
[l] Petreius, par. ii. Guagninus, Descript. Moscov. p. 163.

years an annual tribute of one hundred thousand rubles, a prodigious sum for those days, and for that country, when it was taken by John Basilowitz, who, the better to secure his conquest, politicly put it under the protection of the Poles[m], voluntarily rendered himself their tributary for it, and accepted a governor from the hand of their king Casimir, a weak and indolent prince, from whom he well knew he had nothing to fear. The Novogrodians continued to enjoy all their privileges till about two years after this transaction; when John, ambitious of reigning without controul, entered their city with a numerous retinue, under pretence of keeping to the Greek faith some of its inhabitants, who, said he, intended to embrace the Romish religion[n]; and, with the assistance of their archbishop Theophilus stripped them of all their remaining riches. He then deposed the treacherous prelate, and established over Novogrod new magistrates, creatures of his own; destroying at once, by these means, a noble city, which, had its liberties been protected, and its trade encouraged, might have proved to him an inexhaustible fund of wealth. All the north beheld, with terror and astonishment, the rapid increase of the victor's power: foreign nations courted his alliance; and the several petty princes of Russia submitted to him without resistance.

The Poles, however, complained loudly of his late breach of faith in regard to Novogrod, and threatened revenge; upon which Basilowitz, elated with his success, with the riches he had amassed, and despising the weak condition of most of his neighbours, sent a body of troops into Lithuania, and soon became master of several of its towns. Casimir applied for assistance to Matthias, king of Hungary; but was answered by this last, that his own soldiers were quite undisciplined; that his auxiliaries had lately mutinied for want of pay; and that it was impossible for him to raise a new army out of the neighbouring countries. The Polish monarch, in this distress, was obliged to purchase of John a cessation of arms for two years, during which the Muscovite made new accessions to his dominions.

The dukes of Servia, whose territories were about five hundred miles in extent[o], had long thought themselves ill used by the Lithuanians on account of their religion, which was that of the Greek church. They wanted to withdraw

[m] Matthias de Michovia, Chron. Reg. Polon. lib. iv. cap. lxxii.
[n] Russouwen's Lief Chron. p. 50.
[o] Petreius, p. 52. Neugebaur, lib. vi. p. 424.

from

from their subjection to Poland, and put themselves under the protection of Russia. The following accident afforded them the wished for pretence. Their envoys arriving at Wilna, desired admittance to the king's presence; which being refused, one of them endeavoured to force his way; but the porter shut the door rudely against him, and, in so doing, broke one of his fingers. The servant was immediately put to death for this offence; but the Servians, by no means satisfied with that reparation, returned home in great fury, and prevailed upon their countrymen to submit themselves and their country to the Muscovites. Casimir made several attempts to recall them; but to no purpose. A D. 1490.

Servia submits to the Russians.

Matthias, king of Hungary, dying about this time, two of his sons, Uladislaus, then king of Bohemia, and John Albert, contended for the vacant crown. Casimir wanted to give it to the latter, whom he accordingly assisted to the utmost of his power. That he might be able to exert himself the more on this occasion, though he was in great want of money as well as men, he purchased a renewal of the truce with the Russians, and thereby gave John Basilowitz time to establish himself in his new acquisitions [p].

Casimir died in the year 1492, and was succeeded on the throne of Poland by his son John Albert, who, totally disregarding the Russians, involved himself unnecessarily in a war with the brave Stephen, duke of Moldavia: though he had, at the same time, both the Tartars and Turks against him, his propensity to pleasure, and his lascivious disposition, rendered him so indolent, that he not only did not so much as attempt to molest Basilowitz in any of his possessions, but concluded a peace with him on terms very advantageous to the latter. He even entered into a treaty by which he engaged not to assist the Lithuanians, though they had chosen his brother Alexander for their duke, in case they should be attacked by the Russians [q]. Alexander, thinking to avoid the inconveniences of this agreement, and to guard against the designs of his enemies, demanded in marriage, and obtained Helena, daughter of Basilowitz, by his second wife Sophia. The Lithuanians then flattered themselves with a prospect of tranquillity [r]; but the ambitious czar, for Basilowitz had assumed that title since his conquest of Casan, aiming only at an increase of dominion, soon found a pretence for breaking with his new allies, by alleging, that Polish Russia, as far as the river Berezina,

John Basilowitz makes peace with Poland.

[p] Cromerus, lib. xxix. p. 812. Michovius, lib. iv. cap. lxxv. p. 242. Cromerus, ubi supra. Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 53.

[q] Neugebauer, p. 420 &

[r] Herberstein. p. 7. Cro-

had

had formerly belonged to his ancestors, and therefore should be his; and that Alexander, by his marriage-contract, had engaged to build a Greek church at Wilna for his Russian consort, which he had not done, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to force the Polish Russians to embrace the religion of the church of Rome. In consequence of this plea, he sent into the territories of his son-in-law, by different ways, three armies, which reduced several A.D.1500. places, destroyed the country about Smolensko, and defeated the Lithuanian field-marshal Ostrofsky, near the river Wedrasch, where he fell unawares into an ambush of the Russians[s]. Alexander raised a new army of Silesians, Bohemians, and Moravians; but they came too late, the Russians having retired with their plunder.

The Russians defeat the Lithuanians.

A.D.1502. Elated by their success against the Lithuanians, they invaded Livonia in the year 1502, with a hundred and thirty thousand men: but Walter Von Plettenberg, grand-master of the Knights of the Cross, with only twelve thousand men, gave them a total overthrow; killing ten thousand of his enemies, with scarce any loss on his own side. Basilowitz, dispirited by this defeat, and being then engaged in war with the Tartars, the Poles, and the city of Pleskow, immediately dispatched an embassy to Plettenberg, and concluded a truce with him for fifty years. At the same time he begged of that general to send to Moscow, that he might see him, one of the iron dragoons, as he called them, who had performed wonders in the late engagement. Von Plettenberg readily complied; and the czar, struck with admiration, rewarded the curiassier's extraordinary accomplishments, with considerable honours and presents.

Are defeated by the Livonians.

John Basilowitz again attacks the Poles.

Alexander had been elected king of Poland, upon the death of his brother John Albert, which happened in the beginning of this year; but the Poles refused to crown his consort Helena, because she adhered to the Greek religion[t]. Provoked at this affront, and probably still more stimulated by ambition, Basilowitz resolved again to try his fortune with them, and accordingly ordered his son Demetrius, who was now the eldest, to march against Smolensko, and reduce that city. The young prince did all that could be done; but the vigorous resistance of the besieged, and the arrival of the king of Poland with a numerous army, obliged the Russians to raise the siege, and return home[u]; and the czar was glad to make a fresh truce with the Poles for

[s] Petreius. p. 167. & Guagninus, tom. ii. Rer. Polon. p. 397.
[t] Stanislai Starnicii Annales, lib. vii. p. 273. [u] Michovius, lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 49. Cromerus, p. 826.

six

six years, upon the easy terms of only returning the prisoners he had taken [u]. Some writers say, that flying into a violent passion with his son the moment he saw him, and imputing the miscarriage of this expedition to his want of courage or conduct, he gave him a blow which laid him dead at his feet; but this fact, which very much resembles what has been unjustly imputed to John Basilowitz II. as the cause of the death of his son, is not confirmed by authors whose authority can be relied on. Certain it is, however, that neither of them long survived this event, and that Demetrius died first; for Sophia, who had gained an absolute ascendant over her husband, and wanted to give the sovereignty to her own children, persuaded him, by various artful insinuations, to set aside and imprison his grandson Demetrius, the only child of the late John, whom he had by his first wife Maria, and declare her then eldest son, Gabriel, his successor (C). Age and infirmities had rendered the czar so weak, that he blindly followed this iniquitous advice: but shortly after, finding his end approach, he sent for young Demetrius, expressed great repentance for his barbarity towards him, and, on his death-bed, declared him his lawful successor [w]. He died [x] in November, 1505, after a reign of fifty-five years; leaving behind him an immense territory, chiefly of his own acquiring. A.D 1503. *Declares his grandson Demetrius his successor.* *His death,*

John Basilowitz may justly be looked upon as one of the founders of the vast empire of Russia. He had all the qualities which constitute a conqueror; an enterprising genius, an intrepid soul, and an indefatigable body; but, at the same time, he had all the vices of a barbarous age, and all the ferocity of his savage country. Battles, bloodshed, and the miseries of war, were his chief delight. He fought and triumphed with that ascendancy which is the result of confidence and a happy temerity, and had the art of bringing to a sort of discipline, men who, before his time, had not even an idea of regularity, either in attacking others, or defending themselves. His air was commanding, his stature gigantic, his strength surprising, and his look fierce and terrible. *and character.*

[u] Herberstein, p. 8. Guagini, Chron. Pol. tom. ii. p. 397.
[w] Herberstein, p. 7. Petreius, par. ii.
[x] Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 57.

(C) John Basilowitz had five sons by his second wife Sophia, viz. Demetrius, who died before his father, as we have just observed, this Gabriel, Gregory, Simon, and Andrew.

Cromerus

Cromerus says, he never took the field but once in person, and that the success of his generals was entirely owing to his secret management; and baron Herberstein observes, that Stephen, duke of Moldavia, used often to wonder how Basilowitz enlarged his dominions without labour or pains, whilst he himself could scarcely defend his own by continual wars. That the policy by which this czar effected almost every thing he did, was such as never respected even the most sacred ties, when he could get any thing by breaking through them, is evident from his actions. History has not transmitted to us so many particulars as we could wish of all his conquests, nor of his wars with the Poles and Swedes, particularly with these last, under their administrator Steen Sture, about the year 1479. The depredations of time, and the want of records, necessarily occasion chasms in all histories, which later writers cannot fill up. Though he punished drunkenness severely in others, and, to prevent it, prohibited the selling of strong liquors, he was himself greatly addicted to excessive drinking, scarce a day passing without his being intoxicated at dinner, when he would fall asleep at table, his attendants waiting in silent dread till he awoke, when he generally gave a loose to mirth[y]. The poor were never suffered to approach him, nor were his ears ever open to their complaints[z]. Yet, even in his life-time, he was styled the Great. His conquests, indeed, might intitle him to that distinction, as has been the case with others; but we see nothing else that could. It was reserved for another czar truly to merit that glorious appellation, by being the father of his people. Basilowitz first encircled Moscow with a wall; and the city of Iwangorod was built by him in one summer[a]. He also enlarged the titles of the Russian sovereigns, styling himself great duke of Wolodimir, Moscow, and Novogrod, and lord of all the Russias.

BASILIUS IWANOWITZ.

A.D 1505. John Basilowitz was no sooner dead, than his son Gabriel Iwanowitz, at the instigation of his mother Sophia, sacrificed the young Demetrius, by confining him again in a prison, where he perished; some say, of hunger and cold. During the short time this unfortunate prince survived his grandfather, Gabriel styled himself only guardian of the realm[b]; but upon his death, he ascended the throne, was crowned by the name of Basilius, which he liked better than

[y] Herberstein. p. 11. [z] Cromerus, p 831. [a] Petreius, p. 166. Herberstein. p. 8. [b] Cromer. lib. xxx. p. 831, 832.

that

that of Gabriel, and took all the titles then belonging to the sovereignty, to which some say he first added that of czar: but it seems more probable that this title had been assumed before by his father, upon his conquest of Casan.

Alexander, king of Poland, concluding that Russia would now be distracted a-new by factions and civil wars, which might afford him an opportunity of recovering what his father had lost, marched into Lithuania, to be in readiness to act: but after having waited there some time, finding that there was no possibility of relieving or setting up the young Demetrius, he returned home, and died next year. Basilius, in his turn, expected that the Poles would quarrel, as usual, about the choice of a new king, and prepared to take advantage of their dissentions: but his expectations being frustrated by their unanimous election of Sigismund I. a prince of a mild and peaceable disposition, he sent an army into Lithuania, and laid siege to Smolensko, under pretence that his sister Helena had not been treated with the respect due to her dignity as queen-dowager, since the demise of her late husband. The besieged made a brave resistance, till news arriving that the crown-troops of Poland were coming to their assistance, with the additional aid of eighty thousand Crim-Tartars, and that they intended also to invade Russia, the Muscovites returned home with great speed [s], and their czar, excessively alarmed, thought of suing for peace on almost any terms; when an unexpected incident revived his hopes, by bringing to him one of the ablest generals of that age. A.D. 1507.

Glinski goes over to the Russians.

Michael Glinski, governor of Lithuania, after having been in high favour with king Alexander of Poland, found his credit decline under his successor Sigismund, chiefly through the means of Zabrezinius, grand-marshal of Lithuania, who charged him with a design to render himself independent. Glinski's haughty and enterprising spirit, rendered the accusation probable; and numbers of enemies, who envied his wealth and power, joined their efforts to ruin him. He petitioned to be heard in his justification; but his request not being immediately granted, he fell upon Zabrezinius at Grodno, and of his own authority [t] put him to death. As he could not expect that Sigismund would pardon this outrage, he took up arms, seized several strong places in Lithuania, plundered that province, and fled with his riches to Moscow, where he was well received by Basilius, who gave him a considerable command, with which he made

[s] Herb. p. 9. Petreius, p. 170. [t] Decius, p. 302.

several

several conquests for the Russians. Glinski's party in Lithuania was, however, soon dispersed by the crown-army of Poland; whose commander, duke Constantine Ostrofski, penetrating to the very gates of Moscow, made the czar tremble upon his throne, and forced him to submit to such conditions as the victors thought proper to impose. A treaty was concluded, and ratified at Wilna the following year, by which all the places taken by Glinski in Lithuania were restored, and he and his whole family were banished to Moscow [x].

The Poles invade Russia.

Basilius, dissembling his resentment, remained quiet for some time; after which, pretending to set out upon some other expedition, he marched with a numerous army, and encamped near Plescow, where the Poles, relying on the late treaty, and not dreaming of his having any design against them, visited his camp, as that of their friend and ally. But in the mean time the Muscovite priests of the Greek church at Plescow, pursuant to the instructions they had privately received before hand, preached to the people the expediency of having a sovereign of their own religion; and wrought them up to such a pitch, that they murdered their magistrates, and opened their gates to the czar; who, becoming by this expedient master of the whole duchy of Plescow, made its inhabitants slaves, sent them away to different parts of Russia, and replaced them with Muscovites, the better to secure his conquest [y]. The Poles could not stop the progress of this revolution, after it had once begun; the emperor Maximilian, who had taken umbrage at their power, being then in league with the czar, and meditating an invasion of Lithuania, to guard against which their troops were fully employed.

A. D. 1510.

He takes Plescow by treachery.

Elated with this success, Basilius led an army of sixty thousand men into Lithuania, upon Glinski's assurance that he would certainly put him in possession of Smolensko; the sovereignty of which the czar promised to give, in that case, to him and his heirs. The country about the city was laid waste, and its walls were battered so long, to no purpose, that the Russians began to think of raising the siege, when Glinski, by dint of money, for that was his grand resource, found means to bribe the commanding officers of the garrison, and procured a surrender of the place. Basilius entered it the next day, and sent to Moscow every thing of value that he found in the city. Glinski then claimed his

[x] Puffend. tom. ii. p. 254. [y] Herberst. p. 56. Decius, p. 308. Heidenst. de Bello Moscov. lib. iv. p. 395.

promise,

promise, of which the Russian monarch, thinking he could now do without him, or not chusing to trust him too far, eluded the performance; and shortly after, through a series of misfortunes incident to men of his towering spirit, he fell into disgrace with Basilius, who suspected that he wanted also to betray him, upon which he was arrested and imprisoned. In effect, Glinski is said actually to have made his terms with Sigismund, and obtained pardon of all his former offences, on condition that he should let the Poles take back what the Russians had conquered from them in Lithuania [z]; and Basilius, either believing, or pretending to believe him guilty, secured him in a strong prison. *Glinski disgraced in Russia.*

The Swedes, alarmed at the success of the Russians in taking Pleskow and Smolensko, and at their prodigious armies, which they feared might at last be directed against them, desired a prolongation of the truce between the two crowns, for sixty years longer, to which request the czar readily agreed [a]; though it proved, in fact, a suspension of hostilities only for a short time. Lithuania was still the principal object of Basilius's designs; in order to push that point, he ordered Iwan Czeladin, a man of great resolution, and enterprizing even to rashness, to march thither with eighty thousand men. The army of the Poles, which did not exceed thirty-five thousand, including the Lithuanians, commanded by the brave and experienced duke Ostrofski, met them on the opposite banks of the Dnieper, near Orsova, and passed that rapid river in their sight. Czeladin's officers advised him to fall upon the enemy when about half of them had crossed over: but, confident of success, he answered, that the rest of them would then run away, and that he was determined to gain a complete victory. The Lithuanians began the attack, but were repulsed by the Russians, who, imprudently following them, lost an advantageous situation, and found themselves at once exposed to the full fire of the enemy's artillery. The Polish cavalry then rushed in among them, sword-in-hand, and made dreadful havock; the trembling Russians scarce attempting even to defend themselves. Those who endeavoured to fly were driven into the Dnieper and drowned; and the conqueror, when weary of massacring, made slaves of the rest. At the head of these captives stood the haughty Czeladin, foaming with rage, and cursing his stars, for a misfortune which his own vanity alone had brought upon him. Some writers say, his confidence was such, that he left his artillery behind him, in order to march the faster; *The truce between Russia and Sweden prolonged.* A.D. 1514. *The battle of Orsova.*

[z] Neugeb. liv. vii. p. 467. [a] Puffend. tom. ii. p. 254.

and

and it is pretty certain, that the Russians were greatly incumbered in this battle by cuirasses, which they had not been used to wear. The prisoners were put in irons, and carried to Wilna, where baron Herbenstein says, he saw several persons of distinction, among whom was Czeladin himself, reduced to such misery as even to ask for a few dollars [b].

Basilius was at Smolensko when he received the news of this defeat of his army; upon which, after having furnished that place with provisions and ammunition, which Ostrofski's negligence, in not improving his victory, gave him time to do, he left in it a strong garrison, and hastened to Moscow, lest his brother should take advantage of his absence and overthrow. The Poles, too late, laid siege to Smolensko, but were obliged to raise it; partly by the brave defence of the besieged, partly by the approach of winter, for the battle of Orsova was fought on the 8th of September, and partly by the mutiny of their own soldiers, who, thinking they had got booty enough, resolved to go home to enjoy the spoil.

The pope ordered public thanksgivings for this victory of the Poles, and Sigismund, to shew his gratitude for that favour, sent an embassy to his holiness, with a present of fourteen bojars taken in the late battle. But these last were stopped near Inspruck, by order of the emperor Maximilian, who after having treated them handsomely at Vienna, ordered them to be conveyed back to Basilius from Lubeck, to the great mortification of the pious Polish king; who declared, that he looked upon this proceeding as a violation of the law of nations.

A.D 1515. *Basilius's dangers increase.*

In the mean time Basilius's danger increased daily, and every prospect of advantage from his alliance with Maximilian vanished at once. The Crim Tartars not only made incursions into Russia, since the battle of Orsova, but threatened a new invasion; and the emperor, having gained his point with Sigismund of Poland, and Uladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, by a double marriage, which secured to him the succession of these last kingdoms, sent an ambassador to the czar, to desire him to desist from farther hostilities. Maximilian's former ambassador, who had solicited and promoted the war from its very beginning, was still at Moscow, and had not intimated any thing concerning this change of measures; so that Basilius, not knowing what to make of this last, whose name was Oderum, treated him as a spy, and had him secured, till,

The emperor breaks off his alliance with him.

[b] Guagn. tom. ii. p. 360. Herb. p. 9. Petreius. p. 17, & alii.

about

about two months after, he was convinced of his character, but still he could not succeed, nor obtain from Basilius any answer to carry back to his master, other than, that the emperor had deserted him at an unseasonable time, and that he could not put so sudden a stop to a war, which his imperial majesty himself had desired him to begin. It was to settle this affair that baron Herberstein, who has left us an account of his journey, and of the state and history of Russia, was sent to Moscow by the emperor Maximilian. This ambassador tried all his skill to persuade the czar to make peace with the Poles; and likewise presented him a particular letter from that monarch in behalf of Glinski, requesting his release: but he would not listen to either proposition [i].

A. D. 1516.

Solicits in vain for Glinski's release.

Basilius undertook an expedition into Livonia; but his troops were so severely handled there by Walter of Plettenberg, that he was obliged to sue for peace, and accept it even upon dishonourable terms, from that grand-master of the Knights of the Cross. What those terms were, history does not inform us. Some advantages which he gained in the countries of Petzora, Samogitia, Obdora, and over the Nogaian Tartars, might help, in some measure, to console him: but a new storm broke out in his empire, and threatened to bury him in its ruins.

Basilius is unsuccessful in Livonia.

Sigismund, resolving if possible to put an end to the war, agreed with the Crim Tartars, by money and fair promises, that they should invade Muscovy on their side, whilst he would attack it on that of Opotzka. Basilius got early information of this treaty: upon which he sent ambassadors to the Tartars, with orders artfully to represent to them, that Lithuania, being then unprovided with troops, would afford them a rich and easy booty; and that the Poles, secure and careless since their last victory, would naturally imagine that they were arming against the Muscovites, in consequence of their late agreement. The hint was relished, and the Tartar khan entered Podolia, which he over-ran and ravaged without mercy; whilst Basilius, under favour of this diversion, ventured to attack Lithuania again: but his success was small, and he was soon obliged to withdraw his troops, for the defence of his own dominions, which the Tartars, equally treacherous to him, invaded with eighty thousand horse [k]. To palliate their behaviour to the Poles, from whom they carried off a prodigious booty, they pretended that their khan's two sons,

Sigismund stirs up the Tartars.

Basilius counterplots him.

[i] Decius, p. 335. Herb. p. 80. Herb. ubi supra. Decius, p. 335.

[k] Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 476.

who were young and impetuous, had been the cause of this accident; but that, to prove their honesty (the czar, perhaps, had not performed his promise to them), they would invade the Muscovites; which they soon after did effectually. Basilius sent an army to oppose them; but his troops were defeated, and forced to abandon a considerable part of their country, which the enemy plundered and laid waste.

The Tartars invade Moscovy.

A.D.1518. This check made the czar think of peace with the Poles: but, upon his refusing to restore Smolensko, as one of the conditions of it, Sigismund detached into Muscovy a considerable body of horse, who brought back with them great spoils and many prisoners. About the same time the Polish troops who had laid siege to Opotzka, under the command of their general Suirezou, were defeated and driven away; the next year the Russians were worsted before Polocz; and the year after, they were obliged to quit Lithuania. Mutual embassies were then sent from each of these contending sovereigns to the other. Sigismund insisted on having Smolensko returned: and Basilius, to elude that point, artfully protracted the negociation so as to give room to think he might be brought to it by degrees, and in the mean while to keep on seemingly good terms; a policy which answered his interests particularly at that time, as he expected another visit from the Tartars, in which he was not mistaken.

Various success of the Russians and Poles.

A.D.1520.

Those of Casan, who had been conquered by John Basiwitz I. revolted, and were subdued again towards the beginning of the reign of this czar, his son; who, to punish them, appointed for their king, under him, one Scheale, a Tartar, of the royal family; a man excessively deformed, frightful to behold, and of a still more shocking disposition of mind[1]. Supported by the Russians, to whom he at the same time bore a mortal hatred, he governed with unbounded cruelty and despotism. The crim khan, Mendligerei, had married Nursultan, the widow of two kings of Casan, and had by her two sons; Machmetgerei, who succeeded him, and Sapgerei. Nursultan had no children living by her former marriages. The Casan Tartars, abhorring Scheale's administration, and, detesting their subjection to the Russians, represented to Machmetgerei their distressed condition, and begged of him, to give them for their king his brother Sapgerei, that they might once more recover their liberty; assuring him, in return, that he

The Crim Tartars are joined by those of Casan.

[1] Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 477. Decius, p. 338. Herb. p. 67. Struys, tom. i. p. 448.

might

might ever depend on their gratitude and affection. Sapgerei was conducted to Casan by his brother, and crowned there; whilst Scheale, upon the news of their approach, fled with great precipitation. A.D. 1521.

They invade Russia, take Moscow, and again subject the czar to a tribute.

The Tartars then, with an innumerable force, entered Russia, ravaged that country, where the czar, not expecting them quite so soon, was yet unprepared to receive them, and penetrated to Moscow, of which they made themselves masters. An army which had been sent to oppose their progress, till such time as more troops could be raised, was defeated by them near the river Occa, and the czar's brother, Andrew, who commanded it, was the very first that ran away. Basilius, with difficulty, made his escape to Novogrod; so terrified, that he hid himself by the way under a hay-cock, to avoid a straggling party of the enemy. The Tartars, however, soon obliged him to sign a writing, by which he acknowleged himself their vassal, and promised to pay them a tribute of so much a-head for every one of his subjects: Machmetgerei, after having caused his own statute to be set up in Moscow, as a mark of his sovereignty, compelled the fugitive Russian monarch to return to his capital; to bring thither in person the first payment of his tribute; and, as a token of his submission, to prostrate himself before that statue. Machmetgerei then left Moscow, and returned home with an immense booty, and upwards of eighty thousand prisoners[m], who were made slaves, and sold like cattle to the Turks, and other enemies of the Christians. In his way back, he attempted to take Rezan; but was repulsed with considerable loss by Iwan Kowen, who commanded in that place for the Russians, and narrowly escaped with life, his coat being shot through with a musket-ball. The Muscovites pulled down Machmetgeri's statue, broke it to pieces, and shook off their yoke, as soon as their conquerors had left them.

They leave Moscow.

Basilius concludes a truce with the Poles.

His treachery against the duke of Servia.

Basilius now talked of nothing but being revenged on the Tartars; as a previous step to which he sent ambassadors to king Sigismund of Poland, to remove all obstructions on that side, and concluded a truce with him for five years. Another obstacle which gave umbrage to the czar, was Basilius Semetzitz, duke of Servia, a politic and warlike prince, who had always kept himself independent, and whose extensive territories bordered upon the Russian dominions. To remove this powerful, and therefore dangerous neighbour, Basilius Iwanowitz procured accusations,

[m] Herb. p. 368. Petreius, p. 91. Neugeb. lib. viii. p. 497.

charging him with a design to put himself under the protection of Poland, and take up arms against the state of Moscow. Semetzitz thereupon desired a safe-conduct, that he might go to Moscow, to justify himself. His request was granted, and he was received there with great honours and distinction: but on the third day after his arrival in that city, he was seized and thrown into a prison, where baron Herberstein saw him five years after. Basilius took possession of his duchy, and then marched with a large army to the borders of Casan; from whence he returned back, after having built there the city of Basilogorod [n], without so much as attempting any one military exploit.

Whose dominions he seizes.

His fruitless expedition against Casan.

He seemed to be more in earnest next year, when he sent against Casan an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men, who might have done great things if their generals had been fit to command: but one of them, through fear and neglect, exposed his part of the troops to imminent danger of perishing with hunger, and missed several opportunities of making conquests; and the other, secure and indolent, lost about ninety ships laden with provisions and ammunition, on the river Wolga, whilst he was asleep. It was, indeed, generally suspected, that the Tartars had not been sparing of their gold to either of these commanders. The most that they did, was hiring a few incendiaries to set fire to Casan, whilst they looked tamely on; plundering part of the flat country around it, and persuading the Tartars to send ambassadors to Basilius, to treat of an accommodation: which in fact they did: but their negociations were carried on so slowly, that baron Herberstein found them still at Moscow, when he was there on his second embassy; and there was not then the least appearance of a peace. This was in the year 1526, when, the emperor Maximilian being dead, this baron and count Neugarol were sent to Basilius by the emperor Charles V. and his brother, the archduke Ferdinand, partly to renew the former treaty between the two crowns, which the czar had desired by his ambassador at Vienna, and partly to try to mediate peace [o] between Russia and Poland (D).

The Tartars send ambassadors to treat of peace.

A.D. 1526. Towards the beginning of this year Basilius put away his consort Salomea, because, after having lived with her near twenty-one years, she had never borne him a child.

Basilius repudiates his wife Salomea, on account of her being barren;

[n] Herb. p. 51. [o] Idem, de Legat. secund. p. 111.

(D) Baron Herberstein's first embassy to the court of Moscow was from the emperor Maximilian.

Before

Before he espoused her, which was in the year 1505, immediately after his accession to the throne, he called together his council and the principal persons in his dominions, and desired them to declare, whether it would be most conducive to the good of his country, that he should marry a native or a foreigner. They all agreed that it would be best to marry one of their own nation; for that a foreign princess would introduce many new modes and customs, occasion vast expences, and, besides, be of another religion. This advice was particularly enforced by one Micrus, a Grecian nobleman, in great favour with the czar, and much beloved by the people, in hopes that Basilius would pitch upon his daughter, who was reckoned a great beauty. However, no less than fifteen hundred young ladies were assembled, and out of them he chose this Salomea, the daughter of Iwan Saburow. The unfortunate czarina was now conducted to a convent, where she was forced to put on the nun's habit; and, upon her breaking out into invectives against the czar for this cruel treatment, his prime minister Iwan Schygona, exhibited a specimen of the Russian manners, by scourging her with a horse-whip, for daring to abuse her lord [p].

and marries Glinski's niece Helena.

Basilius then, either repenting his severity against Glinski, and conceiving a more favourable opinion of him, or knowing his great abilities, and willing to secure his fidelity at any rate, married that imprisoned nobleman's niece, Helena. Glinski was set at liberty, promoted to greater honours than before, and even appointed one of the regents of the state, in case of the czar's demise, and joint-guardian, with two others, of the czarina and her children, if she should have any [q].

Salomea said to be delivered of a son in the convent to which she was banished.

Salomea was almost forgot, when news came to court that she was big with child in the convent; and two ladies of distinction, one of whom was wife to the high-treasurer, protested that they had been so informed by Salomea herself, that they had seen her, and that she had every visible mark of an advanced pregnancy. The czar sent for them, questioned them personally, and, finding their report agree with the public rumour, rewarded their intelligence with a hearty drubbing administered with his own hand. Astonished, however, and alarmed, he sent to the convent persons in whom he could confide, to enquire into the truth of this strange affair. Salomea, upon their arrival, went directly into the church, laid her hands upon the altar, and in their presence called God to witness, that she had

[p] Herb. ubi supra. Petreius, p. 178. Herb. p. 19.

[q] Petreius, p. 118.

been a true and faithful wife to Basilius, than whom she had never known any other man, and that she had actually been delivered of a son, who would appear at a proper time, and revenge her wrongs; but that they were not worthy to see him then. The return of these messengers threw Basilius into fresh perplexities. Convinced that, if she had borne a child, it was not of his begetting, he was going to condemn her to severe punishment, and closer confinement; but his friends advised him rather to drop the affair, and let it sink into oblivion.

Basilius renews the truce with the Poles.

The emperor's ministers still continued to exert their endeavours to mediate a reconciliation between the Russians and the Poles, and at length prevailed so far, that Basilius told them the king of Poland might send his ambassadors to Moscow to treat about peace. Sigismund did so; but their negociations, after many evasions and delays on the part of the czar, who was bent upon keeping Smolensko, ended only in a renewal of the truce between the two nations for five years longer [r].

The Russians defeat the Tartars; but are again defeated and invaded by them.

Basilius then thinking seriously of reducing the Casan Tartars, sent an army against them, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their troops, but could not force them to submit. On the contrary, in the year 1533, their allies, the Crim Tartars, defeated the Russians again near the river Occa, and entered their territories, which they laid waste with fire and sword. By this time the last truce with Poland had expired, and Sigismund, having again demanded and been positively refused the restitution of Smolensko, began to prepare for war: but, naturally averse to all violence, though in ever so just a cause, he proceeded slowly, and, in the mean while, Basilius was taken ill, and died, leaving behind him two sons, John and Gregory, by his wife Helena [s].

Basilius's death and character.

Oderborn, Petrius, and some other writers, natives of countries at enmity with the Russians, charge this czar with crimes of which he does not seem to have been guilty. Had he been so fond of blood as they pretend, he would undoubtedly have put to death both Glinski and Semetzitz, instead of only confining them: nor would he have suppressed, as he did, the proceedings against his brother Andrew, for running away at the battle on the Occa; for which he deserved, and probably would have been sentenced to die. That he did not regard his word, a vice

[r] Herb. p. 19. Petreius, p. 180, & seq. P. Oderb. de Vit. Basil. lib. i. p. 251. Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 519 [s] Leuen. de Bell. Moscov. tom. iii. p. 131. Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 534.

common

common to the age he lived in, and to the Russians in particular, at all times, is certain; as it also is, that he was too weak and pusillanimous to support with honour the weight of a crown not yet well established. The terror with which Russia kept its neighbours in awe during the preceding reign, gave way to contempt under this: their territories, accordingly, became a prey to their enemies, and the state would have fallen again into the same confusion that prevailed in former ages, had it been again divided; but fatal experience had shewn the danger of diminishing the sovereign power. Basilius, by his will, left it to his eldest son John; expressly excluding his own two brothers, George and Andrew, and appointing Glinski and two others, guardians to both his children, and to his widow. Even P. Jovius acknowleges, that he was beloved and honoured by his people; and baron Herberstein [t] confirms this character of him.

Glinski perishes through the artifices of his niece Helena.

Petreius, whose account is confirmed by Reutenfels, and several others, describes Helena as a woman of abandoned morals and excessively dissolute behaviour: he adds, that her uncle Glinski, now regent, taking upon him to reprove her for her scandalous lewdness, particularly with one Iwan Ozani; she found means to trump up an accusation against him, charging him with a design to send the young princes to Poland, and usurp the crown. This charge was so strongly enforced by persons whom she bribed, that the states and people of Russia declared him a traitor, and committed him to a prison, where he ended his days miserably; but seeing their error soon after, they poisoned Helena, seized her gallant, tied him to a spit, and roasted him alive [u]. A.D. 1533.

JOHN BASILOWITZ II.

BY the death of Basilius, the crown descended to his son Iwan, or John Basilowitz II. (E) an infant; not five years of age. His uncles, Andrew and George, endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from him, but miscarried in their attempt, through the care and vigilance of his faithful guardians.

t Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 534. Herb. p. 19. Petreius, p. 181.
u Petreius de Reb. Moscov. lib. i. cap. xi. & xii. Oderb. lib. i. p. 251. Herb. p. 19. Neugeb. Bechman, & alii.

(E) The addition of witz, at the end of the name, denotes, among the Russians, that the person to whom it is given is the eldest son of a very great family, and frequently the presumptive heir to the crown: as here, Basilowitz, means the son of Basilius.

Hostilities between the Russians and the Poles.

The Poles, taking advantage of this minority, made themselves masters of Starodub, but not of its fortress, and burnt Smolensko, though they could not reduce its castle, which was so fortified as to baffle all the military skill of those days. The approach of winter obliged them to retire; but next year, in the middle of that rigorous season, the Russians invaded and laid waste Lithuania; and the year after, the Poles took the castle of Starodub, with a great booty, and several prisoners of distinction [w].

Extraordinary embassy from the czar to the emperor Charles V.

In the mean time Basilowitz applied himself to such studies as might qualify him to govern his vast dominions. As soon as he had entered his nineteenth year, he sent a splendid embassy to the emperor Charles V. who was then at Augsburg, to desire a renewal of the treaty of friendship which had been concluded between his father and the emperor Maximilian; and he offered to enter into a league with him against the Turks, as enemies to the Christian religion; for his farther information in which, particularly in regard to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Latin church, he requested that his ambassador might be allowed to send from Germany to Russia proper priests, to instruct him and his subjects. With these, he likewise desired to have some wise and experienced statesmen, able to civilize the wild people under his government; and also, the better to help to polish them, architects, artists, and mechanics of every kind; in return for all which, he offered to furnish two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years together, to be employed in the war against the Turks.

Artists, &c. intended for Russia, are stopped at Lubec,

The emperor Charles readily agreed to the czar's desire; and the Russian ambassador engaged upwards of three hundred expert German artists, who were directed to repair to Lubec, in order to proceed from thence to Livonia. But the Lubeckers, who were very powerful at that time, and aimed at nothing less than engrossing the whole commerce of the North, stopped them, and represented strongly to the emperor, in the name of all the merchants of Livonia, the dangerous consequence of thus affording instruction to the Russians, who would soon avail themselves of it to ruin their trade, and distress the subjects of his imperial majesty. The workmen and others, intended for Russia, were easily persuaded to return to their respective homes; and the czar's ambassador was arrested upon his arrival at Lubec, and imprisoned there at the suit of the Livonians. He made his escape, indeed, shortly after: but Basilowitz,

and the czar's ambassador imprisoned there.

[w] Herb. p. 19, & 80. Oderb. lib. i. p. 253. Petreius, p. 182. Neug. lib. vii. p. 539.

highly

highly incensed at these proceedings, vowed, and soon took ample revenge on the daring authors of this insolence.

Basilowitz invades Casan.

Prudence, however, directed him to suspend his resentment for a while. He was then at war with those formidable enemies, the Tartars of Casan, who had made the Russians feel the weight of their tyranny. His father, Basilius, had began to break their strength, and he resolved to finish that great undertaking. The territories of Casan were conquered, after a war of seven years; but the capital of that name, well fortified, and bravely defended, made such resistance, as quite disheartened the besiegers, and made them think of abandoning their enterprize. Basilowitz, being informed of this circumstance, hastened to them with a considerable reinforcement, endeavoured to revive their drooping courage, and exhorted them to push the siege with redoubled vigour. Some listened to him, and prepared to obey his orders; but the greater number, deaf to all remonstrances, proceeded to mutiny, and fell upon their comrades, who were for continuing the war. Basilowitz, alarmed at this event, rushed in among the combatants, and with great difficulty parted them: but neither menaces nor intreaties, nor even a promise of giving them the whole plunder of the city, could prevail on them to prosecute the siege. Their rage went even so far as to threaten the life of their sovereign; who was obliged to make the best of his way to Moscow; and the mutineers, no longer regarding any command, likewise returned thither [x].

His troops mutiny, and he is forced to return home.

He punishes the rebels.

Justly incensed at this daring rebellion, by which the majesty and authority of the prince were set at nought, all discipline subverted, and a door opened to disorders, which, if suffered to increase, could not but end in the total destruction of the state; Basilowitz saw the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment on the ringleaders of the sedition. Accordingly, having selected a guard of two thousand of his best troops, he announced a great feast, to which he invited his principal nobles and officers, and, according to the custom of the Russians, gave them very rich garments; the chiefs of the sedition being presented with suits of black velvet. After the dinner, he made a speech to the company, setting forth the behaviour of his troops in the camp before Casan, their contempt of his commands, and their conspiracy to take away his life: he

[x] Henning, Lief. Chron. cap. vi. Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 569. Leuenc. p. 137. Chyt. Saxon. p. 428. Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 60. Oderb. lib. ii. p. 269.

expressed

expressed his concern, that the instigators of such wickedness were to be found among those who were styled, and who ought to be, his faithful counsellors; and that those who knew themselves to be guilty of such atrocious crimes, could not do better than voluntarily to confess their faults, if they wished for any kind of mercy. Most of them immediately threw themselves at his feet, and acknowleged their guilt: upon which, some of the most criminal were ordered to be executed; but the greatest part were only imprisoned.

Attacks the Tartars again.

Immediately after this act of justice, Basiliowitz marched again with a fresh army, and re-invested Casan. The siege went on again but slowly, and the Russians began to be dispirited: upon which the czar ordered his pioneers to undermine the walls of the citadel, a practice then quite unknown to the Tartars. This work being completed, he directed his priests to read a solemn mass to his whole army, at the head of which he himself afterwards spent some time in private prayer, and then ordered fire to be set to the powder, which acted so effectually, that great part of the fortification was instantly blown up. The Muscovites, rushing into the city, sword-in-hand, made a dreadful slaughter; whilst the astonished Tartars, crowding out at a gate on the opposite side, crossed the river Casanka, and fled into the forests. Among the numerous prisoners taken on this occasion, were Simeon, king of Casan, and his queen, both of whom were sent to Moscow, where they were treated with the utmost civility and respect, particularly by the czar himself, whom Simeon out-lived [x].

A.D. 1552.

Takes Casan, with its king;

A.D. 1554.

Basilowitz, leaving in Casan a strong garrison of Russians only, in order to secure to himself a place on which a kingdom depended [y], carried his victorious arms into Astracan, and soon reduced the capital of that country.

and Astracan.

The young czar's ambition began now to expand itself mightily; and the west, which he prepared next to attack, seemed to offer him a fine opportunity to extend his dominions on that side also. The truce which John Basilowitz I. had concluded with the Livonians for fifty years, was expired: upon which Jodocus a Reck, archbishop of Dorpt, and canon of Munster in Westphalia, sensible of the danger he was exposed to by his vicinity to the Russians, desired the czar to grant him a prolongation of peace,

Dorpt and the Livonians agree to terms with Basilowitz;

[x] Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 61. Marg. Etat. de l'Emp. de Russie, p. 2. [y] Petreius, p. 98. Heid. de Bell. Muscov. lib. i. p. 334. Russouw. ubi supra. Olear. p. 218.

Basilowitz

Baſilowitz bid him chuſe, whether he would have a truce for five years longer, on condition that all the inhabitants of his archbiſhoprick ſhould pay to him the annual tribute of a fifth part of a ducat for each perſon, which the people of Dorpt had formerly agreed to pay to the grand-dukes of Pleſcow; or for twenty years, on the farther condition, that he and the Livonians ſhould rebuild all the Ruſſian churches which had been demoliſhed in their territories, at the time of the reformation, and allow his ſubjects the free exerciſe of their religion [z]. Jodocus evaded giving an anſwer to theſe propoſals, as long as he could: and at laſt, finding that the affair grew ſerious, he ſqueezed out of his people a large ſum of money, and fled with it to Munſter, where he reſigned his prebend, and took a wife. His ſucceſſor, whoſe name was Herman, and the deputies from Livonia, accepted of the czar's conditions, and ſwore to obſerve them, with the addition of this clauſe, which ſoon gave great diſguſt to the Livonians in general, but which the prelate of Dorpt inſiſted on, that the prieſts of the Romiſh communion ſhould be exempted from paying tribute [a].

which the Livonians violate; being joined by the Swedes.

That the Livonians did not intend to keep to this agreement, even when their deputies ſwore to obſerve it faithfully, is evident from their being at that very time in treaty with Guſtavus Vaſa, king of Sweden, whom they had ſolicited to join with them in attacking Ruſſia [b]. Some differences which had ariſen between Ruſſia and Sweden, owing to the governors of their frontier provinces, who had plundered one another, made Guſtavus very ready to comply with theſe ſolicitations: but Baſilowitz, who had very early intelligence of their deſigns, entered Finland, under pretence that their king Magnus had engaged, in the fourteenth century, to cede a part of that country to the Ruſſians, who were come to take poſſeſſion of it, as the promiſe had not yet been performed [c]. They accordingly laid ſiege to Wiburg: upon which Sigiſmund, king of Poland, being applied to by the Swedes, promiſed Guſtavus, not only that the Hanſe Towns, which had annoyed him greatly, ſhould not moleſt him during this invaſion, but that he himſelf would ſend a conſiderable force to join him in Finland, in caſe he entered that country. Depending on theſe aſſurances, Guſtavus marched thither directly with a nu-

Whereupon Baſilowitz invades Finland.

[z] Bred. Bell. Livon. 229. Leuen. ap. Piſtor. tom. v. Rer. Polon. p. 134. Neugeb. lib. viii. p. 577. Chytr. p 472. Von. Galen's Account of Livonia, p. 92. [a] Thuan. ad an. 1558. [b] Neugeb. p. 561. [c] Puffend. Swed.

merous

A.D. 1556. merous army; but neither the Poles nor the Livonians giving him, in reality, the least assistance, and his men perishing daily, he was forced to conclude a peace with the czar; who, on his side, was equally glad of an accommodation, his troops having suffered greatly, without making any progress [d].

Where he makes a peace with Sweden.

A private quarrel reduces the Livonians to great distress.

Finland was at this time absolutely governed by William of Furstenberg, grand-master of the Livonian knights, and the archbishop of Riga; a quarrel among whom greatly facilitated the designs of Basilowitz on that country. The archbishop, after having attempted to set himself above the grand-master, even in the direction of civil affairs, to take the precedency of him on all occasions, and to persecute those who had embraced the confession of Augsberg, in favour of which Furstenberg had distinguished himself greatly, chose for his coadjutor in the archbishoprick of Riga, Christopher duke of Mecklenburg [e]; a step from which, joined to the great abilities, and the haughty temper of this lord, the knights of the Cross apprehended they had reason to fear the same fate as had befallen the Teutonic order in Prussia; and which was expressly contrary to the convention of Volmar, whereby it was stipulated, that no foreigner should be raised to that high dignity, without the consent of the whole order of the knights of Livonia [f]. These discontents were so heightened by letters said to be intercepted from the archbishop to his brother Albert, duke of Prussia, inviting this last totally to suppress the order of Livonian knights, and to secularise their possessions, particularly in Finland, that an open war broke out between the contending parties, and the archbishop was seized and made prisoner; though both he and his brother protested that the letters in question were forged [g]. He was, however, soon released, through the mediation of the emperor of Germany, and other potentates, backed by powerful preparations of the Prussians and Poles to avenge his cause: but in the mean time Livonia was exhausted of its riches, and reduced to great distress, by this unhappy dispute [h].

A.D. 1557. Matters being somewhat settled at home, the Livonians sent to the czar, to know whether he was inclined to receive ambassadors from them, and to conclude a peace. Basilowitz answered, that he could not think the Livonians meant really to treat of peace, whilst they kept six thousand German soldiers in their pay: that it rather looked as if

They send ambassadors to desire peace.

[d] Leuencl. p. 131. [e] Ibid. p. 133. [f] Henn. Lief. Chron. Newgeb. p. 593, 594. Chyt. Saxon. p. 479. [g] Leuencl. p. 133.
[h] Oderb. Vit. Basil. lib. ii. p. 275.

they

they thought to intimidate him; and that they must therefore begin with dismissing those troops, after which step he would hear them. They immediately complied, for the power of resisting was no longer in their hands, and sent a magnificent embassy to Russia.

Basilowitz applies again to the Germans for artists, &c. but without effect.

In the mean ttime Basilowitz ordered his ambassador at Vienna to remind the emperor Ferdinand, and the empire, of the letter he had written in the year 1548, to the emperor Charles; to repeat the offer he had then made of depositing as much money as should produce two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years, to be employed in a war against the Turks, besides furnishing some thousands of Russians, to be maintained at his own expence: to assure them, that his zeal for the welfare of Christianity made him wish, not only to chastize the insolence of those unbelievers, who persecuted the faithful in the East, and wrested from them the empire of that part of the world; but also to bring about an union of the Greek and Latin churches, which his father Basilius had endeavoured to effect, as well with the emperor Maximilian as with the popes Adrian and Clement. He declared, that his particular reason for desiring to have German artists and officers, rather than those of any other nation, which he could easily procure from France and Italy, was, that he knew the Germans to be an upright, virtuous, and honest people; that they were his neighbours; and that he himself reigned over those very countries in Scythia, which had formerly been the seat of the Teutons. He added, that he desired to raise only one battalion of foot, and one squadron of horse, in Germany, on the express condition that they should never be employed against any Christian power, but only against the Turks and Tartars; and that he would give twenty-five of the sons of his richest nobles, as hostages for the performance of what he promised. All these arguments were strongly urged, and seemingly listened to; but none of them took effect: the imperial court plainly seeing the czar's real drift, which was, to introduce the arts, and military discipline, among his own people.

His reception of the Livonian ambassadors,

The Livonian ambassadors were received with great distinction at Moscow, and, according to the custom of the Russian court, entertained there for some time, at the expence of the crown. They even stood godfathers to a son of the czar, before they had an audience. Mean while Basilowitz learnt, that the Livonians had at last concluded a perpetual confederacy with the Poles against the Russians. A few days after, he gave them a pompous audience, at which, upon their applying for peace, he asked them, whether

ther they had brought the Dorpt tribute. They answered, that they had searched the records of their country with great care, and could not find that they owed any tribute to the Muscovites. Basilowitz, incensed at this reply, told them, he wondered how they could so soon forget their late solemn oath; that he plainly saw they depended on being assisted by the emperor, in which they would be mistaken; and that he should order proper people to conduct them back to the frontiers of his dominions. He well knew that any succours the emperor might give them, would be long in coming; and, to gain the greater time, he artfully ordered the guides, that were to attend them, to lead them through round-about-ways; a stratagem which succeeded so well, that they did not reach their own country till the month of February in the following year[i].

A.D. 1558.

and declaration of war.

Whilst they were pursuing their journey homeward through long and tedious roads; Basilowitz sent a messenger to the Livonians, by a shorter way, to tell them, that they should soon feel the weight of his resentment for their perfidious behaviour, and that he then declared war against them[k].

The Russians ravage Livonia.

This message was immediately followed by an army of a hundred thousand men, who penetrated into the district of Dorpt before the end of January, and laid every thing waste before them, with such acts of barbarity, as would be shocking to relate. They then entered the territories of Riga, which they treated with equal inhumanity; and at length retired with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of prisoners; leaving the desolated Livonians to repent at leisure their ill-timed parsimony in refusing to pay the Dorpt tribute, which would not have amounted to above fifty thousand dollars.

The Livonians sue for peace;

A comet, which appeared about this time, served greatly to heighten the fears of the Livonians. Their states met at Wenden, to consider what measures they should take. Those who had suffered most, were for continuing the war: but others, who feared the like fate, thought it most advisable to try to soften the czar, by offering him a present of thirty thousand ducats, which would be but a trifle in comparison of what they might lose by farther hostilities. This advice prevailed; and the czar, being made acquainted with the result of the deliberation, agreed to a truce for four months, and declared his readiness to receive

[i] Basilidis Epist. ap. Leuencl. p. 136. & Bred. p. 216. Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 69. [k] Henning, Lief. Thuan. ad an. 1558. Leuencl. p. 137.

their

their envoys. Ambassadors were accordingly sent; but upon their arrival at Moscow, they found the face of affairs entirely altered. The Livonian governor of the city of Narva, out of an idle frolic, had fired some of his cannon against Iwanagrod, or Russian Narva, situated on the other side of the river, and killed several of the czar's subjects, who were assembled in an open place, quite unarmed. The Russians, respecting the truce, did not even attempt to make reprisals: but they sent immediate notice of this insult to Basilowitz; who, highly incensed at it, told the Livonian ambassadors, upon their arrival, that he looked upon their nation as a set of perjured wretches, who had renounced all honesty, as well as their old religion: that they might go back with their money and proposals, and let their countrymen know, that his vengeance would soon overtake them.

but the negociation is broken off by an accident.

In effect, the ambassadors were scarcely arrived in Livonia, when Peter, surnamed Sisegaledrii, who had been a famous pirate in the Euxine sea, entered the district of Narva, with an army of three hundred thousand Russians, well provided with artillery and ammunition, took the city of Narva in nine days, and afterwards made himself master of Dorpt, where he found an immense treasure[l]. The garrisons of several other places, intimidated by the approach of these numerous enemies, quitted their posts; so that the Russians subdued great part of Livonia, almost without opposition. The duke of Mecklenburg, now co-adjutor to the archbishop of Riga, attempted, indeed, to stem the torrent, but was not able to stop its progress; and Gothard Kettler, grand-master of the knights of Livonia, intreated Christian III. king of Denmark, to take Riga, Reval, and the countries of Garnland, Wirrland, and Esthonia, under his protection: but the avanced age of that monarch, the distance of the places, and the want of sufficient power to withstand so potent an adversary, made him decline the offer. He, however, assisted them with some money and powder, of which they were in great want[m].

The Russians take Narva and Dorpt, and over-run Livonia.

The Livonians apply to the king of Denmark, but to little purpose;

The trade which the then powerful Lubeckers used to carry on to Russia, by the way of Riga and Reval, being stopped by these wars; Basilowitz opened a new channel through Narva, by which he was pleutifully supplied with all sorts of merchandize and military stores. Gothard Kettler, in the beginning of the next year, applied to the

A.D.1559.

and endeavour to prevent the trade of the Lubeckers with Russia.

[l] Henning, f. 12. 6. Leuencl. p. 139. Bred. p. 233 Thuan. ubi supra. Neugeb. lib. viii. p. 600. [m] Russouw. Lief. Chron. f. 67. 6.

emperor,

emperor, requesting him to interpose in favour of the Livonians, who were greatly injured, while their enemies were extremely benefited, by the trade of the Lubeckers; and his imperial majesty, in consequence of this representation, wrote to Gustavus, king of Sweden, desiring him, as master of the eastern sea, to put a stop to the traffic thus complained of. Gustavus was grown old, and did not chuse to embark in new quarrels; so that this letter had but little effect [n]. The states of Reval and the knights of the Cross then fitted out ships of their own, to cruise against those of Lubec, some of which they took in their way to Narva, and with them some vessels belonging to the Swedes. The Lubeckers applied, in their turn, to the emperor, and obtained of him leave to carry all sorts of goods to Russia, guns excepted, and a letter to the grand-master Kettler, enjoining him to make them satisfaction for the damage they had sustained. Eric also, who succeeded to the crown of Sweden upon the death of his father Gustavus, not only gave the precedency to the Russian ambassadors before those of Poland, but repeatedly warned the grand-master of the Livonian knights to restore what had been taken from his subjects, and not to molest his seas any more [o]. At the same time the emperor and the empire, after many consultations, sent him word, that that they could not possibly assist him with troops, but would give him a hundred thousand florins in lieu of men. Either piqued at this treatment, or thinking the sum too small, Kettler took his resolution, and put himself under the protection of the Poles [p].

The Livonian knights put themselves under the protection of the Poles.

Conquests of the Russians in Livonia.

The Russians, this year, returning to Livonia, for the third time, with a powerful army, took Marienburg, laid waste the district of Riga, destroyed Garnland, and penetrated to the very gates of Reval. Felin, in which was the best artillery of the whole country, became theirs by the treachery of its garrison; and with it they took the old grand-master of the Livonian order, William of Furstenberg, whom they carried to Moscow, where he ended his days in a prison set apart for noblemen [q]. Wittenstein baffled their efforts; but they totally defeated the Livonian cavalry, and made most of their principal officers prisoners [r]. Some writers relate, that when these captives were carried through the streets of Moscow, and shewn, by way of

[n] Puffend. ibid. p. 842. Thuan. ad an. 1559. [o] Henning, p. 26. [p] Russ. Lief. Chron. p. 76. [q] Neugeb. lib. viii. p 602. Thuan. ad an. 1560. Chyt. Saxon. p. 520. Henn. Lief. Chron. p. 72, 73. [r] Russ. Lief. Chron. p. 72.

fight,

sight, to the people, the two dethroned kings of Casan and Astracan, spit in their faces, saying, "This is good enough for you German dogs, who put into the hands of the Muscovites the rod with which they first chastised us, and now punish you."

The distracted situation of Livonia, at this time, induced the bishop of Oesel to sell his bishoprick to Ferdinand, king of Denmark, who exchanged it with his brother, duke Magnus, for a part of Holstein. The Livonians, and particularly the greatest part of their nobility, readily acquiesced in this agreement, chusing to be governed by a powerful prince rather than by a helpless grand-master; and Magnus was accordingly received with uncommon joy: but, attempting to carry things with too high a hand, he soon lost the love of his people, who, to the calamities occasioned by a foreign enemy, would have added the horrors of a civil war, had they not been prevented by the friendly interposition of the archbishop of Riga and his coadjutor at Pernau. The inhabitants of Reval, provoked at this step, but equally distressed, shook off their allegiance to the grand-master of Livonia, and put themselves under the protection of the Swedes, as the people best able to assist them, to check the trade of the Lubeckers to Narva, and to reinstate them in the former commerce with Russia. The nobility of Esthonia followed their example, and acknowleged Eric for their protector: upon which this monarch of Sweden sent an army into Livonia, under the command of Claas Horn, with orders to attack the grand-master, if he did not give immediate satisfaction in regard to the former demands of that crown; and the Swedish general, upon his arrival, very prudently confirmed the states of Reval and Esthonia in all their privileges, under the king his master[s]. The grand-master of the knights of Livonia, Gothard Kettler, finding himself thus forsaken on all sides, accepted the offers of Sigismund, king of Poland, and agreed to suppress the order of the Cross, of which he was chief, in consideration of his receiving the duchy of Courland for himself and his heirs, as a fief of the crown of Poland. The possession of Reval would have given Sigismund great pleasure; and the new duke of Courland besieged it accordingly, as a place belonging to the Poles; but the Swedish garrison obliged him to retire.

Oesel submits to the Danes.

Reval and Esthonia put themselves under the protection of the Swedes.

The grand-master of the Livonian knights suppresses his order, and is made duke of Courland.

Basilowitz saw with pleasure these divisions of the Livonians, and the growing quarrels between the Swedes and

Policy of the czar.

[s] Loccen. de Reb. Suec. lib. vii. p. 374. Puffend. Neugeb. loc. cit. Chyt. p. 521. Russouw. p. 80. 84. p. 603. Thuan. ad an. 1561.

the Poles concerning their country; but would not interfere in them; rightly judging, that their thus weakening themselves, would soon facilitate the success of his designs against them. The king of Sweden, to secure his new acquisitions, sent an embassy to the czar, to propose a treaty of peace, by which he should be confirmed in the possession of Reval. Some other potentates likewise interposed to the same effect: but all they could obtain was, a prolongation of the truce between Russia and Sweden, for two years more, which Basilowitz employed in fortifying his own conquests[t].

The Poles affront him grossly.

A treaty of marriage had been negociating for some time, between the czar and the princess Catharine Jagellonica, sister to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland; and all the articles of the matrimonial contract were in a manner settled, except one, which the Poles unjustly demanded, and Basilowitz equitably refused to comply with. They insisted that the children which he might have by this wife, should succeed him, in prejudice to the princes born of his former marriage. This unreasonable condition was rejected with scorn; but the czar, who was fond of the princess, still continued his suit to obtain her; upon which the Poles rashly resolved to affront him in the grossest manner, sent him a white mare finely caparisoned, with a message, purporting, that such a wife was good enough for him. Basilowitz, highly incensed at this outrageous insult, vowed perpetual enmity against the Poles, and soon made them feel the weight of his resentment[u].

In the mean time Catharine was married to John, duke of Finland, who, mistrusting the affection of his brother Eric, king of Sweden, and the friendship of his neighbours, thought to secure himself a retreat by this match, in case he should at any time be overpowered. He had lent his brother-in-law, the king of Denmark, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars upon certain castles in Livonia; his possessing of which gave great umbrage to Eric, who intended speedily to attack the Poles; this disgust was heightened by intelligence which the Swedish monarch received, that the Danes and Poles had entered into a secret alliance against the Swedes, at the time of this marriage, and that the duke of Finland was also a contracting party with them. Eric, therefore, cited his brother to appear before the states, to give an account of his conduct: but his summons being

t Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 87. Chyt. p. 528. Loccen. de Reb. Suec. lib. vii. p. 374. u Puffend. p. 29.

disregarded,

disregarded, he seized John, after having conquered Abo, in Finland, and kept him a close prisoner [u].

Upon this alliance of the Danes and Poles, in which the Lubeckers were also included, Eric applied to the Russians, who had already besieged and taken Poloczkow, the main defence of Livonia on the side of the Russian frontiers, and offered to join them in an alliance against the Poles: but the czar, thinking himself strong enough to deal with them, and judging that the many adversaries Sweden had to cope with would afford him the fairer opening in Livonia, declined the proposal.

The Swedes offer him their alliance against the Poles,

Basilowitz sent two armies against the Poles, but both of them were unfortunate: the first, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by Suerski, was defeated in the beginning of the year 1564, near Poloczkow, which he had conquered the year before; and the second, consisting of sixty thousand men, ran away upon the approach of the enemy [w]. Pernau, then in the possession of the Swedes, was surrendered the next year to the Poles, by the treachery of a German garrison: upon which the czar, suspecting they might play the same game at Dorpt, removed from thence to Moscow all the soldiers of that nation; who, affronted at this removal, took a dislike to the Russian service, and entered into such cabals against Basilowitz, as frequently required his exerting great severity to stop the progress of the growing evil.

by whom his troops are worsted.

A.D. 1564.

Shortly after, Basilowitz discovered a very dangerous plot, which required the utmost exertion of his policy and prudence to countermine. He had several illustrious foreigners at his court, and particularly the ambassador of queen Elizabeth of England, whom he consulted in all public affairs, to whom he communicated his most private thoughts, and by whose approved knowlege and experience he chiefly regulated his conduct. He likewise shewed great favour to the Lutheran clergy; and being himself well versed in polemic divinity, he frequently permitted them to discourse before him, and heard them with great attention. This conduct, quite different from that of his predecessors, greatly disgusted the bojars, who, incensed at the preference visibly given to foreigners, expressed their discontents in the most public manner, saying, that Basilowitz had forsaken the manners of his fore-fathers, altered their established laws and customs, and introduced foreign fopperies in their room; nay, even Demetrius Owezinius, one

A.D. 1566.

A conspiracy against him.

The pretences for it.

[u] Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 93. Loccen. lib. vii. p. 380. Puffend. Chytræi. Saxon. p. 242. Neugeb. lib. viii. p. 609. [w] Bredenb. p. 239. Guaguin. p. 363.

of the chief ministers of state, scrupled not to express himself openly to the same effect; for which he soon afterwards lost his head; though the pretended cause of this execution, was his having once publicly refused to drink the czar's health. The death of Demetrius did not, however, terrify the male-contents; on the contrary, they publicly complained of the injustice of it, as being too severe a punishment for so small an offence; and levied an army in Lithuania, in order to destroy both Basilowitz and his family. This insurrection put the czar into some consternation; and, as the strength of the rebels increased daily, he began to think seriously of the most likely means to avert the impending danger.

Basilowitz feigns to abdicate the crown.

Accordingly, at a public assembly of the principal nobility and ministers of state, he stript himself of his imperial ornaments, declaring, as he was deemed unworthy to fill the throne any longer, he willingly divested himself of all his ensigns of royalty, and requested them to nominate some fitter person to reign over them. Next day he sent to the churches for the pictures of their principal saints, which the vulgar among the Russians looked upon as the guardian divinities of their country, ordered all his priests to appear in the great church of St. Mary, and a solemn mass to be read by the patriarch and metropolitans; after which he took an affectionate leave of them all, and went with his two sons to the castle of Caloujentz, about a league and a half from Moscow, where he remained several days, expecting that the Muscovites would solicit him to resume the sceptre: but being disappointed therein, he ordered some of his principal bojars to repair to the city, and acquaint the people, that he was determined to go wherever God and his good fortune should direct; and that, notwithstanding their treacherous behaviour to him, he doubted not but a time would come, when he should be able to re-demand his crown in a proper manner *. This message occasioned a very submissive answer from the citizens: and Basilowitz suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon them; but ordered the principal priests and bojars to attend him in the Alexandrian sloboda, whither he had retired. They accordingly assembled in that place, and represented to him in the most respectful terms, how sorely he had afflicted his people, and how much the state was exposed to the outrages of his enemies by his abdicating the crown in such a manner; wherefore they most earnestly besought him, as a good shepherd, still to watch over his flock; and promised,

* G. Van Hoff. Oderb. lib. ii. p. 283. Petreius, p. 202.

that

that if any persons should be found guilty of fomenting the present unhappy differences, they should be delivered up to the most exemplary punishment; begging, that, for the errors of a few, he would not forsake them all, but return to his vacant throne, and continue his grace and favour to those only who should appear to deserve it.

This pathetic address threw Basilowitz into some perplexity. He was not willing absolutely to refuse their request; but wanted at the same time to secure himself from the like conspiracies for the future. He therefore desired a day to consider of their proposal: next morning he acquainted them, that they could not be ignorant of the treachery of their ancestors to their former sovereigns; that the annals of the empire would effectually prove it, and their own consciences would convict them of the blackest designs against him, whom they had attempted to murder before his father was well dead, in order to advance the race of Saladin Garbata, one of their own stamp, to the imperial throne (F). In fine, that as they must be sensible of the many attempts which had lately been made to destroy him, his empress, and his two sons; to conclude a secret and scandalous league with Poland, and to introduce the Turks and Tartars to prey upon the vitals of the kingdom; he wondered how they could advise or request him to entrust his own life, and the lives of his family, in the hands of so treacherous and blood-thirsty a people; since the consequence of such an imprudent step must needs be his utter destruction.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable reply, the people still warmly pressed Basilowitz to comply with their request: so that he, pretending to yield at last to their importunity, consented to re-ascend the throne; and accordingly, a few days after, he returned to his capital.

Basilowitz had no sooner resumed the reins of government, than he proceeded to take some necessary precautions for his future safety. In the first place he caused the principal ringleaders of the late conspiracy to be executed [y], and then raised a body-guard of two hundred men, who were chiefly collected out of the most distant provinces, and were obliged to take an oath that they would be true and faithful to their prince, and that they were no ways allied or related to his ministers or bojars. This guard, which was distinguished by the name of the aprisma, or *chosen people*,

[y] George Van Hoff. ubi supra. Oderb. ubi supra. Petr. p. 203.

(F) We do not find the transaction here alluded to, mentioned by any historian; and therefore are at a loss for the particulars of it.

proved a great nuisance to the people; for being wholly composed of men of low birth and education, destitute of all generous sentiments, they frequently committed great outrages; which the czar, who by no means approved of them, was often obliged to overlook, in order to secure their fidelity.

A.D.1569. *Sends an embassy to England.*

In the beginning of this year, Basilowitz sent two ambassadors to England, to propose an alliance with queen Elizabeth, and establish a treaty of commerce with that nation. Captain Richard Chancellor having, a few years before, discovered a passage to Muscovy through the White Sea, by which means Russia was likely to be supplied with foreign goods, by the way of Archangel, without the assistance of Narva or the Poles (G), the czar granted to the discoverers

(G) In the year 1553, in the reign of queen Mary, three ships were fitted out from England, at the public charge, for the discovery of the north-east passage to China and the Indies. They were commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who, departing from the Thames, sailed to the North Cape, where one of his ships left him, and returned home. The other two ships being separated, Sir Hugh proceeded farther northward, and discovered that part of Greenland, which the Dutch have since called Spitzberg: but the severity of the cold obliging him to return to the southward, he was forced, by bad weather, into the river Arzina, in Muscovite Lapland, where, not being able to come out, he was found the next spring frozen to death, with all his ship's company; having the notes of his voyage, and his last will, lying before him, whereby it appeared that he lived till January. But Richard Chancellor, in the third ship, with better success, in the mean while entered Wardhuys, where he waited some time for his companions, to no purpose; uncertain whether they were lost, or driven farther by stress of weather. He held a council on what he should do; whether to return, or pursue his voyage. Whatever danger might be in the last, every one agreed to it, that they might not seem to have less courage than their captain. They therefore set sail, and in a few days found themselves in a sea where they could no longer perceive any night. This ship, wandering about, entered soon after into a large bay or gulf. Here they cast anchor, in sight of land; and while they were examining the coast, they discovered a fishing boat. Chancellor, getting into his sloop, went towards it; but the fishermen took to flight. He followed; and overtaking them, shewed them such civilities as conciliated their affections to him, and they carried him to the place where now is the famous port of St. Michael the Archangel. These people immediately spread through all the coasts an account of the arrival of these strangers, and people

discoverers of this new channel many exclusive privileges; and particularly that none of the incorporated company of Muscovite merchants in London, should bring any goods to or from Archangel, or carry on any traffic whatsoever in that place [z]. Besides this embassy, which was only to confirm what had been granted before to the subjects of queen Mary, Basilowitz gave private instructions to Anthony Jenkinson, an Englishman, then in his dominions, to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with queen Elizabeth, by which she was to supply him with sailors, shipwrights, and ammunition, in case of need; and if he should ever be forced from his throne, either by foreign enemies or domestic rebels, to afford him and his family an asylum in her dominions; which last clause he desired her to confirm with an oath. But Elizabeth, to the czar's great mortification, deferred giving any answer to this proposal.

[z] Camd. Cl. Adami Navigat. Angl. ad. Muscov. int. Script. Rer. Moscov. p. 142. Lord Carlisle's Embassy.

people came from several parts to see them, and ask them questions. They, in their turn, examined the others, and found that the country they were in was Russia, governed by the mighty emperor John Basilowitz. They learnt also, that an express had been already sent to this prince, to inform him of their arrival, and receive his orders concerning them, which came a few days after; when guides were appointed to conduct them to Moscow, where captain Chancellor soon had an audience of the emperor, whose court and riches had in them a magnificence beyond any thing he could have imagined. He found John Basilowitz distinguished in majesty from a hundred and fifty bojars, who encompassed his throne; hardly any thing was to be seen in his great hall, but gold and precious stones; and in another, where the czar invited him to a sumptuous repast, all was of silver, except the buffet, in the middle, in the form of a large pyramid, covered with vessels of gold, of such a prodigious size, that it seemed to bend beneath the weight of them. Here were placed the hydromel, wines, and strong liquors for the czar's own use.

The favourable reception that captain Chancellor met with, encouraged him to make a second voyage thither, four years after; when he brought back with him an ambassador from the czar, with presents to queen Mary, and an invitation to settle a trade to those parts: but the ship was cast away on the coast of Scotland, where Chancellor, in saving the ambassador, was himself unfortunately drowned. (1).

(1) Burchett's Naval History, p. 341.

While Basilowitz was thus planning the means of a retreat to England, in case he should be driven from his throne; the unfortunate Eric, king of Sweden, was soliciting an asylum at Moscow. Sigismund, king of Poland, had invaded the frontiers of Russia, with a numerous army, and possessed himself of the castles of Ula, Sula, and several other places: upon this occasion, Basilowitz marched in person against the Poles, and entrusted the government of his dominions to a nobleman, called Iwan Petrowitz: but upon his return, being informed that Petrowitz, supported by some bojars[a], had intended to prevent his entrance into his own dominions, and to maintain by force the authority he was invested with; the czar, according to the then Russian custom of the sovereign's being himself the executioner of his decrees, ordered Petrowitz to be dressed in robes of royalty, and seated upon the throne; where, after an ironical congratulation on his having obtained what he so earnestly wished, and making a sham profession of allegiance and fidelity, he stabbed him to the heart, and left him, weltering in his gore, to the fury of the guards, who soon made an end of him and all his adherents.

The Poles invade Russia.

Another conspiracy against the czar.

These troubles were scarcely terminated, when Basilowitz received intelligence, that a considerable armament then making by the Turks, was designed against him. Selim, the son of Solyman the Magnificent and Roxelana, had succeeded his father in the year 1565. This prince formed the vast design of subduing all Tartary, to wipe off the disgrace of the imprisonment of the sultan Bajazet, who had been defeated, and taken in the plain of Ancyra, by the famous Timur Beck, or Tamerlane, great-khan of the Tartars. To this end, Selim made an alliance with some princes, who were to send him succours by the way of the Caspian sea, and raised himself an army of three hundred thousand men, in which was the flower of the janissaries. These troops embarked at Constantinople, crossed the Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis, and landed at Azoph, where the Crim Tartars joined them, with a reinforcement of forty thousand archers[b]. This formidable army marched directly towards Astracan, where the sultan had signified to his soldiers that they would find all the treasures of Armenia, Persia, and India; and had given them such an idea of the weakness of all the places in Tartary, that they imagined their bare appearance before them would intimidate the garrisons to surrender.

A prodigious army of Turks and Tartars invade his dominions;

[a] Guagn. Descr. Mosc. p. 186.

[b] Leuncl. p. 141.

Zerebrinow,

Zerebrinow, who commanded for the czar, was alarmed, and, at first, somewhat terrified at this multitude of enemies: but collecting a strong body of troops, including some Casan Tartars, he fell upon them unexpectedly in a defile, where their numbers served only to embarrass them, put them to flight, pursued them a great way, and took all their artillery and baggage. To complete their misfortune, their allies were not to be found at the time or place appointed, which last was near the mouth of the Wolga. The Russians and their Tartars becoming bold, in proportion to the weakness and timidity of their enemies, followed them on all sides, and obliged them to make a shameful retreat towards Azoph, where they found a new subject of chagrin; that great city having been almost entirely overthrown by the blowing up of a magazine of powder. Zerebrinow then attacked their ships, of which he took several with their provisions, and sunk the rest. Thus Selim reaped nothing from this grand enterprize but loss and disgrace; for almost all his troops that had escaped the Russian and Tartarian soldiers, perished, either by hunger, or by storms in crossing the Black Sea. *but are totally defeated.*

The joy occasioned by the news of this victory, was heightened by the arrival of M. Randolph at Moscow, in quality of ambassador from queen Elizabeth of England. Basilowitz received him with great distinction, and dismissed him with many rich presents, attended by Andrew Grogoriwitz Saviena, as his ambassador to the queen of England, to whom he was to tender a treaty in the Russian language, and afterwards swear to the performance of it; and to request that she would send an ambassador to Moscow to see it confirmed by Basilowitz, with the usual ceremony of kissing the cross. Queen Elizabeth agreed to this treaty, with the restriction of its not being contrary to the tenor of the engagements she had entered into with other powers; and farther assured Saviena, that in case the czar, his master, should ever be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of leaving his empire, he should meet with a safe retreat in England, be received and provided for in a manner suitable to his dignity, enjoy the free exercise of his own religion, and be permitted to depart whenever he should think proper. This agreement she sealed, and promised to perform, in the presence of the czar's ambassador [c]. *Basilowitz receives an ambassador from, and sends another to queen Elizabeth.*

The Russian ambassador returned to Moscow; but queen Elizabeth did not send any minister with him to witness the czar's confirmation of the treaty; an omission of cere-

[c] Camd. p. 315, & seq.

monial,

monial, which Basilowitz took so ill, that he wrote the queen a long letter concerning it; telling her, how sensible he was of the slight she had put upon him, and reminding her of the many unsolicited privileges and immunities he had already granted to her subjects; adding, that he could not help construing her present behaviour great ingratitude; and that if he was disposed to resent as he ought to do, he might easily annul all those advantageous concessions which he had formerly made in her favour. This letter produced an answer from Elizabeth, which she sent by Anthony Jenkinson, couched in such terms as satisfied Basilowitz, and cemented the good understanding of the two crowns.

His severe punishment of Novogrod.

Van Hoff, Reutenfels, and several other writers, too violently prejudiced against John Basilowitz II. and determined, at all events, to make him pass for the very worst of tyrants, have imputed to mere caprice, and a love of cruelty, the signal punishment which he inflicted about this time on the city of Novogrod and its dependent district. History does not, indeed, absolutely point out the particulars of their offence; but an impartial reading of other authors, of at least equal authority, gives great room to think, that, during his absence in his wars, and more especially whilst other plots and conspiracies were forming against him, Novogrod, Pleskow, and some other places, had resolved to put themselves under the protection of the Poles; that the archbishop of Novogrod had spirited them up to this revolt; and that the czar's brother, George, had encouraged them in it, in hopes of re-establishing the grand-duchy of Novogrod, and of obtaining that dignity for himself. That a plot of this kind was actually formed, appeared from the confession of doctor Bromelius, an English physician then at Moscow, who was concerned in the conspiracy; and, in consequence of this discovery, the czar's brother and his children were put to death. Van Uhlefeld, who was at Moscow a few years after this event, says, he perished by poison. Reutenfels asserts his innocence, and also that of the archbishop of Novogrod.

To punish Novogrod for this intended perfidy, Basilowitz marched thither with fifteen thousand men, ravaged the whole country round about, forced his way into the city, and gave his soldiers, who were headed by one of their generals, called Malute, a man remarkable for his savage disposition, free leave to plunder it; in consequence of which they ransacked every house, church, and cloister, and committed the most outrageous acts of barbarity. The archbishop was seized, stripped of his church-garb, and clad

clad in a harlequin's dress, in which attire he was seated upon a grey mare, led through the streets as a shew to the populace, and afterwards sent to Moscow, where he was imprisoned for life. Some say, that near three thousand people were butchered on this occasion; whilst others, to enhance the charge of cruelty, reckon the number of the slain at eight times that number. Several other places, deemed equally guilty, shared the same fate; and a famine, which immediately succeeded, rendered their situation inexpressibly deplorable [d].

A.D 1570.

Basilowitz's attention was next turned to Livonia, for the possession of which the Swedes, the Danes, and the Poles, had been engaged in a long and bloody war. The Swedish commander at Reval, Claas Kursell, endeavoured to get possession of the Doohm, under pretence that he and his soldiers had large arrears of pay due to them; and, by the assistance of duke Magnus of Holstein, and some of the Livonian nobility, he was admitted into the citadel, where he soon overpowered the garrison, and made the governor, Gabriel Oxenstiern, with his wife and children, prisoners. Next day the chief magistrate of Reval sent to him, desiring to know the meaning of his proceeding: Kursell answered, that he was determined to keep the place, till he and his troops should be paid all their demands. Upon this declaration, an agreement was concluded, that he should remain in possession of the castle till Whitsunday following; and that in the mean time, application should be made to king John, concerning the arrears which he pretended to be due to him and his troops [e]. These differences were politicly fomented by the czar, who, well knowing that the Livonians would never submit to the Russian yoke, nor suffer themselves to be governed by a Swedish prince, promised to give their province to duke Magnus of Holstein, to declare him king thereof, and to content himself with the bare title of protector: but his real design was to facilitate his own conquest of that country, when the Swedes and Danes should have withdrawn their forces.

The Swedes become masters of Reval.

Basilowitz declares the duke of Holstein king of Livonia;

This proposal had the desired effect: it pleased the Livonians very much; and duke Magnus himself was so rejoiced at it, that, having received from Kursell the strongest assurances of his surrendering the citadel to him upon

[d] G. Van Hoff. ubi supra. Petr. p. 210. Guag. p. 190. Oderb. lib. ii. p. 284. [e] Russouw, Lief. Chron. f. 116. b. 109. Loccen. lib. vii. p 408. Puffend. p. 406. Chyt. Saxon. p. 549. Neugeb. lib. vii. p. 628.

his

his return, he repaired in person to Moscow, in order to settle this important affair [f]. Basilowitz received him with great friendship, publicly acknowleged him king of Livonia, and concluded a treaty with him, by which, for a small annual tribute, he promised to rest satisfied with the title of protector only, to deliver up to him all the castles in his possession, to drive the Swedes away, and to protect him in his new kingdom, against all enemies whatsoever: he voluntarily promised to renounce his former friendship and alliance with the Roman emperor, and shew the greatest favour to all the Germans in his kingdom; that Magnus should keep Livonia as an inheritance to him and his heirs male; that no Russian, of what rank or degree soever, should at any time have any authority, or command therein; and that, in case Magnus should die without male issue, the crown should be transferred either to the next branch of the house of Holstein, or to that of Denmark, and to no other person [g].

While this treaty was in agitation, the soldiers in the town, having discovered that Kursell's real intention was to sell that place either to the Russians or Danes, which ever should offer most, endeavoured to recover possession of the Doohm. To this end, Nils Dublare, one of their captains, having gained over part of the garrison, and found means to make the centinels drunk, on a day appointed, introduced his men through a hole in the wall, and made himself master of the citadel. Kursell and his adherents were put to death, and the old Swedish governor was reinstated [h].

of which he prepares to put him in possession by force.

The league between Basilowitz and king Magnus being concluded, the latter sent advice thereof to the Livonian nobility, promising them great favours if they would amicably acknowlege him their king, and submit to his government; and threatening them with the severest punishment in case of his refusal. But neither his threats, nor his promises, proving effectual; Basilowitz assembled a great army to dislodge the Swedes, chastise the Livonians, and put Magnus in possession of his new kingdom by force.

Magnus invests Reval;

With this army Magnus immediately set forward, and attacked Reval and Wittenstein with great fury; but in the mean time he thought fit to write letters to the burghers and inhabitants of Reval, informing them, that his only

[f] Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 119. [g] Puffend. p. 408. Henning. Lief. Chron p. 51. [h] Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 119, & seq. Loccen. ubi supra. Puffend. p. 467. Chyt. ubi supra. Henning. Lief. Chron. p. 50, & seq.

intention

intention was to free them from the Swedes and Poles, and to unite their ſcattered provinces under a German prince: that the czar had ſolemnly inveſted him with ſovereign authority over them, and had ſent him with a proper force to drive away their worſt of enemies; he therefore deſired them to ſurrender peaceably to him, as to a German duke; for that otherwiſe he ſhould be under a neceſſity of eſtabliſhing himſelf, by means which would inevitably ruin their country. Though this requiſition was ſeconded by ſeveral letters from ſuch of the Livonian nobility as were in Ruſſia, adviſing their countrymen at Reval to acknowlege duke Magnus for their ſovereign, no anſwer was returned. The commandant, Gabriel de Moerby, and moſt of the principal inhabitants, agreed to defend the place to the laſt extremity, rather than ſubmit to the czar, or any other perſon whom he ſhould nominate; thinking that he would uſe them in the ſame manner as his father Baſilius had treated Michael Glinſki, after the conqueſt of Smolenſko. They, therefore, ſallied out upon the beſiegers ſeveral times, with great ſucceſs; and, being well ſupplied with all neceſſaries by king John, the ſiege advanced but ſlowly; ſo that Magnus, after having lain a conſiderable time before the place, and loſt a great number of his troops, was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, ſet fire to his camp, and depart [i].

but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

A.D. 1571.

This bad ſucceſs was followed by misfortunes of ſtill worſe conſequence; for about this time a terrible peſtilence raged all over the Ruſſian dominions, and ſwept away vaſt numbers of people. An attempt was alſo made by ſome of the Livonian nobility, whom Baſilowitz had advanced to conſiderable poſts, to ſeize the ſtrong city of Dorpt; but being repulſed in the execution of their enterprize, they fled into Poland: and the Crim Tartars, by the perſuaſion of the Poles, ſuddenly invaded Ruſſia with an army of ſeventy thouſand men. The Ruſſians, might, indeed, have prevented their paſſing the Wolga and Occa; but their commanders in thoſe parts not having orders to that effect, the Tartars purſued their march, and the Ruſſians retreated, till they came within eighteen leagues of Moſcow; where, making a ſtand, they were totally defeated [k]. When Baſilowitz heard of this diſaſter, he packed up his moſt valuable effects, and, together with his two ſons, took refuge in a well fortified cloiſter; which

Ruſſia deſolated by the plague.

Invaded by the Crim Tartars,

[i] Buſſouw. Lief. Chron. p. 124, & ſeq. Loccen. p. 409. Chyt. ubi ſupra, Henning, Lief. Chron. p. 51.

[k] G. Van Hoff. ubi ſupra.

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the Tartars were no sooner informed of, than they entered the city of Moscow, plundered it, and set fire to several churches. A violent storm, which happened at the same time, soon spread the flames all over the city[m], which was entirely reduced to ashes in less than six hours, though its circumference was then upwards of forty miles. The fire likewise communicated itself to a powder-magazine at some distance from the city, by which accident upwards of fifty rods of the city-wall, with all the buildings thereon, were also destroyed; and, by the concurrent testimony of the best historians, upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand citizens were burnt, or buried in the ruins, besides women, children, and foreigners. The castle, however, which was strongly fortified, held out to the last; and the Tartars, for want of proper materials, could not attempt to reduce it by force. The distressed Basilowitz, upon hearing this dismal news, thought proper to retire from the cloister to Jaroslaw; and the Tartars, being soon after informed that duke Magnus was coming against them with a numerous army, would not venture to penetrate any farther into the country, but retired, loaden with immense riches, and many prisoners of great distinction; having first sent a naked sabre to the czar, with this message, that he should look upon it as a token left him by an enemy, whose revenge was still unsatisfied, and who would soon return again to complete the work which he had as yet scarcely begun.

who plunder and burn Moscow.

The Tartars retire, and Basilowitz makes a truce with Poland.

After the retreat of the Tartars, Basilowitz held a council of war, to enquire into the conduct of his officers and troops during the late invasion; and those generals who had declined facing the enemy, were put to death, their estates confiscated, and the troops under their command were disbanded[n]. These accumulated misfortunes did not, however, depress the spirits, or subdue the courage of the czar. On the contrary, having concluded a three years truce with his mortal enemy Sigismund, king of Poland[o], he rejected, with disdain, the overtures of a peace made to him at the same time by John, king of Sweden[p]; who, being apprehensive that, as the Tartars had retreated from Russia, the czar would turn his arms against Sweden, caused the imprisoned king Eric to be removed from Abo to Grypsholm, and from thence to Oerby, where he placed a very strong

[m] Horsey's Treatise of Russia. Chyt. Chron. Livon. p. 133. Thuan. ad an. 1571. Fletch. p. 157. [n] Horsey, & Chyt. ubi supra. [o] Guag. p. 365. ap. Pistor. tom. ii. [p] Heid. de Bello Mos. lib. v. p. 414.

guard

guard over him, and ordered him to be narrowly watched, to prevent Basilowitz's rescuing him from his confinement [q].

Ravages Finland and Livonia.

Basilowitz intending to make some farther use of duke Magnus in his design upon Livonia, sent for him to Moscow, in order to concert a proper plan of operations. The truce he had lately concluded with the Poles, together with the death of their king Sigismund, which happened shortly after, seemed greatly to favour the execution of his scheme, as there now was little reason to apprehend any disturbances on the side of Poland for some years. Under these favourable circumstances he resolved to employ the utmost of his force against the Swedes. Having assembled two very powerful armies, he sent one to invade Finland, and the other to attack Livonia. The former of these armies ravaged the country without opposition, and returned home laden with spoils; whilst the arrival of the other in Livonia was so sudden and unexpected, that Basilowitz, who headed it, soon became master of the important fortress of Wittenstein, where he put the whole garrison to the sword. He succeeded in the same manner at Nenhoff; and, having conquered Karchusen, returned, with part of his army, to Novogrod. The rest, to the number of sixteen thousand, marched into Esthonia, where the Swedish general, Claas Akeson, with only six hundred horse and a thousand foot, attacked and routed them, killed seven thousand of their men, and forced the survivors to retire, with the loss of all their baggage.

Takes Wittenstein and several other places.

This defeat had such an effect upon Basilowitz, that he wrote a very mild letter to the king of Sweden, expressing a desire to make peace [r]. In the mean time he concluded a match between the pretended king of Livonia, Magnus, and Maria, a relation of his at Novogrod; and was so well pleased at the celebration of these nuptials, that he is said to have sung part of the ceremony himself, and to have beat time to the musicians by striking on their backs [s]. The Swedish monarch, however, being somewhat elated with the success of his troops, and willing to rid himself effectually of so dangerous an enemy as Basilowitz, not only refused to listen to the proposed peace, but sent Pontus de la Gardie into Livonia, with five thousand Scots, who harrassed the czar to such a degree, that he again applied for peace, and desired a truce in the mean time [t]. But the two kings differing about the place where their ministers should meet, the czar

Magnus married to a relation of Basilowitz.

[q] Puffend. p. 414. [r] Ibid. [s] Henning. Liefl. Chron. p. 56. Russouw. Liefl. Chron. p. 148. Loccen. p. 413. Russouw. p. 149. [t] Puffend. p. 416.

insisting

A.D. 1574. insisting upon Novogrod, and John on the borders of Soesterbeck, the war was begun afresh, and each side acted with the utmost vigour.

The Swedes laid siege to Wesenburg and Telsburg; but, after having lost a great number of men, they contented themselves with plundering all the places they could master, and then retired. The Lubeckers, who had formerly assisted Basilowitz in the affair of Narva, were particularly punished, John taking from them sixteen of their largest and richest ships. On the other hand, the Russian troops attacked the Swedish and German dragoons in their camp, and made a great slaughter of them, ravaged Livonia, and made themselves masters of Pernau, which they treated with such lenity as induced several other places to submit to king Magnus.

The Livonians sell some fortresses to the Danes.

During these transactions, the nobility of Livonia, in conjunction with the German dragoons, sold to the Danes the castles of Hasel, Lohe, and Lehal, which the king of Sweden had given the dragoons as a security for the payment of eighty thousand florins, due to them for arrears of pay; and, in consequence of this sale, Nicolas Van Ungarn, the Danish stadtholder at Oesel, took possession of them. About the same time duke Magnus of Saxe Lauenburg, who had married Sophia, sister to the king of Sweden [u], arrived at Sonenburg, of which he took possession as a fief from his brother-in-law. This step occasioned a dispute between him and the Danish governor of Oesel, whom the duke imprisoned, but released soon after. The Swedes not attempting to retake Pernau, the Russians remained possessors of the place, and granted to such of its inhabitants as chose to withdraw, passports for themselves and their effects; but duke Magnus of Saxe Lauenburg, under pretence that they had not acted properly in the defence of the city, plundered them, and sent them prisoners to Stockholm [w].

A.D. 1576. Basilowitz now desiring peace more than ever, agreed that his ambassador should treat with those of Sweden at Soesterbeck; but, several difficulties arising, the congress ended in concluding a truce for two years, in favour of Finland only. This no ways displeased the czar; as having nothing to fear from that quarter, he had the better hopes of conquering Livonia. In the mean time the emperor Maximilian II. whom some of the Poles had elected for their king, sent ambassadors to Basilowitz, to offer his

A truce concluded in favour of Finland.

[u] Puffend. p. 393. [w] Russouw. Liest. Chron. p. 166. Thuan. ad an. 1575. p. 51. edit. Germ.

medi-

mediation in regard to the proposed peace between Russia and Sweden; but the Swedes were so peremptory in their demands, that nothing could be done. The czar, in consequence of the truce for Finland, turned his arms against the Danes, and took from them the lately acquired castles of Hasel, Lohe, and Lehal; with several other places. The king of Denmark complained bitterly of the injustice of these hostilities; but was answered by Basilowitz, that as those castles belonged to his enemies the Swedes, he thought himself sufficiently warranted in his proceedings against them.

Basilowitz takes all the fortresses ceded to the Danes.

About this time the Poles elected Stephen Battori for their king; and, to prevent the emperor Maximilian's counteracting this election, they hastened the coronation as much as possible. This event was highly pleasing to Basilowitz, who, by espousing the emperor's claim, hoped to reap considerable advantages in his designs upon the Swedes. He therefore sent ambassadors to Maximilian, offering to assist him against the new-elected king of Poland, who, he said, having obtained the crown by means of the grand enemy of the Christian powers, the Turk, was not worthy to wear it; desiring him to take the Poles under his protection, and offering to restore part of Livonia to him on that account. This embassy was very acceptable to Maximilian, who thankfully acknowleged the czar's generosity, and promised to return the favour whenever it should be in his power. The advantage which the emperor proposed to himself by this connection with Basilowitz, was, that if he attacked the Poles with one great army, and the czar should second him with another, king Stephen would be unable to withstand their joint forces, and be the more easily induced to resign his crown. On the other hand, the czar imagined that the Poles, being engaged with the emperor, would not be able to frustrate his intention of conquering Livonia.

Stephen Battori chosen king of Poland.

Soon after this transaction king Stephen sent an embassy to Moscow, to notify his election to the Polish crown, and either by an absolute truce, or a protracted treaty, to keep the czar from attempting any thing against Livonia; intimating, that whatever differences subsisted between them, might be then amicably compromised, if Basilowitz was as pacifically disposed as he was. Basilowitz answered, that though the emperor, with whom he was in league, had been chosen king of Poland, yet he was no ways averse to living in peace with Stephen, and should, therefore, be glad if he would send ambassadors to examine into, and accom-

Sends an embassy to the czar, to propose peace

modate the differences between them; and that, in the mean time, he would refrain from all acts of hostility against the Poles.

The Russians invade Livonia

In the mean while he sent a body of fifteen hundred Tartars into Finland, to make a false alarm in that country, and an army of fifty thousand men into Livonia, to besiege Reval; to frighten the inhabitants of which he caused it to be reported, that he himself was at the head of his troops. The Russians accordingly invested the city, and continued to bombard it for six weeks; but the besieged, who were well supplied with necessaries, made a brave and resolute defence; and, by their frequent and successful sallies, so weakened the Russian army, that they were obliged to raise the siege. They were the rather induced to abandon the enterprize, as their general, Iwan Koltzoff, who had sworn to the czar, that if he did not gain possession of Reval he would never see his face again, was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball from the garrison.

Agreement between the czar and Magnus of Livonia.

Notwithstanding this bad success, the czar was resolved not to close the campaign without gaining some advantage; and, therefore, putting himself at the head of his army, he encamped near Pleskow, from whence he sent for king Magnus to give him the meeting. This new sovereign of Livonia was suspected of having treacherously endeavoured to persuade the king of Poland and the princes of Prussia and Courland to engage in a war against Basilowitz, who, being informed of it, severely reproached Magnus with ingratitude; but this last having found means to appease him, he not only treated him with great distinction, but entered into an agreement with him, that the places which they should respectively conquer, should be equally divided; that Magnus should have the city of Wenden, and all that lay on the other side of the Aal, and that the czar should keep the rest; but that in case any other places should surrender to Magnus, he should have no right to them without the czar's consent. Soon after this agreement Magnus returned to Livonia, where he was informed, upon his arrival at Ermis, that the city of Wenden was willing to surrender to him, as it accordingly did soon after, when he took possession of the castle and city, and received an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants [x].

In the mean time Basilowitz broke up his camp before Pleskow, and treated all the places he passed through with great mildness, except such as belonged to baron Van Dauben,

[x] Hen. Lief. Chron. p. 61.

who

who was one of those that attempted to seize Dorpt, but, upon meeting with a repulse, had taken refuge in Poland. While the czar was thus employed, the inhabitants of Kackenhausen sent to king Magnus, desiring to put themselves under his subjection. Magnus being sensible that, according to the late treaty concluded with the czar at Pleskow, he could not grant this request without his consent, sent a messenger to Basilowitz, to acquaint him therewith, and receive his directions; but before he had any answer, he ventured not only to grant their request, but also to publish a writing, which he distributed there and in the adjacent places, warning them against the designs of the Russians, and informing them he acted solely for the benefit of the kingdom of Poland, and the grand-duchy of Lithuania, to whom those places properly belonged; upon which they readily received his garrisons, and threw themselves upon his protection.

Which the latter violates.

Basilowitz being acquainted with these proceedings before the arrival of Magnus's messenger, who was dilatory in his journey, set out immediately for Kackenhausen, where he imprisoned the burghers, and put to the sword those whom king Magnus had sent thither, but permitted the Lithuanians to depart quietly. In the mean time some of Magnus's troops had taken one of the czar's officers, named knez Alexander Polubensky, who had a large sum of money with him, and detained him prisoner. Basilowitz sent several expresses to Magnus to demand this nobleman, but in vain; whereupon he marched from Kackenhausen to Wenden, and represented to the inhabitants how ill Magnus had used him, and how manifestly he had violated the the treaty of Pleskow: but they endeavouring to excuse their master, the czar immediately laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the czar's camp, and falling on his knees, begged pardon for himself and city. Basilowitz no sooner saw the king of Livonia thus prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse, and desired him to rise. He returned him his sword, and, after having reproached him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, assuring them of his future protection. At this instant a cannon-ball from the castle narrowly missed killing the czar; a circumstance which so incensed him, that he mounted his horse, and rode away directly, swearing by St. Nicholas, that for this fresh instance of perfidy, every person in Wenden should suffer death. Magnus was then put under arrest in a farm-house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by

Basilowitz's venge.

His noble behaviour towards Magnus.

which he engaged to pay the czar forty thousand Hungarian florins by next Christmas, as a satisfaction for the money taken from Polubenski; and in case of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a prisoner at Moscow till the whole should be discharged. This account, delivered by a writer of veracity[y], shews the falsity of what has been asserted by others, who, out of enmity to Basilowitz, say, that Magnus was forced to creep upon his knees upwards of a thousand paces, before the czar would look at him; this last spit several times in his face; and that the Russians, afterwards, beat him unmercifully with cudgels. The troops in the castle of Wenden, alarmed at Magnus's not returning, and imagining that Basilowitz was meditating some fatal design both against him and them, assembled, received the sacrament, and then blew up the citadel and all that were in it[z]. Wolmar and several other places submitted in the sequel[a]. In the course of this campaign Basilowitz made himself master of all the towns north of the Duina, except Riga, Treyden, and Reval. After this success Basilowitz returned to Dorpt, where he told the imprisoned Magnus, who was brought before him, that he had formerly entertained the highest esteem for him, and, as a proof of it, had given him one of his relations in marriage; but that, by his late perfidious behaviour, he had forfeited that esteem, and did not deserve the least indulgence; notwithstanding which, he would still permit him to go to his consort at Kackenhausen, and advise him to be more faithful for the future. After Magnus was thus dismissed, the czar returned to Moscow, being apprehensive of another visit from the Tartars[b].

The Livonians, Swedes, and Poles gain advantages over the Russians.

This retreat gave the Livonians fresh spirits, and they exerted their utmost strength to recover the places which the czar had garrisoned. Wenden was taken by surprize, and the Russian troops were treated with great barbarity. Duneburg, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, shared the same fate; which so intimidated the Russians in Overpalen, that they voluntarily surrendered that city; but soon after, recollecting the risk they run from the resentment of their master, they again made themselves masters of it. The Swedes then fell upon the Russians, who had laid siege again to Wenden. With the assistance of the Poles, under the command of Andrew Sapieha, they kill-

[y] Henning. p. 65. [z] Heid. lib. i. p. 327. Oderb. lib i. p. 255. Petr. p. 190. [a] Laur. Muller. Pol. Hist. 46. Account of Livonia. [b] Henn. p. 67.

ed

ed above ſix thouſand of them, took a great number of priſoners with all their baggage, and obliged the reſt to ſeek their ſafety by flight. This diſgrace ſo incenſed Baſilowitz, that he reſolved to carry his arms not only into Livonia, but alſo into Courland and Pruſſia. To this end he concluded a truce with the Tartars, and accommodated all differences between him and the Danes; though the Daniſh ambaſſador ſo far exceeded his commiſſion in this affair, that, upon his return to Denmark, he was digraced. Theſe affairs being ſettled, Baſilowitz aſſembled an army of a hundred thouſand men, which he ſent to againſt Pleſkow. In the mean time, Magnus perceiving that his affairs in Livonia were in a very precarious ſituation, went over to the king of Poland, in order to engage him to enter Ruſſia with a powerful army, and thereby oblige the czar to withdraw the greateſt part of his forces for the defence of his own dominions. King Stephen deſired Nicholas Radzivil, the chief magiſtrate of Courland, to treat with Magnus, and aſſure him of the friendſhip of Poland, on condition that he ſhould hold his caſtles as fiefs from its king, or exchange them with him for other places. This treaty being concluded, Stephen attacked the Ruſſian frontiers; and though the czar ſent ambaſſadors to him to prevent his farther progreſs, yet becauſe they would not make a formal enquiry after Stephen's health, before they entered upon buſineſs, the Poliſh miniſtry would not treat with them; ſo that they returned to Moſcow without ſucceſs.

In the beginning of the next year Stephen Battori, having made a treaty of alliance with the Swedes, by conſent of the diet of Poland and Lithuania, raiſed an army to attack Ruſſia in earneſt; to retake what Poland claimed; and to put an end to this war, which had laſted too long. His hopes of ſucceſs were raiſed by a reverſe of fortune, which the czar had juſt experienced in Livonia, where the Swedes, aſſiſted by ſome Germans and Polanders, had retaken Wenden; an event which greatly diſpirited the Ruſſians. However, not to do any thing irregular, Stephen determined firſt to demand ſatisfaction from Baſilowitz by an embaſſy, and, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war in form againſt the Ruſſians, before he attacked their territories. A.D. 1579. *Againſt whom the Poles declare war.*

Baſil Lapotinſki was choſen ambaſſador for this purpoſe, and ſent with a numerous train of nobility. He was received on the frontier with all the honours due to his character: but when he advanced farther into the country, and his errand was known, it was with great difficulty he reached Moſcow in ſafety. At his arrival he declared that

he should go to his audience with a drawn sabre before him, and being told that an attempt to enter the imperial palace in that manner might cost him his life, he answered, that the czar was master of his life, but that nothing should hinder him from acquitting himself of his duty with the utmost exactness. Accordingly, on the day of audience, he was conducted to the palace, his master of the horse carrying his sabre naked before him. The czar, clothed in a robe covered with diamonds and pearls, received him in a magnificent hall. Lapotinski, having saluted him in the Polish manner, made a speech, in which he demanded reparation for all the injuries done to Poland by the Russians; adding, that in case of refusal, the king, his master, would be obliged to do himself justice; with which words he presented to the czar a letter from Stephen, to the same effect, and a scymeter.

Basilowitz, after having read this letter, which was written in the Russian language, and sealed with a seal of gold, answered, that he was not so susceptible of fear as at such menaces to abandon his dominions to Poland; and that those who had so often vanquished the Poles and the Livonians, who had subdued the Tartars of Casan and Astracan, and triumphed over the forces of the Ottoman empire, would make king Stephen repent of his rash undertaking. He then took leave of the ambassador, and ordered him to be treated with the respect due to his high station[c]. So true it is, that virtue commands respect, even in an enemy; for the czar regarded the law of nations less than the noble intrepidity of Lapotinski.

War being thus declared, each side made great preparations. The czar, besides augmenting his troops, reinforcing his garrisons, and erecting magazines in all necessary places, excited the Crim Tartars to invade Poland; but Stephen was first in the field, with volunteers of all nations, who were willing to learn the art of war under so renowned a commander.

Their conquests.

The stress of the war was directed against Poloczkow, the avenues to which Stephen took possession of, whilst his general Radzivil sent a trumpet to summon the Russian garrison to surrender. No regard was paid to this message, and, in the mean time, the Polish troops, while they waited his return, began to seize on Kosian, Sitno, and Krasny. The king arriving soon after with the heavy artillery, opened the siege of Poloczkow.

[c] Oderb. in Vita Basilid. lib. iii p. 294. Heid. ubi supra. Neugeb. p. 674.

The

The czar, more intent upon defending his poſſeſſions than aiming at new conqueſts, was encamped under Pleſkow; from whence, however, a detachment of Ruſſians croſſing the Duina, made an unexpected incurſion into Semigallia, where they took a prodigious booty [d]. On the other hand, the Poles ſent parties into Ruſſia, on the ſide of Smolenſko, where they put all to fire and ſword, and even burnt the ſuburbs of that city. A detachment, commanded by Oſtroffiki and Michael Wieſnowieſki, paſſed the Dnieper, and made an irruption as far as Petzop, Radhoſt, and Starodub, from whence they carried off conſiderable plunder.

In the mean time the ſiege of Poloczkow was proſecuted with conſiderable vigour, and the beſieged made a brave defence. Baſilowitz, from time to time, ſent detachments, which endeavoured to throw themſelves into the town, but with little ſucceſs. The trenches had been opened eighteen days, when Stephen ordered fire to be ſet to all the outworks of the place. This order was executed with ſuch determined bravery, that many of the Poliſh ſoldiers even ruſhed through the flames to attack the enemy. The Ruſſians, aſtoniſhed at this reſolution, made a feint of capitulating, in hopes of gaining time to throw up a new entrenchment, whilſt the flames concealed them from the beſiegers; but Stephen, who penetrated their deſign, ordered that no reſpite ſhould be given them day or night. At length, ſeeing all their works deſtroyed about the town, and the Poles in poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded them, they beat the chamade. Stephen, who wanted not to ſhed blood, and who had an intereſt in preſerving this fortreſs as entire as poſſible, granted its inhabitants life and liberty, received into his troops ſuch as were willing to inliſt with him, and permitted the reſt to retire to the Ruſſian army. A great quantity of cannon and ammunition was found in the place; and the Poles made ſome priſoners of diſtinction who had oppoſed the ſurrender of the town; among theſe was the archbiſhop of Wielkiluki [e].

The reduction of Poloczkow was followed by the ſubmiſſion of Turowla, Suſa, and Socola. The two firſt ſurrendered immediately, upon offering the garriſons liberty to retire with their arms and baggage. Sokol, a fort ſituated between the Dreyſſe and the Neyſſe, in the way from Poloczkow to Pleſkow, made ſome reſiſtance. Beſides the

[d] Henn. p. 69. Neugeb. lib. x. p. 677. [e] Laur. Muller, Pohln. Lief. Hiſt. p. 48.

usual garrison, Theodore Basilowitz Czeremetow, with a detachment of troops, and several Russian lords, had thrown himself into this fort, and two thousand well disciplined militia remained under the cannon of the place. The Poles, however, made their approaches in form, and by throwing a few red-hot bullets into the town, all the buildings and fortifications of which were of wood, set it on fire in several places. The flames spread with such rapidity, that the garrison and people, reduced to the dismal alternative of perishing by fire, or opening themselves a passage through the besiegers sword in hand, attempted this last expedient, but were forced back into the midst of the conflagration, where they made signals to surrender, and demanded quarter: but the German soldiers not understanding their language, and the Poles, irritated by the late obstinate resistance of the garrison of Poloczkow, refusing to listen to them, they made a fresh sally, and were again repulsed by their enemies, who followed them quite into the place. At that instant, a centinel upon the gate let fall the port-cullis, by which means both parties were shut up in the town, in the midst of the flames. A dreadful battle then ensued: four thousand Russians perished in the fort, which was reduced to ashes, and almost as many were taken prisoners, among whom were Czeremetow, and several other officers of distinction [f]. The Poles then entered the Russian territories, where all submitted to king Stephen; who at length put an end to this campaign, in order to assist at the diet of Warsaw.

Basilowitz solicits peace with the Poles;

Basilowitz, beginning to despair of success in this war, retired to Novogrod, from whence he directed some of his principal nobles to write to the palatine of Wilna, to sound him, if there might not be some means found to bring the king to listen to terms of peace; to accelerate which he offered, though contrary to the custom of his ancestors, to send ambassadors to Poland [g]. Stephen was also desirous of peace, but could not, with honour consent to it, while the Russians retained Livonia; especially as, besides the cession made of that province to the crown of Poland by the knights of the Cross, king Magnus, who had put himself under the protection of the Polish monarch, had likewise transferred to him all the rights he had to it, either by the investiture of the czar, or by the oath its inhabitants had taken to him. It was therefore resolved in the diet, though not without strong opposition, that the war should be continued against Russia.

who resolve to continue the war.

[f] Heid. ubi supra. Neugeb. p. 674. [g] Neugeb. lib. x. p. 694.

The

The Polish army, with the additional strength of two considerable bodies of German and Hungarian auxiliaries, took the field early in the next year, and laid siege to Wielkiluki, one of the keys of Russia, situated on an eminence in the midst of marshes, covered on one side by a lake, and on the other by the Lowat (H). This city, in which was a numerous garrison, well provided with all sorts of stores, could not be reduced without setting it on fire, by which means most of its people perished: its governor was massacred by the Hungarians, and all the country round about was laid waste; the licentious soldiers thinking themselves authorised to commit every kind of barbarity. Wieliscz and Uswiath, two important posts on the Duna, were taken with less difficulty. The garrison of Torpiez surrendered, on condition that they should retire to Novogrod; but those of Sawolocz, a fortress on the Wielka, between Wielkiluki and Pleskow, refusing to capitulate, were put to the sword. Zickurysseza was delivered up to the Polish general, Radzivil, upon his offering its inhabitants leave to retire elsewhere. Thus the Poles extended their conquests as far as Porckow and Opolskow, which are but about seventy wersts from Pleskow; and Stephen had also a great inclination to attack this last place: but not being sufficiently provided for an enterprize of such importance, and the season being by this time far advanced, it was thought more adviseable to defer this siege to the next campaign, and in the mean time to assemble the diet again, in order to obtain the necessary succours.

Basilowitz, sensible that his troops were not so well appointed as those of the Poles, whom he hoped to weary out by avoiding a decisive battle, contented himself with putting good garrisons in such places as he judged they would attack, in order to make them lose time in those sieges, whilst his emissaries endeavoured to sow dissensions among them in their own country, and to spirit up an insurrection in Lithuania. This scheme failing, he returned to Moscow, where, to divert the attention of the people from his misfortunes, and make them think that the Polish war gave him but little concern, he spent his time in feasts and diversions, was married for the seventh time, and assisted at the nuptials of his eldest son John Iwanowitz.

Marriage of the czar and his son.

(H) Wielkiluki lies in the province of Rzeva, one hundred and twenty wersts on the north of Wityrsk, and at the same distance south from Novogrod Weliki, from which it is separated by forests, sandy plains, and the great lake Ilmen. Pleskow is one hundred and eighty wersts distant from it, on the north-west.

He

He was, however, mistaken, both in imagining that he could blind his subjects, and in thinking that the republic of Poland, unable to support the expences of the war for any length of time, must either continue it so faintly that he should find himself in a condition to fall upon them, or that they must at last desire a peace, which he would agree to on their own terms, in order to make war again, when a more favourable opportunity should offer; for the fatal consequences of an agreement entered into by the Swedes and Poles, stipulating, that they should act separately, and keep for themselves what each other should conquer, soon shewed the Russians the dangers they were threatened with. Basilowitz received such advice from his spies in Poland, as fully convinced him, that Stephen would not be satisfied with any thing less than the recovery of Pleskow, and that he was making all necessary preparations to carry his point. The king of Sweden, on his side, sent a large army under the command of his son-in-law, Pontus de la Gardie, who, A.D. 1581. invested Kexholm, and made himself master of that strong fortress and its dependencies; then entering Livonia, he reduced the castle and abbey of Padis. Wesenburg, Telsburgh, Lode, Tickel, and several other places, submitted to him with little resistance; and early in the spring he invested Narva, which the king his master had attacked, to no purpose, some years before. This general, by promising his soldiers the plunder of it for twenty-four hours, induced them to assault it with so much fury, that they soon carried it, and cut seven thousand Russians in pieces. From Narva they went to Iwanogorod, which surrendered by capitulation. Jamogorod and Coporio followed the example[r]. The Swedes afterwards going towards Novogorod, turned on a sudden upon Wittenstein in Livonia, which they took, and from thence proceeded to Pernau, to which they laid siege.

Leagues between the Swedes and the Poles.

Basilowitz desires the mediation of the pope.

Basilowitz, thus distressed, and knowing the pope's zeal to repair the breaches which Calvin and Luther had made in the church of Rome, applied to Gregory XIII. for his mediation, and promised, that, if he made peace between him and Poland, he would submit the church of Russia to the Holy See. This was an opportunity which the pope would not neglect. The Jesuit Possevin was ordered to go immediately to the king of Poland, and endeavour to oblige him, by the obedience he owed to the church, to put an end to the war with the czar.

[r] Puffend. p. 444. Hern. p. 70. a. Chytr. 693. Neugeb. p. 710. Heid. lib. iv. p. 388. L. Muller, p. 56. Loccen. p. 422.

Before

Before the arrival of this legate from the pope, the king of Poland had begun his third campaign with the conquest of Riga, the inhabitants of which surrendered to him, upon his promising to confirm their privileges and liberty of conscience [t]. He then drew towards Pleskow, the possession of which had so long been an object of contention between the Russians and the Poles. This city, remarkably well fortified for those times and that country (I), was then, through the care of Basilowitz, who foresaw the enemy's design, defended by a garrison of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, including the burghers who were fit for service, and extremely well provided with all necessaries for a long siege. The generals who commanded in it were John and Basil Zwiriki, Coroschin and Plescioff, men of approved valour and great abilities; and the czar had placed round the town several bodies of Cossacks, commanded by a brave Circassian, in order to hinder the Poles from ravaging the country. *The Poles take Riga.*

King Stephen being informed of the state of Pleskow, both by some deserters from thence, and by the people of the country, began to hesitate whether he should attack a place so likely to baffle his efforts. His troops were not sufficiently numerous to form a line of circumvallation, nor had he infantry enough for the assault and the trenches; besides, he was in want of powder, his magazine at Susa having been blown up by accident, and his difficulties with respect to provisions seemed insurmountable. However, thinking his own honour, and that of his nation, interested in the prosecution of what he had begun, he determined to exert his utmost endeavours to reduce this important place. His leaving it, after having approached so near, would have given fresh courage to the dejected Russians, and his taking it would crown him with renown.

The siege being resolved on, the next point to be considered was, where to begin the attack. This was controverted for some time between the king and his general, late his chancellor, Zamoisky; till at length it was agreed, that it should be at the eastern side of the city. Zamoisky was disliked by the Poles in general, who said he was better qualified to shed ink than blood, and quite unacquainted *and lay siege to Pleskow.*

[t] Thuanus, ad an. 1581, p. 67.

(I) Pleskow is about six miles in circumference, situated on the river Welika, which washes its walls on the south at the distance of five wersts from the lake Peipus.

with

with the management of war. The Polish forces were divided according to their different nations: the Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Germans, had their respective posts, in which they endeavoured to surpass each other in vigilance and valour. Without entering into a detail of this famous siege, we shall only say, that the besiegers and the besieged did every thing that could be expected from the most warlike people; till at length the former beginning to want powder, were not able to batter the place so strongly as before. On the other hand, no endeavours were omitted by the Russians of Ingria and Novogrod to throw additional succours into the town; but the Polish king and his generals, who flew incessantly from place to place, frustrated every attempt of that kind.

The pope mediates a peace between the Russians and the Poles.

During this siege, the king of Poland received several ambassadors, and among the rest one from the grand signor, to demand certain Tartars who had deserted, and at the same time to congratulate him upon his conquests, and offer him considerable succours; which were neither accepted nor refused. The Jesuit Possevin, invested with the dignity of legate from the pope, arrived also in his camp, from the court of the czar, with whom he had conferred about the conditions of a peace, which he was to mediate in the name of his holiness, who hoped by these means to bring Russia over to the Romish communion. Possevin, at an audience which he had immediately, told the king, that his czarish majesty was desirous to make peace upon the terms he had proposed during the siege of Poloczkow: Stephen made no reply; but gave the mediator to understand, that peace could not be made unless the czar yielded all Livonia to the crown of Poland. The Jesuit, upon this declaration, sent a courier to Basilowitz, who immediately named Zapolicia, a town about ninety wersts from Pleskow, for the conference to be held in, under the mediation of the pope.

The czar's real design was to protract the negociation, in hopes that the cold, which began to be very violent, and to which the troops that composed the Polish army had not been accustomed, would oblige their generals to decamp. He knew that Pleskow wanted for nothing, and was satisfied of the bravery and fidelity of those who were to defend it. Stephen was obliged to go to Warsaw, to assist at the diet; and it was well known, that Zamoisky was not beloved by the troops. The Poles being informed of all these circumstances, by a person in the train of the Russian plenipotentiaries, and who was in the secret of the embassy, redoubled their attacks upon Pleskow, and detached a party

to

to besiege the monastery of Pezzura, which, lying in the road between Pleskow and Riga, and being fortified and filled with troops, incommoded the forages of the Polish army. What added greatly to the hopes of the Polanders, was, an information which they received from one Suturma, secretary to the governor of Pleskow, who had been taken prisoner by them, purporting, that the provisions and ammunition of the town were almost exhausted; whereupon Zamoisky made all the necessary dispositions to oblige it to surrender by famine.

The czar narrowly escapes being taken prisoner by the Poles.

While the siege of Pleskow was thus carrying on, and the Russian ministers tried all ways to gain time, by sending couriers continually to the czar, and protracting their negotiations, in hopes that the severity of the weather would oblige their enemies to decamp, a large detachment of the Polish army, commanded by Christopher Radzivil, Kmita, and Haraburda, ravaged the borders of Russia towards Mohilow, Skolw, and Toropiecz, and advanced very far into the province of Rzeva, where two foragers falling into their hands, alarmed them with an account, that a body of fifteen thousand men were not far off, and that the czar was with his court at Starica, where he had another still greater army [n]. Radzivil, however, advanced as far as the Wolga, beyond which he sent his Tartars out in parties, and would have advanced towards Starica, if one Mursa, an officer of the czar's household, who threw himself purposely in the way of the Poles, had not spoken with such confidence of the numerous troops, at the head of which Basilowitz was, at Starica, that the Polish general believed him, and thereupon turned back. The truth was, that the czar had then only eight hundred men about his person, and that he had retired with precipitation as soon as he heard that the Poles had crossed the Wolga; so that it would not have been difficult for Radzivil to have taken him prisoner, if he had marched directly to Starica, instead of amusing himself with sending parties to destroy the country in the way to Moscow. The Polish detachment, after having missed this prize, retired by the province of Rzeva, and encamped at Cheim on the Lowat, from whence they advanced toward Stara Russia, continually plundering the Russian territories on every side [o].

The Poles grow jealous of the Swedes in Livonia.

The Swedes, in consequence of their late convention with the Poles, over-ran Livonia, and took so many of its places, that Stephen could not help saying, they catched

[n] Oderb. lib. iii. p. 293. Heid. lib. iii. p. 416. p. 693. Puffend. p 446. Loccen. lib. vii. p. 423.

[o] Chytr.

the

the game whilst he beat the bush. It seemed, indeed, as if Basilowitz suffered them to proceed in their conquests, purposely to breed a jealousy between them and their new allies; and if that was his view, he did not entirely miss his aim; for the Polish troops, disliking their general, wanting to return home, and envying the acquisitions obtained by the Swedes, whilst they were fruitlessly employed in a tedious siege, began to murmur greatly; a circumstance which the legate Possevin laid hold of, to dispose Stephen the more readily to peace [p]; which was at length concluded at Zapolicia, on the 15th of January, in the year 1582 [q].

Peace concluded between the Russians and the Poles at Zapolicia.

By this treaty the czar agreed to deliver up to the Poles, all that part of Livonia which bordered on Lithuania, and contained thirty-four towns and castles, together with Poloczkow and its dependencies: in consideration of which, Wielkiluki, Sawolocz, Newilla, Ostrow, and several other places in their neighbourhood, were restored to his dominion. This peace was to last ten years, if both parties should live so long; but in case either of them died, the survivor was to be at liberty to attack immediately the territories of the deceased; and these conditions were soon after sworn to by the ambassadors on both sides [r]. Basilowitz, however, had still the advantage of having despoiled Livonia of all its best treasure and artillery, and of surrendering it poor, divided, and ruined [s].

Attempt in vain the reduction of Notteburgh.

Shortly after this transaction, in which the Swedes were not comprehended, the Swedish commander, Herman Flemming, in the absence of Pontus de la Gardie, laid siege to Notteburgh, without orders, and, not being able to gain his point, made deep incursions into Russia, which the Tartars were then attacking on the opposite side.

Basilowitz would undoubtedly have exerted himself to revenge this insult, if a dreadful accident which befell him, just before the conclusion of the peace of Zapolicia, had not given a quite different turn to all his thoughts. The Russians, though persuaded that their czar had good reasons for remaining inactive, while the Swedes on one hand, and the Poles on the other, made every day fresh conquests, and the last, in their progress, committed the greatest disorders; yet could not forbear murmuring at a conduct, in which there appeared to them more pusillani-

[p] Neugeb. p. 428. & 722, Heid. lib. ii. p. 357. & 404. [q] Tractat. de Russor. & Moschov. Relig. p. 276. [r] L. Muller, Pohln. Liefl. Hist. p. 59. [s] Loccen. lib. vii. p. 423. Laur. Muller, p. 90. Margaret.

mity

mity than prudence. Several of the nobles, joining together, made their remonstrances to the czar, threw themselves at his feet, offered him their lives and fortunes, and conjured him to wipe out the stain which so long an inactivity would bring upon the whole Russian nation. They declared he had nothing to do but give the command, and he should soon see an army on foot as numerous as the leaves of a forest; and that if he would put his eldest son at their head, his presence would inspire them with courage to surmount the greatest difficulties[q].

John Basilowitz accidentally kills his own son.

Basilowitz, incensed at this address, which he looked upon as an implied charge of cowardice, answered, that since his subjects wanted a sovereign who would obey their wills, and be accountable to them for his conduct, they might chuse one where they would The Russians, afraid of the wrath to which they found they had provoked their prince, prostrated themselves again at his feet, protesting, that it was not through any disaffection to him that they had taken this step, which they saw was displeasing to him; assured him, that they were very sorry for what they had done, and conjured him to continue to govern them at his own good pleasure. He then insisted on their discovering the authors of this rash undertaking, that he might punish them for their boldness; and suspecting that his son had intelligence with those who demanded him for their general, he reprimanded him very severely. The innocent young prince, extremely concerned to find himself suspected by his father, begged that he might be permitted to justify himself; but the czar, to silence him at first, struck him on the head with a staff he had in his hand, tipped with an iron ferril, and unfortunately hit him on the temple, so that he dropt down motionless at his father's feet. Penetrated with grief at this dreadful sight, Basilowitz passed at once from anger to the most piercing sorrow, threw himself upon the body of his son, embraced him, pressed him to his bosom, and spoke to him with all the fondness of a loving and afflicted parent. The prince recovered so as to be able to assure his father, that there was no conspiracy; that he was incapable of harbouring such a thought; and that, far from having ever had any such design against him, he besought the Almighty to give him the empire of the universe, and to add to his life the days that had been taken from his own. He died four days after, to the inexpressible grief of his father, whose affliction had

[q] Oderb. lib. iii. p. 310. Petr. p. 235. Heid. lib. v. p. 411. ex quo Neugeb. p. 427. et Thuan. ad an. 1581.

like

like to have brought him also to the grave; for it was with great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to take any nourishment, or change his dress, even for a considerable time; nor could he ever after hear the prince mentioned, without shedding tears (K). He caused a most magnificent funeral to be made for him: and to expiate his crime, if it could be expiated, sent seventy-seven thousand florins to the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, and to the monks that watched the holy sepulchre, that they might pray without ceasing for the soul of his son [r]. What added to the loss both of the czar and the state, was, that this prince, born of Basilowitz's first consort, Anastasia, was deservedly the object of all their hopes; his second brother, Theodore, being of a weak understanding; and the third, Demetrius, an infant.

The siege of Pleskow raised, in consequence of the peace.

The news of the peace was immediately carried to Pleskow; where it occasioned universal joy, as well as in the army of Poland. General Zamoisky recalled all his detachments, and the siege was raised, in the course of which both parties had sustained very great losses, and acquired nearly equal glory; for if the Poles had shewn an invincible perseverance to accomplish so difficult an enterprize; the Russians had given proofs of extraordinary valour, and inviolable fidelity to their sovereign, in supporting this siege so long, without receiving any succours, or having the least prospect of being relieved.

A truce made with the Swedes.

The Swedes, who, as we observed before, were not included in the treaty, and found themselves menaced with a war from Poland, which claimed all Livonia, sought to make peace with the czar: but as they could not agree upon their respective pretensions, a truce only was concluded for two months, which was followed by another for two years; before the expiration of which, the czar John Basilowitz died. After the death of his son he fell into a deep melancholly, which did not suffer him to enjoy any part of the short remainder of his life.

Basilowitz evades the demands of the pope's legate.

The Jesuit Possevin, having succeeded in what the czar desired of him with respect to the peace, demanded, in his

[r] Oderb. lib. iii. p. 311. et ex eo Petr. p. 238. Thuan. ad an. 1582. ex Heid. lib. vi. p. 424.

(K) All authors of credit acquit Basilowitz of any intention to hurt his son, and agree that the blow which occasioned his death was quite accidental; though they differ a little in regard to the circumstances which provoked the czar to this excess of anger.

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turn, the accomplishment of that prince's promise, to reunite the church of Russia to the see of Rome; but Basilowitz answered, that this was an affair which could not be effected in a short time; that he thought it not just to force the conscience of any Christian in matters of religion, and that, therefore, time and the insinuations of the clergy must do the work; towards which he would lend his assistance, and send his holiness an account of the progress that should be made. Possevin was dismissed with evasive answers of this kind, and honourably conducted to the frontiers of Bologna. That legate has himself given many reasons why his negotiation failed [s]; and what he says, is confirmed by Heidenstein and Thuanus; but a particular circumstance which gave the czar a great dislike to the pope, was, his being informed by the English ambassador, then at the court of Moscow, that the pontiff of Rome was a haughty prelate, who suffered even kings to kiss his slipper [t].

Worsted by the Tartars, he makes peace with them.

Shortly after the conclusion of the peace with Poland, the Tartars began to make incursions into Russia; upon which Basilowitz assembled a considerable army, under pretence of attacking the Swedes, and marched suddenly towards Casan. The enemy, guessing his design, lay in wait for him among the mountains he was obliged to pass over, and, aided by a deep snow, which disabled the Russian cavalry and heavy armed troops from acting, destroyed a very great number of his men [u]. The czar thereupon made peace with them, and returned to Moscow; where death, soon after, put an end to all his farther designs.

A.D. 1584.

The death of John Basilowitz.

Sensible that his end approached, without shewing the least concern on that account, he turned his thoughts particularly to the welfare of his people; to promote which, he employed the remainder of his life in endeavouring to correct numbers of abuses that had been introduced into his empire during his long wars. Many acts of great clemency confirmed this beneficent disposition. Two days before his death he was carried in a chair to his treasury, upon which occasion, he made a sign with his hand to Jerome Horsey, then resident from queen Elizabeth, to follow him. All his jewels were then spread before him, and he talked of the nature and properties of each kind of stone, according to the notions of those times. Returning to his apartment, he sent for his son Theodore, and his

[s] Possev. de Comm. de Moscov. passim. [t] Ld. Carlisle's Embassy. [u] Chytr. p. 752. Neugeb. lib. x. p. 746. ex quo Thuan. ad an. 1584.

counsellors, and chose out of these last four in particular, as persons on whom he relied for the guardianship of their future sovereign. He then desired his son to set at liberty all the prisoners in his dominions, to abolish several new taxes, to restore every estate that had been unjustly confiscated, and, as much as possible, to keep peace with his neighbours [x]. A bath was then got ready, by his order; and, on coming out of it, he went to bed, rested a little while, and then called for a draught-board; but, in playing, he fell back and expired (L).

His character.

In this prince Russia lost the greatest monarch she had ever known. He was a profound politician, well acquainted with the interests of his neighbours, and his own; valiant, and almost always successful in war, till king Stephen of Poland took the field against him; from which time, through some unaccountable notion he had conceived, he constantly avoided a decisive battle; contenting himself with several flying camps, which were at too great a distance from one another. By these, indeed, he covered Novogrod and Moscow, but did not hinder parties of the enemy from plundering several places on his frontiers. Knowing the genius of the Poles, he concluded from thence, that they would never have consented to continue the war so long as they did. But there are conjunctures in which the multitude give way, and a brave people will sacrifice even their vices to the valour of their master, or to reasons of state.

John Basilowitz was learned for the times he lived in, and particularly in matters of religion; for which reason he would never suffer any to be persecuted for their belief; knowing that conviction must come from reason and conscience, and not from violence and tortures, which may make men hypocrites, but cannot render them good Christians. The Jews, however, he could not endure; he thought that those who had betrayed and killed the Redeemer of the world, ought not to be trusted, or even tolerated, by any prince who professed himself a Christian; and in consequence of this opinion, he obliged them, either to be baptized, or to quit his dominions [y]. But, he ought to have considered that the Jews of his time, were not accessory to the crime of their ancestors. He was naturally very hasty and passionate; but could check his anger, as

[x] Chytr. ubi. supra. Thuan. ubi supra. L. Muller, Pohln. & Liefl. Hist. p. 114.

[y] Oderb. p. 319. Petr. p. 252.

(L) He died on the 26th of March, 1584.

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the jesuit Possevin experienced, when, in one of their conversations touching the church of Rome, to which great efforts were made to bring over this prince, the czar not allowing the pope's lineal succession from St. Peter, or his being justly entitled to the appellation of sole head of the universal church, Possevin answered, that he might as well deny his own succession from Wolodomir; and that, if he questioned the justice of the papal authority, he wondered why he, and his predecessors, had ever sent an embassy to Rome. Basilowitz thereupon started up, and told the legate, that he must surely think he was talking to an ignorant peasant. Every one present began to tremble for Possevin; but the czar, sitting down again after a moment's recollection, kissed him, as a token of reconciliation, changed the discourse, and desired they might never more meddle with matters of religion, lest something worse should unguardedly escape him; the next day, he again made excuses for his warmth [z]. In the first emotions of violent passion, Basilowitz may, undoubtedly, have done many things that cannot be excused, and which he himself was afterwards sorry for; as appears by his endeavouring to curb the natural violence of his temper. His enemies have endeavoured to represent him as a hypocrite in religion; but he certainly shewed, on many occasions, that his devotion was unfeigned; being frequently the first at church, one of the most fervent there (M), and always ready to set an example to the monks, whom he hated on account of their idleness [a]. Persuaded that kings were sovereign pontiffs of their own dominions, he would often officiate in person in that quality; and at such times retire to the monastery of Alexandrowa, to prepare himself for those holy functions, which he performed with a patriarchal dignity [b]. The charge of avarice, which several writers have alleged against him, is refuted by the many pensions he granted to foreigners, the many churches he built, the great expence at which he carried on his wars, particularly against Poland and Livonia, and the vast magnificence of his court; such as no idea had ever been formed of before. His collecting uncommon quantities of jewels, was, probably, more for the sake of grandeur than out of avarice; and to shew

[z] Possev. Comm. p. 34, 38. [a] Oderb. p. 320. [b] Idem, ibid.

(M) Olearius observes of him, that his forehead was often bloody and full of sores; owing to the custom of the Russians, who used to beat their foreheads against the ground in their prayers.

other nations, that he was in no want of wealth. He found himself in circumstances, wherein the welfare and glory of his state required enterprizes more difficult than any of his predecessors had been engaged in; besides, he was determined, if possible, to civilize his people, by introducing among them the manners and arts of other nations; a great undertaking, which one of his successors completed in our days, but which raised many murmurs against Basilowitz, as the author of strange innovations. The very nature of his people rendered severity necessary; and their manners required, that the punishment should be great and exemplary; for no other means could keep them within bounds, or secure his life[c]. He was, therefore, inflexible in his sentences, and insisted on their being executed with the utmost rigour. At certain stated times, persons of every rank, who thought themselves aggrieved, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to present petitions, which he received with his own hand, read, and answered immediately. If any one of these contained complaints against his ministers or governors, and they were found to have injured or oppressed even the meanest of his subjects, they were sure to be punished, according to the nature of the offence, either corporally, or with forfeiture of their estates, or even with death; a method of proceeding which displeased all his nobles, and disposed them to enter into conspiracies against his life and government[d]. The severity of these punishments, generally much heavier than were inflicted in any other nation, has induced most writers to represent this prince as the cruelest of men, and worst of tyrants; but if they had considered the circumstances of things, and the nature of the people over whom he reigned, we believe they would, with some more judicious authors[e], have been less full of rancour, virulence, and partiality; to obviate all suspicion of which last, or of a love of singularity in this attempt to vindicate the much injured character of a great prince, truth requires our declaring, that, with all the virtues we have here allowed him, he had his vices, and those very enormous. His passions were violent; the natural ferocity of his country prevailed in him to the very last; he was impatient of controul, and is said to have been so much addicted to women, as to have had several concubines, besides seven lawful wives; though

[c] Apologia pro Joanne Basilide II. c. i. sect. xii. [d] Oderb. p. 317. Petr. p. 247. [e] Thuan. ad an. 1584. Schurtzfl. Diss. Hist. tom. i. Diss. xlv. p. 8. Bar. de Meyerb. Itiner. Moscov. p. 57. Apol. pro Joanne Basilid. II. 1712. 4to.

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we cannot think he ever went so far as to have naked women placed on the high-ways to gaze at as he passed by, as some writers have pretended; or that he carried his resentment to such excess, as to think of putting all the women in Moscow to death, because some of them had affronted one of his mistresses; and much less can we believe what others say, of his making his concubines common to his sons. No writers of any credit aver these things; nor indeed does baron Uhlefeld, who resided a considerable time at the court of Moscow, in quality of ambassador from the emperor of Germany, and who has been pretty particular in his account of John Basilowitz II. accuse him even of incontinence.

We cannot close the character of this prince without observing farther in his favour, that neither solicitations nor interest could ever influence him in the disposal of offices or employments, which, to the best of his knowlege, he always gave to the most deserving. Scarce any prince was a greater lover of justice and order. Detesting drunkards, whom he rightly judged capable of doing the most wicked things during their intoxication, he commanded that they should be imprisoned for a time proportioned to their degree of ebriety, especially if they transgressed on days set apart for abstinence: and looking upon people who ran in debt, without being able to pay, as men of bad principles, and dangerous to society, he ordered them to be publicly stigmatized and banished; saying, that none were fitter to become traitors to their country[f]. This prince first composed a body of law, for the use of his subjects, collected from many precedents and customs, and called it Suderaja Kniga, which, in the Russian language, signifies the *Book of Justice*. This book, which he delivered to his judges, was always observed, and made the standard in all law-proceedings, though not printed till the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz.

His person was tall, robust, and well-proportioned; and his countenance comely and majestic, without any thing fierce or disagreeable in his looks. His eyes were small and lively, his nose aquiline, and his complexion ruddy. Oderborn and Petreius say his memory was so great, that he could tell the names of all his officers, and of every prisoner he had taken; they add, that his penetration and judgment, particularly in political affairs, were equally strong. His crown was deemed inestimably rich: his robe was purple embroidered with jewels, and his shoes were

[f] Petr. p. 247.

set with diamonds of very great value. In his right-hand he carried a globe, enriched with precious stones, and in his left a sceptre, embellished in the same manner [g]; whilst his fingers were covered with the finest jewels the Indies could produce. When he appeared in public, the arms of the empire, finely embroidered upon a spread eagle, which his father Basilius first assumed, and magnificently adorned with jewels, were sometimes carried before him: a piece of state which helped to command respect.

He left two sons; Theodore, who succeeded him, and Demetrius, an infant, whom he placed under the tutelage of his great favourite, the knez Bogdan Bielski, a man of vast genius, but excessively haughty and cruel, audaciously bold and enterprising, and ready to sacrifice every thing to his unbounded ambition.

THEODORE IWANOWITZ.

Theodore was twenty years of age when he ascended the throne. His person was engaging, and his temper amiable; but his understanding so weak, that, particularly whilst his father lived, he preferred the conversation of monks, and such sort of people, to the company of great men, and ministers of state, and made ringing of bells his chief amusement; a circumstance which displeased Basilowitz so much, that he used frequently to say, he was fitter to be the son of a sexton than a prince. All historians [h] agree in giving him this character; except Oderborn, who, for what reason, or upon what ground, we cannot divine, extols his wisdom and conduct, saying, that he only affected simplicity during his father's life-time, in order to avoid jealousy and suspicion. Certain it is, that mildness and moderation, of which he had a greater share than of resolution, knowlege, or discernment, were by no means sufficient alone to qualify him to govern so untractable a people as the Russians.

Bielski's ambitious projects.

The aspiring Bielski, sensible of this want of capacity in Theodore, thought it would be easy for him to seize on the sovereignty, if, by excluding that prince as incapable of governing so vast an empire, he could place his pupil on the throne. To this end he took great pains to have it reported among the people, even before the death of Basilowitz, that Theodore was too weak and simple ever to be

g Perneſt. Epiſt. in Honor. Theſauro, part. i. p. 281. Ja. ab Uhlef. Hodæpor. Ruthen. p. 38. h L. Muller, Pohln. Lieſt. Hiſt. p. 114. Petr. Moſc. Chron. p. 256. Meyerb. Itin. Moſc. p. 58. Lundorp. Sleidan. Contin. tom. iii. p. 6. Thuan. ad an. 1605.

fit

fit to reign; and after his emissaries had industriously propagated this opinion among the lower class, he himself began to sound the nobles. In the mean time Basilowitz died, Theodore was crowned, and his very first acts of authority endeared him to his subjects; for he immediately abolished some very heavy taxes, discharged several prisoners, who had been confined so long, that they despaired of ever more seeing the sun, and broke the late czar's new raised body-guards, whose insolence and licentiousness had rendered them extremely odious. The grandees of the empire, to whom Bielski had applied in order to learn their sentiments concerning Theodore, perceiving that, under the specious pretext of consulting the welfare of the state, he, in reality, aimed at making himself sole master of the realm, vigorously opposed his designs. Finding himself thus disappointed, he endeavoured to effect by force what he could not compass by fraud. He raised forces, bribed some of the troops in Moscow, took possession of the castle of that city, and began to act with a despotic authority. The nobility, alarmed at these proceedings, soon made the people sensible, that this haughty minister aimed at nothing less than usurping the throne: upon which they immediately besieged him in the castle, and reduced him to such straits, that he attempted to escape in disguise; but falling into the hands of the besiegers, they gave him his choice, either to renounce the management of affairs, or suffer death. He chose to resign, and banished himself to one of the most remote parts of the empire, in the kingdom of Casan [k].

His designs are frustrated,

and he is banished.

Theodore had married the sister of the knez Boris Gudenow, grand-master of his horse (N). This man, knowing how to take advantage of the incapacity of his brother-in-law, had already found means to seize insensibly on all his authority. To a distinguished birth, he joined the most insinuating address, which rendered him capable of undertaking and executing whatever he pleased. He had greatness of soul, but was naturally cruel; and could put on an air of meekness and popularity, which concealed his immoderate ambition. He endeavoured, at first, to gain the people and the nobles, by repeated acts of beneficence; was accessible to all; and had the art of throwing the blame on others, when he was forced to send any person away

Character and rise of Boris Gudenow.

[k] Oberb. de Vit. Basilid. lib. iii. p. 321.

(N) Captain Margaret says she only passed for his sister, but as in reality his daughter. Her name was Irene Udovia.

dissatisfied: in short, all his actions seemed calculated for the public good. By these means he raised himself to the post of prime minister, commander in chief, and co-regent of the empire, with universal approbation [k].

Embassy from Poland.

During the disturbances which attended the beginning of this reign, Sapieha arrived at Moscow, in quality of ambassador from Stephen king of Poland: but as his credentials were addressed to the late czar Basilowitz, he deferred delivering them till such time as he should receive fresh instructions from his court. Under pretence of sending for these, he wrote his master word, that the situation of the Russians, and the weakness of their prince was such, as offered him a fine opportunity to recover Smolensko, from whence he might easily proceed to Moscow; but Stephen nobly ordered Sapieha, to use his utmost endeavours to reunite the Muscovites; adding, that the czar had sent him an embassy to that effect [l]. At the same time the Swedes, with whom the truce was now expired, desired to make a perpetual peace with Russia. Theodore received their ambassadors graciously, but insisted on keeping all his possessions in Livonia, and on being reimbursed the expences of the late war. The Swedes objecting to these conditions, the intended peace was converted into a fresh truce for four years [m]. A new congress was afterwards held, in which the subject of a perpetual peace was again resumed: but upon the king of Sweden's being desired to treat with the chief magistrate of Novogrod, a proposal which he looked upon as inconsistent with his dignity, the negociation broke off, with only confirming the late truce.

A fresh truce with Sweden.

A.D. 1587. Stephen Battori, king of Poland, dying soon after this transaction, Boris Gudenow endeavoured to obtain that crown for Theodore; promising the Poles, that, if they would elect him for their sovereign, he would do his utmost to bring about an union of the monarchies of Russia and Poland, from whence many considerable advantages would arise. The Polish nobility, knowing the temper and disposition of Theodore, were greatly inclined to come into this scheme, by which they hoped, at least, to recover Smolensko and Livonia, and free the Livonians from all their troubles, without the hazard or expence of war; besides, perhaps, having a share in the chief direction of affairs. However, when the diet met at Warsaw, the majority of

Boris endeavours to obtain the crown of Poland for Theodore:

[k] Petr. p. 25. Lubienski, p. 78. & Op. Posth. p. 28. Kobierz. Hist. Uladisl. p. 55. [l] Vide ipsas Literas Sapiehæ, ap. L. Muller, Pohln. & Liefl. Hist. p. iii. & Oderb. ubi supra. [m] Loccen. Hist. Suec. lib. vii. p. 427. Puffend. p. 454. Chytr. p. 760.

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its members voted for Sigismund, prince of Sweden, the son of John, and nephew, by his mother's side, of Sigismund Augustus, who had reigned in Poland immediately before Stephen: the rest elected Maximilian of Austria. This division drew the latter into Poland, at the head of an army, which was defeated by general Zamoiski. Maximilian was taken prisoner, and purchased his liberty by renouncing the crown. *but it is given to Sigismund.*

It was now to be feared that the kings of Sweden and Poland would make an alliance, so much the more fatal to Russia, as the Crim Tartars threatened its provinces with an irruption: and, indeed, they shortly after executed their design; though it was not attended with the ill consequences that had been apprehended, because Boris Gudenow opposed them with troops, which, if they were not capable of attacking and driving them away, harrassed them in their progress, and prevented their penetrating far into the country. *The Tartars are checked by Boris.*

Theodore's disappointment in not obtaining the crown of Poland, was soon after compensated by the total reduction of the vast districts of Siberia, many of which had before been tributary; but all of them now became absolutely subject to the czar [n], without costing the life of a single man, through the means of one Stobinow, or Stroganow, a native of that country. A.D. 1589. *Siberia entirely subjected to Russia.*

Jermak Timiofevitz, a Don Cossack, had committed dreadful ravages in the districts watered by the rivers Oka and Wolga, until he was driven to the greatest extremities, and his retreat to his own country effectually cut off by the troops which were sent against him by the czar John Basilowitz. After having lost the greatest part of his followers, he crossed the rivers Kama and Tshusowaia; where, with the assistance of one Stroganow, a petty sovereign in those parts, he embarked the remains of his Cossacks, with some auxiliaries, on the river Tura, besieged and took the town of Ouzigidin, now called Tinmen, and afterwards reduced the city of Tobolsk, from whence he drove the Kusium-khan. Sensible, however, that he should not be able to keep in awe the numerous Tartars of this country, he sent the son of Kusium-khan, his prisoner, with a tender of his conquest to the Russian court, on condition of his being indulged with a free pardon. His request was readily granted; and a strong body of troops was sent to take possession of the country. Since that period, the Rus-

[n] Henning's Observations on A. Von. Brandt's Travels, p. 393.

sians

sians have been continually extending their conquests in Siberia.

Fruitless negociations for peace with the Swedes.

The truce with Sweden, which had been so often renewed, drawing again towards an end, commissaries were appointed, on both sides, to meet on the frontiers of the two states, to convert it into a peace. The very name of war alarmed the czar Theodore, and Gudenow had very good reasons for endeavouring to preserve tranquillity: for in the midst of arms, and the embarrassment of a war wherein he must have appeared in person, he could not form a party to put the last hand to the plan he had been long meditating. The Russian ministry were, therefore, ordered to purchase peace, if it could not be obtained otherwise; and to offer considerable sums to the Swedes, if they would, in changing the truce to a treaty of peace and alliance, restore to the czar Iwanogorod, Jamogrod, Coporie, Kexholm, and the other places which they had conquered in Ingria and Carelia, about nine years before. The Swedes were deaf to the propofal; and all that could be settled was, that the truce should be prolonged for three months, and that the commissaries should meet again at the expiration of that time.

A.D 1590.

Another fruitless negotiation.

Gudenow then altered his proceedings with the Swedes. Not to be their dupe, and at the same time to shew them, that if he was willing to pay for a peace, it was not through want of power to obtain it otherwise, he caused the next Russian ambassadors to be followed by an army capable of giving weight to their demands [2]. They entered into conferences because the Swedes were come to the place appointed; but soon broke up, when it was known that the Russian troops had sacked and burnt Jamogrod; though the Russian plenipotentiaries protested that these hostilities were committed without their privity.

The Russians burn Jamogrod;

Both sides had now taken the field. Theodore and Boris, who commanded under him, appeared with an army of one hundred thousand men; which the Swedes were no sooner informed of, than they recalled the troops they had sent to make incursions into Russia. This gave the czar an opportunity of marching on without interruption to Iwanogrod, which soon surrendered. He next invested Narva, before which he formed eight camps, and forced the Swedish army, commanded by Gustavus Banner to retire to Wesenberg. The Russians carried on their attacks with great spirit, but were vigorously repulsed by the be-

take Iwanogrod, and besiege Narva.

[2] Chytr. p. 810.

sieged,

sieged, though with the loss of half their men: and in the mean time the Tartars, whom Theodore had secured by dint of money[p], laid Finland waste. Charles Horn, governor of Narva, foreseeing the straits he was likely to be reduced to, and solicited by all the citizens and the garrison, not to expose them to the last assault, agreed to give up to the Russians all their conquests in Ingria, and to sign a truce for a year, on condition that they should raise the siege. These proposals were readily accepted. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Theodore made his public entry into Iwanogrod, and after having stayed there only one day, returned to his army.

A truce concluded for a year.

Next year, at the meeting of the states of Poland, the Swedish ambassador solicited the assistance of the Poles against the Russians: but upon their receiving letters from Theodore, expressing his desire of peace, they refused to afford the Swedes any succours, and recommended them to put an end to the war[q]. The Swedes, however, were still averse to an accommodation; and though the plague raged violently among them, they still continued to harrass the Russian territories, and, with the assistance of the Tartars, penetrated to the gates of Moscow, but they were soon entirely defeated and dispersed.

A.D. 1591.

The Poles refuse to assist the Swedes.

The ambitious Gudenow, unable to bear even a nominal superior, for he exercised in fact all the functions of the sovereign authority in the name of the czar Theodore, whom he governed as he pleased, now resolved to make himself sole master of the throne of Russia. To this end, under pretence of rewarding their services, by giving them governments, and other considerable employments, he removed to a distance from the court those whom he thought capable of seeing through, or obstructing his design. Every thing seemed to favour his wish. King John of Sweden was more intent upon religion than war; and a misunderstanding which subsisted between him and his brother duke Charles, would scarce allow him to intermeddle with the affairs of his neighbours. The Poles were not pleased with his son Sigismund, who, contrary to the oath he had taken when he accepted the crown, had not yet re-united Livonia to Poland; and the czarina, his sister, who had never brought Theodore but one child, a daughter, which died in her third year[r], began now to be reputed barren; insomuch that the states of Russia, in pursuance of an ancient custom, demanded that she should be divorced, and shut up in a convent, and that the czar should marry the sister

Gudenow resolves to usurp the throne.

[p] Loccen. p. 438. [q] Chytr. p. 823. [r] Margar. f. 6.

of

of knez Floro Iwanowitz Zizlphouſchis. This ſtep Boris ſtrongly oppoſed: and by artfully inſinuating to the patriarch, that if the czar ſhould have heirs by a new conſort, and the young Demetrius ſhould come of age, it would neceſſarily create great diſturbances in the empire; he ſo far gained him over to his intereſt, that the head of the Ruſſian church ordered Floro's ſiſter to be ſent directly to a convent [s]. He then endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by ſeveral popular acts; particularly by ſurrounding Moſcow with a wall of ſtone; making many improvements at Smolenſko, and erecting ſeveral caſtles between Caſan and Aſtracan, two of which became afterwards the towns of Boriſgorod and Czaargorod.

He cauſes the czar's brother Demetrius to be aſſaſſinated.

The young Demetrius, pupil to Bogdan Bielſki, was now almoſt the only obſtacle to Gudenow's deſign. The czar John Baſilowitz II. had him by his laſt wife, and at his death had given him the city of Uglitz, one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from Moſcow, with its dependencies, for his appenage. This prince, ſcarcely nine years of age, was brought up under the care of the czarina-dowager his mother, who employed her whole time in his education. Boris Gudenow reſolved to ſacrifice this innocent victim to his ambition, and truſted the execution of his wicked plot to an officer, whom he promiſed to reward in proportion to the ſervice he expected at his hands. This man ſoon found an opportunity to perpetrate his cruel orders: but Gudenow, who knew that if he was capable of committing ſuch a crime, he muſt be alſo capable of divulging it, cauſed him to be way-laid on the road from Uglitz, and aſſaſſinated.

Some have ſaid, that this officer belonged to Boris Gudenow, others that he was an officer in Demetrius's own houſe. The clearing up this point would diſſipate many doubts concerning this murder, than which we know not a more intricate event in all the Ruſſian hiſtory (O): for if the aſſaſſin

[s] Petr., p. 258.

(O) Petreius, Olearius, Lundorpius, Lubienſky, Ludolphus, and ſeveral other writers ſay, that Boris hired four noblemen, by promiſing them great rewards, to kill Demetrius; that they actually killed the real Demetrius, and afterwards ſet fire to the houſe, to conceal their crime; and that they then made the beſt of their way to Moſcow, where Boris, to ſmother all proofs againſt him, cauſed them to be put to death privately. Grevenbruſk and Margaret, cotemporary writers, the latter of whom was captain of the guards to a Demetrius, whom he believed to be the ſon of John Baſilowitz II. as appears by his own

assassin was an officer of Demetrius, there is little likelihood that he could be deceived; but if he belonged to Gudenow, the mother of the young prince, informed in time of his criminal design against Demetrius, might, as several authors say she did, substitute in his stead another boy of the same age, and thereby save his life. This would have been difficult in any other country but Russia or Turky; but that difficulty will disappear to those who are acquainted with the manners of the Russians. The great people there are absolute masters of their vassals, and the peasants are born their slaves, whom they dispose of as if they were cattle; so that it could be no difficult matter for the czarina to find a child whom she might sacrifice to save her son.

The news of this murder soon reached Moscow. The author of it was not named, though he was sufficiently suspected. The dowager-czarina made great complaints of it to the czar, from whom she demanded justice; and Gudenow himself gave orders for discovering the assassin: but those who knew him were not deceived by such appearances. He soon understood that he himself was suspected, and was sensible of the necessity of endeavouring to stifle the report. The expedient that seemed to him the most likely to answer this end, was to turn the thoughts of the people to something more immediately interesting. To this purpose he caused Moscow to be set on fire in several places in the night-time; and during the conflagration, which could not but rage with extreme violence in a vast city, where all the buildings were of wood, he appeared remarkably active in endeavouring to suppress the flames: his looks and actions seemed to express infinite concern. Next day he sent for the principal citizens, and others who had sustained the greatest damage, and after a long and pathetic lamentation for so dismal an accident, he promised them, not only to obtain from the czar a sum of money sufficient to compensate their losses, but that he would rebuild their houses with stone at his own expence: then he dismissed them, possessed of the highest admiration of his un-

Sets fire to the city of Moscow.

His artful generosity to its inhabitants.

own account, say, that the son of a diak, who resembled Demetrius in age, size, and countenance, was substituted instead of the real prince, and murdered. The judicious Thunanus leaves the point undetermined. What induces us to suppose that the true Demetrius was assassinated at Uglitz by the procurement of Boris Gudenow, is the authority of the czar Peter I. who speaks of it as a fact known to the Russians, in his manifesto, or motives for declaring war against Charles XII. of Sweden, drawn up in the year 1716, and published by authority at Petersburg, in the year 1717.

expected

pected generosity, and the most cordial satisfaction at having such a man as Boris at the head of the government [t]. At the same time he sent troops to Uglitz, to raze the castle to the ground, and drive away the inhabitants; because, said he, they had suffered this murder, and harboured assassins.

A.D.1592. *John king of Sweden dies.*

The death of king John of Sweden, which happened this year, seemed to offer the Russians a fair opportunity to conclude the long wished-for peace with that kingdom, the states of which were at variance among themselves concerning his successor. Sigismund, king of Poland was the next heir, as son of the deceased monarch; but his great zeal for the Romish religion, and his being already possessed of the crown of Poland, induced the majority of the Swedes to think duke Charles a fitter person to ascend their throne. Sigismund, however, obtained leave from his subjects to repair to Sweden, in order to assert his right to that crown; but upon the express condition, that if he did not return to them within a year, they should consider him as having abdicated his government, and proceed to the election of a new king [u]. In the mean time duke Charles, who acted as regent, sent commissaries to treat with the Russians on the proposed peace, and ordered the commanders in Esthonia to provide themselves with all proper necessaries, in case either the Russians or the Poles should attempt any thing against them before the succession was properly settled. These commissaries concluded a truce with the Russians for two years, but postponed the peace to a farther treaty.

Negociation for peace with Sweden.

A.D.1593. *The Russians send an embassy to the pope.*

During this treaty the Russians sent an embassy to pope Clement XII. in order to obtain his recognition of Theodore as a king, and desiring that his ambassadors might be treated at Rome in the same manner as those of other crowned heads: but his holiness would not agree to this, unless Theodore would embrace the Roman catholic religion, and subject the church of Russia to the see of Rome. This refusal did not, however, much chagrin the Russians, as their czar was already acknowleged a king, not only by the emperor of Germany, but by the sovereigns of England, Denmark, Persia, and several other potentates [w].

The negociation between the Russians and the Swedes was renewed in the beginning of the next year; and in the

[t] Margar. f. 6. Petr. p. 261. [u] Piasec. Chron. p. 120. Loccen. lib. vii. p. 442. Puffend. p. 485. [w] Herb. Conf. Margaret, f. 5.

year

year after, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two nations, at Teuſſin; though the Poles exerted their utmoſt efforts to render it abortive. The Ruſſians renounced Eſthonia for ever; and the Swedes gave up Kexholm, and a part of Carelia. The commerce of the North was likewiſe opened by by this treaty, after having been interrupted by a war which laſted thirty-ſeven years [x]. A.D. 1595. *Peace concluded between the Ruſſians and the Swedes at Teuſſin.*

Soon after the concluſion of this peace, Theodore ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the emperor Rudolph II. which was one of the laſt public acts of this prince. The Ruſſian writers are ſilent on the ſubject of this embaſſy: but we may gueſs its purport from the emperor's anſwer, in which, after thanking the czar for his offer of aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, and expatiating largely on the renown he would thereby gain from all the Chriſtian powers, he told him, that he could ſay nothing poſitive with reſpect to the propoſed confederacy of the principal potentates of Europe; the king of Spain being then ancient and infirm, and greatly embarrraſſed, not only by France and England, but with his own diſaffected ſubjects. He promiſed, however, to promote this affair, both at the Spaniſh and papal courts; and in the mean time adviſed Theodore to continue in friendſhip with the pope and the ſophi of Perſia, as a point which nearly concerned the peace and tranquillity of Chriſtendom in general. He thanks Theodore for having gained the Tartars over to his intereſt; and tells him, that ever ſince the concluſion of the late treaty of peace with Sweden, he had conſtantly kept ambaſſadors at this laſt court, as well to teſtify his friendſhip for the czar, as to induce the Swedes to be more ready to comply with his deſires [y]. *Theodore ſends an embaſſy to the emperor Rudolph II.*

Not long after this tranſaction, Theodore was taken ill; and it being apprehended that his diſeaſe was mortal, the chief of the nobility requeſted him to name a ſucceſſor; which he told them he would do, by delivering his ſtaff to the perſon he thought moſt proper. Accordingly, when he found his end draw near, and the prieſts had dreſſed him up in a monk's cowl, according to the then cuſtom of the Ruſſians, he held out his ſtaff to Theodore Nikititz Romanow, who was his couſin by his mother's ſide, and his next heir: but Theodore, refuſing to accept it, preſented his brother Alexander, who, likewiſe declining it, preſented a third brother named John; who, in his turn, preſented a fourth called Michael, and this laſt preſented a A.D 1597. *Is taken ill.*

[x] Chytr. p. 904. [y] Petr. p. 263. Chytr. p. 934. Thuan. lib. cxx.

knez,

knez, not related to the family: upon which Theodore, in a passion, threw his staff upon the floor, saying, that whoever took it up should have the throne. Boris Gudenow then stepped forward, and took it, to the great mortification of all the Russian nobility [y].

and dies. Theodore died after a reign of twelve years, not without violent suspicion of his having been poisoned by his brother-in-law. The czarina seemed so well convinced of this circumstance, that she strongly reproached her brother Boris Gudenow with the murder of her husband, and would never speak to him afterwards.

In this prince ended the line of Ruric, who had governed Russia upwards of seven hundred years.

SECT. IX.

From the Extinction of the Lineage of Ruric, to the Accession of the now reigning Family of Romanow.

Artful management of Boris. WHEN the six weeks of mourning for Theodore were expired (P), Boris assembled the nobility and principal citizens of Moscow; and, having surrendered the staff of their late czar, declared, that he had no inclination to reign, and, therefore, desired them to appoint whatever person they thought fit to ascend the vacant throne [z]. He then withdrew, and retired to a monastery about three miles off, leaving the astonished assembly in the utmost perplexity. Some of his creatures observed, that their meeting was scarcely numerous enough to determine so important an affair, and that it would be better to convene deputies from all the cities and provinces of the empire. This advice was approved of, and Boris was pitched upon; but he still artfully refused the crown, and at the same time caused a report to be spread, by some of his emissaries, that he was going to be shaved, and to take the habit of a monk; others of them declared, that the Tartar khan was marching with an incredible force to invade Russia, whilst it was destitute of a sovereign. The people, who loved him, alarmed at these tidings, ran in crouds to the convent, where, throwing themselves on the ground, tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, like men in the utmost despair, they vowed they would never quit the place, till

[y] Petr. p. 263. Chytr. p. 934. Thuan. lib. cxx. [z] Petr. p. 264. & seq.

(P) The Russians used to mourn but six weeks.

he

he had promised them to be their czar. Pretending then to be overcome by their intreaties, and saying, that if it was the will of Providence that he should be their prince, he must be so; he put it upon the issue of his conquering the Tartars, who were advancing towards Moscow, to which end he desired all the nobility and militia to meet him at Zirpokow, in the ensuing month of June [a]. He accordingly repaired thither at the time appointed, and found five hundred thousand men assembled, ready to obey his orders. With this prodigious army he took the field: but instead of meeting the numerous enemies that had been talked of, only an ambassador from the Tartars appeared, with about a hundred attendants, who was going to Moscow to treat with Boris, as this last well knew. Counterfeiting, however, great mystery and surprize, he ordered his army to be drawn up in two columns, and his artillery to be ranged properly and fired, whilst the Tartars were led through the troops, to shew them the strength of Russia; after which ceremony, they were dismissed with rich presents. A year's pay was then ordered to the Russian soldiers, and proper gratuities were presented to each of the nobles: upon which they all declared Boris Gudenow their czar, and immediately took the oath of fidelity [b]. He then displayed his magnificence, by treating daily near ten thousand men at a time, for six weeks successively, always under rich tents, and served in nothing but plate, according to the account of captain Margaret, who was one of Boris's officers. In the mean time proper persons were sent to Moscow, with an account, that the Tartars, intimidated by the new czar's wife and vast preparations, had not dared to advance against him. The people, believing this report, came in throngs to meet him, and conducted him with great joy to Moscow, where he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch, on the then new year's day of the Russians (Q).

Who is proclaimed czar by the troops,

and crowned.

BORIS GUDENOW.

BORIS, at his coronation, made a vow not to shed any blood for five years, nor inflict any heavier punishment

First actions and behaviour of Boris, when czar.

[a] Margaret. Olear. p. 116. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 116. Thuan. ad h. a. [b] Petr. p. 269.

(Q) The 1st of September, 1597. The Russians used to date the commencement of their year from the 1st day of September; because, said they, God certainly created the world in the autumn, when the corn was in full ear, and the fruits of the earth fit to eat. The Great Peter corrected this, among several other abuses.

upon criminals than banishing them to Siberia, or some other distant place. Numbers of the nobility, who were not absolutely in his interest, soon experienced this last fate [c], under various pretences; whilst others, particularly those who had any sort of claim to the crown, were forbid to marry. Theodore Nikititz Romanow, to whom the late czar had first offered his staff, by way of designating him for his successor, was imprisoned, and separated from his wife; after which separation, they were forced into different convents, and obliged to take orders and change their names. That of Philaret was given to Theodore, whose posterity soon after came to the throne of Russia, notwithstanding all the endeavours of this usurper to deprive them of the sovereignty. A total alteration of manners ensued: from obsequius, popular, and easy of access, which he was before; he now became haughty, reserved, and excessively suspicious.

He had a daughter, whom he hoped to settle advantageously, by marrying her to Gustavus Ericson, natural son of Eric XIV. king of Sweden. In this view he sent to Gustavus, who had retired to Thorn, in Prussia, where he led a private life, and invited him to Moscow, with pompous promises. Gustavus accepted the invitation, and was received with the utmost magnificence, loaded with presents, and treated with extraordinary splendour. But this profusion of liberality was of short duration; for Boris, finding that he was so strongly attached to a mistress he had, as to decline all thoughts of marriage, and that his genius was not equal to any great enterprize, bribed one of his servants to purloin the passport he had granted him for his safe-conduct; then he took away all his presents, stopped his pecuniary allowance, and at last banished him to the duchy of Uglitz, with a revenue of four thousand rubles for his support.

A.D. 1600. Though Boris was thus disappointed in his designs of making Gustavus subservient to his views, as Magnus had been to those of Basilowitz; yet the Poles were so far alarmed at these proceedings, that they sent a grand embassy to Moscow to conclude a peace, which was at length agreed upon for twenty years, and the Polish ambassadors were dismissed with great pomp and rich presents [d].

He concludes a peace with the Poles.

A.D. 1601. The hostile intentions of Boris against the Swedes still subsisting, he first attempted to gain possession of the important city of Narva by treachery; but being disappointed in that scheme, he endeavoured to cultivate the friendship

And an alliance with the Danes.

[c] Petr. p. 271. Margar. f. 29. [d] Ibid. f. 30.

of

of Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, who wanted only a proper opportunity to attack the Swedes[e]; and, having entered into an alliance with him, he propoſed a match between the king's brother, and his daughter[f].

Moſcow deſolated by famine.

While theſe treaties were negociating, a terrible famine reduced Moſcow and the adjacent country to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that the moſt ſhocking cruelties were committed, by the neareſt relations, upon one another, to appeaſe their tormenting hunger. Thouſands of people lay dead in the ſtreets and highways, with their mouths full of hay, ſtraw, or even the moſt filthy things, which they had endeavoured to eat. In many houſes, the fatteſt perſon was killed, to ſerve for food to the reſt. Even parents were ſaid to have eaten their own children, and children to have devoured their parents, or to have ſold them to buy bread. Petreius ſays, that he himſelf ſaw a woman bite ſeveral pieces out of a child's arm as ſhe was carrying it along; and captain Margaret relates, that four women having ordered a peaſant to come to one of their houſes, under pretence of paying him for ſome wood, killed and ate both him and his horſe. This dreadful calamity laſted three years; in the courſe of which, though Boris tried all poſſible means, and ſpent immenſe ſums to alleviate it, upwards of five hundred thouſand perſons died in the city of Moſcow only.

A.D.1602.

Duke John of Denmark arrives at Moſcow, and dies there.

In the midſt of this inexpreſſible miſery, duke John of Denmark, arrived at Moſcow, to celebrate his marriage with Axinia Boriſſowa, the czar's daughter. He was received with the utmoſt cordiality, and entertained with as great magnificence as the then deplorable condition of the country would admit of: but he had not been there above a month, when he was taken ill, and died, to the great grief of Boris, who viſited him daily during his ſickneſs, and mourned for him three weeks.

Boris rejects an embaſſy from the Turks.

Soon after the death of duke John, an embaſſy arrived at Moſcow from the Ottoman Porte, with large preſents to the czar, in order to conclude with him a treaty of friendſhip and alliance: but Boris refuſed the preſents, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with contempt, telling them, that he ſhould ever be an enemy to the Turks, becauſe they were enemies to the Chriſtians, and then at war with his brother the Roman emperor.

Grants privileges to the Lubeckers, Engliſh, and Dutch.

About the ſame time the Lubeckers applied to him for a renewal of their privilege to trade to Pleſkow, Novogrod,

[e] Puffend. p. 546. ſupra. Petr. 262.

[f] Petr. p. 275, & ſeq. Margaret. ubi

and Moscow, and sent him several valuable presents of plate, with a large spread eagle finely gilded, and filled with ducats. Their request was granted, and the same indulgence was extended to the English and Dutch g.

A.D. 1604. A melancholy gloom, which had hung upon Gudenow for a long while was now visibly increased by a report, that Demetrius was still alive, and that another child had been murdered in his stead. This information gave him great uneasiness, and many persons, who were suspected of being in the interest of that prince, were put to the rack, in order to extort a confession; but nothing positive could be discovered: others were banished, and privately murdered upon the road; and Demetrius's mother was removed to an obscure place, six hundred miles from Moscow. At length positive intelligence was brought to Boris, that two monks had escaped from a monastery, and gone into Poland; that one of them was called Griska Utropeja; but that the name of the other, who was supposed to be Demetrius, could not be learnt, and that they were then in the service of Adam Wiesnowieski, chief magistrate of Kiow. This intelligence threw Boris into the utmost consternation. He tried every method to prevail upon Wiesnowieski to deliver up to him the person supposed to be Demetrius; but all his efforts proving ineffectual, he sent a party of Cossacks to murder him; in which design he also miscarried. This conduct naturally confirmed the belief, that the person said to be Demetrius, was really such; as no other motive could make Boris so desirous to take away his life; for an impostor, if disregarded, must of course soon sink into his primitive obscurity.

Demetrius said to be alive;

and in Poland.

Boris attempts to murder him.

Whether this Demetrius was really the person he pretended to be, or only an impostor, is, as we observed before, a point more difficult to be cleared up, than perhaps any other in all the annals of Russia. Those who believe that he was an impostor (R) say, that Griska Utropeja was himself the man who personated Demetrius, and give the following account of him. He was born at Jaroslaw, of a noble family, but not rich, and had been thrust into a monastery on account of his extravagance and debaucheries: his person was handsome, he had a considerable share of wit, and was just of the age that Demetrius would have been; circumstances which an old monk, of the same mo-

g Idem, p. 284.

(R) In which Petreius (1) has been implicitly followed by many writers.

(1) Moscov. Chron. p. 284.

nastery,

nastery, took advantage of, in order to set him on the throne of Russia. The better to carry on his design, he sent him into Lithuania, where he was received by Wiesnowiesky, into whose favour he soon insinuated himself by his diligence and ingenuity; but one day, his master being angry with him, called him bledinsin, or *son of a whore*, and struck him. Griska, seizing this opportunity, burst into tears, and told him, that if he knew who he was, he would not call him by that name, nor treat him in such a manner[h]. The curiosity of the Polish lord made him insist on his explaining himself; upon which the other answered, that he was the legitimate son of the czar, John Basilowitz II. that Boris Gudenow, in the reign of the late czar, Theodore, his brother, would have murdered him; but that the misfortune fell upon a priest's son, very like him, whom his friends had substituted in his place, while he was conveyed away. Then, shewing a cross of gold set with diamonds, which, he said, was hung about his neck at his baptism, and adding, that the fear of falling into the hands of Boris Gudenow had kept him from discovering himself till that instant, he threw himself at Wiesnowiesky's feet, and begged his protection. He embellished his story with so many circumstances of his being concealed in a monastery, and made such shew of sincerity, that the Polish lord, believing him, immediately ordered him cloaths, horses, and a retinue suitable to his supposed birth: not thinking him safe at his house, because it was too near the borders of Russia, he sent him into Poland, to George Mniesky, palatine of Sandomir, who received him with great kindness, and promised him all the assistance in his power, to restore him to his throne, upon condition that he should tolerate the Roman catholic religion in Russia, as soon as he had established himself thereon. Demetrius not only agreed to this condition, but promised to marry the palatine's daughter, whose name was Mariana. The hopes of so advantageous an alliance, and Mniesky's great zeal for his religion, made this palatine engage his own credit, and that of all his friends, in his favour, with a promise to interest the republic in it, if there should be occasion.

His reception in Lithuania.

From whence he is sent into Poland

Some authors, who have treated all this as a fable, say, they cannot see with what design, or to what advantage, this old monk, whose name is never mentioned, should put

[h] Margar. f. 48. Tragœd. Moscov. Grevenb. p. 11. Petr. p. 284. et ex eo Olear. p. 116. & Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 666.

Griska upon acting this part: and other contemporary authors assure us, that they had seen Griska Utropeja in his cloister, and that he never stirred from thence till the knez Zuski, who had an interest in giving an air of truth to this invention, brought him to Moscow, from whence he disappeared on a sudden, and it was never known what became of him in the sequel.

The Poles espouse his cause.

Be this as it may, the republic of Poland entered strongly into the interest of Demetrius. The proofs of his birth were examined in the diet (S); he was acknowleged as the legitimate heir of the crown of Russia; an army was raised to set him on the throne of his ancestors; and he was presented to the king, whose assistance he requested in a very pathetic manner, representing, that many other princes had laboured under great misfortunes, and that even his majesty himself had been born in prison, though he was then happily and justly king; a circumstance which could not but induce him to pity the unfortunate.

Sigismund, sensible that he might possibly reap from this affair, in case he should place Demetrius on the throne of Russia, at least the recovery of Esthonia and Finland, if not that of the crown of Sweden, which his nephew, Charles IX. had usurped from him the year before, listened to the proposal; but, seeing the difficulties that attended it, declined giving any positive assurances of success, and only promised to do something when a proper opportunity should offer; at the same time hinting, that the nobles of his kingdom might do, in the mean while, what they thought proper, at their own expence. Upon this insinuation, the palatine of Sandomir, allured by the prospect of the stipulated alliance, raised a considerable number of men, in order to establish Demetrius upon the throne. Mean while, an embassy arrived from Boris, to remind Sigismund of the peace which then subsisted between him and the czar; to insist on his delivering up the pretended Demetrius, dead or alive; and to warn him that his assisting that impostor, as he called him, would draw upon him a war, which he might have cause to repent. Sigismund answered, that he had not the least intention to infringe the peace of the two nations, and

(S) Two very extraordinary circumstances in this pretended Demetrius, as he is generally called, are, that one of his arms was shorter than the other, and that he had a wart on his cheek; both which had been observed of the young Demetrius at Uglitz (1).

(1) Descript. Russ. Elzevir, p. 118, ex Thuano.

therefore

therefore had not given any sort of assistance to the unfortunate Demetrius, who, he could not help thinking, really deserved it: but that if any of his nobles should chuse to risk their fortunes in order to procure him redress, he could not hinder their so doing [a].

The grandees of Poland, no ways intimidated by the czar's menaces, raised four thousand men, at the head of which they put Demetrius, who marched directly into the province of Moscow, where Czernichew, Putivol, and several other places declared directly for him. This success, together with the dreadful miseries of the still raging famine, and the appearance of some extraordinary phenomena in the air, threw the Muscovites into the utmost consternation. Boris, excessively alarmed, assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, but, distracted with suspicions, knew not whom to intrust with the command of it; and, as to foreign assistance, he had but little reason to expect any. The king of Sweden was not able to give him much assistance, and neither the emperor nor the king of Denmark, to whom he applied for troops, could be brought to any fixed resolution [b].

A.D. 1605.

He advances into Russia; and gains a victory.

While Boris was thus distressed, racked by remorse of conscience, and looking upon every one as his enemy, Demetrius advanced to Novogrod, which he besieged, and with a handful of men, defeated five thousand Russians. Fortune was less favourable to him in the next engagement, in which, though his army had been very considerably increased by numbers of malecontents, who resorted to him daily, he lost eight thousand men, and all his cannon. The victors might then easily have retaken all the places he had conquered, if they had pursued their advantage, and been unanimous: but, either through discord, or treachery in some of their commanders, they lost three months before an insignificant town called Crom, and did not take it at last. This delay gave Demetrius time to recruit his shattered army, reinforce his garrisons, and take the field again, as well as to bribe several of Gudenow's principal officers; in which practice he succeeded so far, that the Russian generals gave their troops leave to go home for a time, under pretence of their having already endured sufficient hardships. Boris, who had imprudently given the chief command of them to Zuski, in whom he at the same time had

[a] Lubien. op posth. p. 30. Trag. Moscov. p. 14. Piastic. Chron. p. 265. Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom iii. p. 670. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 120. ex Thuan. [b] Petr. p. 298. Marg. & Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 121. & seq.

no confidence, sent orders to them to stay; but the consequence was, that they remained inactive for a long while. He then had recourse to stratagem, sending to Putivol two old bojars, who promised the burghers, and other chief people of that city, great things, if they would deliver Demetrius either dead or alive, and produced a letter from the patriarch, threatening to excommunicate those who should espouse his cause, or give him the least assistance; but the conspirators were detected, and to avoid punishment, not only made a full discovery of the whole transaction, but joined Demetrius, and wrote to the nobility at Moscow, assuring them, that the rival of Boris was really the son of John Basilowitz II [c].

Boris again attempts his life.

Death of Boris Gudenow.

Several other attempts of the like nature, at length determined Demetrius to treat the czar in his own way. To this end, he applied to one Bosmanoff, an officer, who, going to Moscow with a feigned account of a victory gained over Demetrius, took an opportunity of conveying so strong a poison to the czar, that, very soon after, whilst he was giving audience to the Swedish and Danish ambassadors, he dropped down, and immediately expired, the blood gushing out [d] from several parts of his body (T).

Such was the end of Boris Gudenow, a man of strong parts, great courage, and a perfect master in the art of dissimulation. He was naturally formed to govern; and had it not been for his cruel and tyrannical temper, no prince could have stood fairer in the affections of his subjects. His body was buried privately, in the church of St. Michael, near the remains of the former czars.

THEODORE BORISSOWITZ.

AS soon as Boris was dead, his widow sent for Zusky and Mitislousky from the army, who repaired immediately to Moscow, and placed the czar's late son, Theodore, upon the

(T) Other writers say, that whilst he was giving audience to the ambassadors of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who, as enemies of Poland, had sent to offer their assistance against king Sigismund, he fell into so violent a passion in speaking against this last prince, that he was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which could not be stopped, and of which he died a few days after. Strahlenburg says, that driven to despair by Demetrius's success, he poisoned himself.

[c] Petr. p. 302. Margar. fol. 36. Lund. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 671. Descript. Russ. Elzevir, p. 104. ex Thuan. [d] Piasec. Chron. p. 265. Trag. Moscov. p. 19. Lund. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 672. Kobierz. Hist. Vlad. p. 61.

throne.

throne. This young prince, who was but fifteen years old, had been educated amidst a crowd of flatterers, who sought only to gain his favour by soothing his passions. His behaviour was very brutish and insolent, and his disposition tyrannical; circumstances which some writers look upon as a strong presumption, that the chief part of the nation did not believe the legitimacy of Demetrius, whose character was quite the reverse.

The army was not yet informed of Gudenow's death, when Bosmanoff, who is thought to have poisoned him, arrived with orders to take upon him the chief command, and administer to the soldiers the usual oath of fidelity to the new czar. But instead of discharging, he betrayed his trust: for, having gained most of the troops to his interest, he, in conjunction with the Cosacks that were in Crom, fell suddenly upon the remainder of the Russians, commanded by the late czar's brother, John Gudenow, put them to flight, and took all their artillery and ammunition; then, crying out, that Demetrius was the only lawful heir to the crown, and that those who had the good of their country at heart should follow him, he immediately went over to Demetrius's general, Zapotski, with most of his troops, and upwards of five hundred persons of distinction. Demetrius, who was then at Putivol, received them with such affability, as completed their attachment to him; whilst Gudenow, abandoned by his army, fled, with a small number, but was pursued and taken; and upon his refusing to bow to Demetrius, to whom he was carried, he was committed to prison.

Defection of the Russian troops in favour of Demetrius.

This defection of the army was soon known at court, where it occasioned the utmost consternation. Every one immediately resolved to follow the path which interest pointed out, and the name of Demetrius resounded through the whole city of Moscow. At the same time Michael Soltikoff, one of the prisoners who had been delivered up to Demetrius by Bosmanoff, and who wanted to recommend himself to his new master, went to the village of Crasmacella, within a quarter of a mile of Moscow, told the inhabitants of that place, that their lawful sovereign was actually coming to take possession of his crown, and published manifestos from Demetrius, declaring, that those who should espouse his cause, would meet with every sort of favour and affection; but that his opponents must expect no mercy. These declarations had the desired effect, in stirring up the whole city to revolt. The people went in a body to the castle, which they forced and plundered, and then

The Muscovites revolt, and imprison Theodore and his family.

then thrust the young czar, with his mother, sister, and other relations, into prison [e].

Death of Theodore and his mother.

Demetrius, who was at Thula when he received the news of this great change, sent Basilius Galitzin immediately to Moscow, to receive the oath of fidelity of that city; and at the same time ordered one John Bogdanoff, a diack, to repair thither with all speed, and strangle Theodore and his mother in their prison, but not hurt his sister. Bogdanoff executed his orders, and gave out that they had poisoned themselves: but Petreius says, that he himself saw the marks of a cord round their necks, when they were dead (U).

Demetrius is proclaimed czar, and makes his public entrance into Moscow.

A few days after this tragedy, Demetrius made his public entry into Moscow, and was declared sovereign of all the Russias, czar of Moscow, Novogrod, and king of Astracan and Casan, with extraordinary pomp and grandeur. A detachment of Polish horse began the procession, with their kettle-drums and trumpets: after them marched a band of musqueteers, in the middle of which was Demetrius's coach drawn by six horses richly caparisoned: next came the clergy with their banners, preceding the bishops, who carried pictures of the virgin Mary and St. Nicolas, the patron of Russia; and after them came four archbishops, who preceded the patriarch. At some distance came Demetrius, mounted on a fine white horse, and surrounded by a great number of the principal men of the empire. In this state he went first to the church of St. Mary, and from thence, after having paid his devotions, to that of St. Michael, where the czars are interred. He stopped some time to look at the tomb of his father, as he called him, John Basilowitz II. and being informed that Boris Gudenow was also buried in that place, he ordered the body of this last to be taken up, and carried, with those of his wife and son, to a common church-yard without the city. Passing afterwards by his palace, he turned his head another way, and commanded that it should be pulled down to the ground [f].

(U) They were killed on the 10th of July. Captain Margaret, Lubienſky, Kobierzicko, and Ludolphus, agree with Petreius that they were strangled. Thuanus, and the Elzevir Description of Russia, where he is copied, seems to think they poisoned themselves.

[e] Descript. Russ. Elzevir, p. 126. ex Thuan. Margar. fol. 34. Petr. p. 306. Trag. Moscov. p. 22. Kobiers. Hist. Uladisl. p 61.

[f] Petr. p. 314. Margaret, ubi supra. Trag. Moscov. p. 26. Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 675. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 130. ex Thuano.

DEME-

DEMETRIUS.

DEMETRIUS was solemnly crowned on the 29th of July; immediately after which ceremony, to silence those who might doubt his legitimacy, he sent Mitislouski and Zuski, with a numerous retinue, to fetch the widow of John Basilowitz II. from the convent to which Boris Gudenow had banished her, upwards of six hundred miles from Moscow; and upon her approaching that city, he himself went out to meet her at a considerable distance, attended by great numbers of his nobles. To give the greater, and more public marks of respect, he alighted as soon as he perceived the coach she was in, went up to her on foot, and embraced her with all imaginable transports of joy and affection, which she returned with every demonstration of equal tenderness. In this manner, still on foot, and bare-headed, and surrounded by all the lords of his retinue, he conducted her into Moscow, where he assigned the grand duke's palace for the place of her residence, and behaved to her on all occasions with the deference and duty of a son, visiting her every day, and being received with all the fondness of a loving mother. This conduct regained him the public esteem, which he had in a great measure forfeited, by debauching the daughter of the deceased Boris, and then shutting her up in a convent. But their regard for him did not continue long, for, besides abolishing many of their ancient customs, of which they were extremely tenacious, and degrading, as they thought, the dignity of czar by appearing too much in public; his caressing some Jesuits sent to him by Antony Longinus, the pope's nuncio at the court of Poland, and ordering them the best house in Moscow for their habitation, alienated the affections of the Muscovites. The religion of their forefathers was menaced by the arrival of these visitors, and the priests of the country took care to magnify the danger. Another subject of discontent, was his sending his chancellor Offernaci Iwanowitz Vetaci to Poland, in quality of his ambassador, with a very pompous retinue, and several rich presents taken out of the treasury.

A.D. 1605.

Sends for the widow of John Basilowitz II.

Her reception.

He sends an ambassador to Poland.

The purport of this embassy was, to return the king and the republic of Poland his sincere thanks for the signal services they had done him; to propose a treaty of the strictest alliance; to make war upon the Turks, and not only drive them from the frontiers of Poland, and out of all Hungary, but totally from the Holy Land, which he saw with grief in the hands of those infidels; and lastly, to desire Sigismund's leave, for the czar to marry the daughter of his

his generous benefactor, the palatine of Sandomir. This last article in particular, as well as the stripping of the treasury of some of the crown-jewels, which were sent to Poland, was excessively displeasing to the Russians, who hated the Poles; and detested their religion, both of which they feared would be forced upon them in consequence of this marriage [g].

who marries the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, by proxy from the czar.

Sigismund answered Demetrius's ambassador, that he was very sensible of the acknowlegements of the czar his master; that he commended his zeal against the Turks, and should very willingly accept his alliance; but that he must first deliberate with the republic: and that as to the marriage of the czar with the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, he not only consented to it, but should be greatly rejoiced at the event. Upon this declaration, the ambassador married Mariana Mnicski, in the name of the czar his master. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of Cracovia (X); and Sigismund, who gave away the bride, recommending to her at the same time to continue her love for the Poles and the Romish religion, made a very grand entertainment, at which the new czarina appeared with a magnificence suitable to her rank; Demetrius having sent her jewels to a vast value [h].

Demetrius received homage from all the lords of the empire at his coronation, and gave them, in general, leave to marry; which the late usurper had refused: but very soon after, according to the custom in Russia, where the crime of one person commonly involves all his relations and friends, he banished near seventy families, because they were allied, or had been attached to that of Boris. This act of justice, as it would have been called in any other prince in that country, was much condemned in him, on account of his having imprudently shewn greater confidence in the Poles than the Russians, even in the first days of his reign. The people murmured loudly, and scrupled not to say, that these families were banished, merely to enrich strangers with their spoils; a measure which would draw others into the country, likewise to be rewarded at the expence of those who should commit the least fault.

The people grow discontented.

These discontents were heightened every day by the artful management of knez Theodore Basilius Zuski, a man of

[g] Petr. p. 318. Margaret, ubi supra. Trag. Moscov. p. 28. Lundorp. Sleid. cont. tom. iii. p. 677. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 134. ex Thuano. [h] Ludolph. p. 334. Trag. Moscov. p. 29. Piasec. Chron. p. 266. Lundorp. Sleid. cont. tom. iii. p. 678. Kobierz. Hist. Uladisl. p. 64.

(X) On the 22d of November.

distinguished

distinguished birth, who, seeing that none were left of the late czar's family, thought he might ascend the throne without much difficulty. To this end, he and his two brothers put themselves at the head of the disaffected party, declared that Demetrius was an impostor, an upstart raised from the dust, whose design was to extirpate the nobility, overturn the religion of Russia, and render them all slaves to Poland; to prevent which calamities, it was necessary that they should take away his life. Demetrius, having timely notice of the plot, ordered the three Zuskis to be seized and tried. The eldest was condemned to be beheaded, the two others to be banished; and extraordinary preparations were made for the execution, as if it was intended that this example should strike a lasting awe into every malecontent; but it was only to render the czar's clemency to the criminal the more conspicuous: for when he was upon his knees on the scaffold, and waited only for the stroke of the executioner, whose hand was already lifted up, a pardon was proclaimed, and his sentence commuted into banishment with his brothers [i]. Demetrius, injudiciously, recalled him soon after from his exile, and restored to his favour a wretch who could not rest until he had accomplished his ruin.

A.D 1606.

Zuski heads a conspiracy against Demetrius.

Is condemned to death, but pardoned.

This conspiracy, and its well known causes, ought to have rendered Demetrius extremely circumspect and cautious in his behaviour to the Russians. He took, indeed, some steps which they seemed to approve. He dismissed several of the Poles who had accompanied him into Russia, and used to be continually about his person; and coined a great quantity of new money, which was then much wanted, out of the immense treasures which Boris had amassed; but his fondness for two of the Jesuits before mentioned, Nicholas Cnermiow and Andrew Lowitz; his being blindly guided by them, even so far as to allow them publicly to exercise the Roman catholic religion in Moscow; his marriage with a princess of that communion; his disregarding at least, if he did not absolutely slight, many rites and ceremonies which the Russians looked upon as highly necessary to be observed, among which were his not bathing regularly as they did, and his eating veal, which they deemed an unclean meat; his countenancing foreigners, and his endeavouring to introduce their manners, whilst he ridiculed the absurdities of his own people; together with his giving some considerable employments to Polan-

The discontents of the people increase.

[i] Margaret, fol. 40. Petr. p. 323. Lundorp. Sleid. cont. tom. iii. p. 676. Kobierz. p 67. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 262. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 132, ex Thuano.

ders,

ders, whom his subjects looked upon as their mortal enemies; all these circumstances concurred in making him forfeit the affections of the great men, who, in Russia, have always a share in the management of affairs, and the disposal of offices, which are very lucrative, and numerous. Every one of his actions was now strictly scrutinised. His laying aside the haughty state of the former czars, by appearing in public more than they had used to do, and his suffering people to speak to him without being commanded, were deemed derogatory from his dignity, and construed into proofs of his not being the person he represented [m]. The very diversions with which he endeavoured to amuse himself during the interval between the celebration of his marriage and the arrival of his bride, were criticized and found such fault with, that even his own servants presumed to behave disrespectfully to him on that account [n].

Demetrius imprudently changes his guard.

The murmurings of the malecontents were not kept so secret but that they frequently reached the ear of Demetrius, who, at length, began to be apprehensive of them; and understanding that they complained, above all things, of his not placing any confidence in his own subjects, but that he was continually surrounded by a guard wholly composed of foreigners, particularly Poles and Germans; he came to the imprudent resolution of disbanding this guard, and forming another of Russians. But soon finding that this complaisance was not sufficient to appease the exasperated minds of the people, he repented too late of having delivered himself up into the hands of his enemies; and to repair this error, he fell into that of adding to his new body of guards, some companies of Livonians, Germans, English, Scotch, and French [o]. One of these was commanded by captain James Margaret, a Frenchman, whose account of Russia we have had frequent occasion to quote.

The Tartars set up a pretender to the throne.

To add to Demetrius's perplexities, news came, about this time, that four thousand Cossacks had assembled between Casan and Astracan, and brought with them one Peter, a youth of about seventeen years of age, whom they called the son of the late czar Theodore Iwanowitz, and declared they were determined to place him on the throne of his ancestors. Demetrius is said to have written a letter to this Peter, telling him, that if he would come to Moscow, and prove himself to be really the son of Theodore, he would resign the crown to him; but that, if he

[m] Margaret, fo. 40. b. [n] Petr. p. 324. [o] Tragœd. Moscovit. p. 33. Lundorp Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 679. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 141. ex Thuano.

knew

knew himself to be an impostor, his best way was to retire immediately. We shall see this phantom appear again hereafter; but in the mean time Demetrius was killed before any answer came to his letter, and the Tartars dispersed, after having plundered several places.

Zuski again conspires against Demetrius.

During these transactions, Zuski, whose vindictive spirit was as ungovernable as his ambition was boundless, unable to conquer the shame and uneasiness of owing his life to a man whom he had greatly injured, and therefore could not forgive, studied to find out an excuse for the ingratitude with which he was determined to repay that great obligation which Demetrius had laid upon him; and at length found that the fine pretext of love of his country, which has in all ages been made a cloak for the most wicked enterprizes, would, in his opinion, so far justify whatever he should do, as to render him at least innocently criminal. He, therefore, put himself once more at the head of the malecontents, into whose party he found no difficulty to bring the patriarch and most of the clergy, by representing to them the danger that menaced their religion, in lieu of which, he said, Demetrius had resolved to establish that of the Romish church. The death of Demetrius was accordingly resolved upon, as a sacrifice due to the nation; but the execution of this vengeance was deferred till his bride should arrive from Poland with the rich presents she had received.

Arrival, marriage, and coronation of the czarina.

Mariana Mnieski, the betrothed czarina, set out from Cracovia in the beginning of the month of January; but that city being three hundred Polish leagues from Moscow, and her retinue very numerous, she did not reach the capital of Russia, till the first day of May. Besides her father and her brother-in-law, with their domestics, and those of the Russian ambassador, who accompanied her, together with some thousands of armed Polanders, by way of guard; many of the Polish nobility took this opportunity to see the country, and a multitude of traders, of various nations, had put themselves into her train, that they might safely transport their valuable cargoes, by which they expected to make great profit. A splendid retinue of Russians and Poles, at the head of which was Peter Bosmanoff, whom the czar had charged with the care of this solemnity, received her at some distance from Moscow, and conducted her through that city, amidst the acclamations of the people, the discharge of cannon, and the sound of various instruments of music, first to the palace, and from thence to the convent of Tehude, where the czarina-dowager was, and where she was to continue till every thing should be ready

ready for her nuptials. On the 8th of May, the patriarch performed the ceremony of blessing the marriage; and immediately after, she was crowned czarina, with greater pomp than the Russians had ever beheld. The czar and his consort then repaired to the imperial palace, where the court was as brilliant as it was numerous, and nothing was omitted to render the entertainment magnificently sumptuous.

Entertainments on that occasion, which gave offence to the Russians.

The very first appearance of the vast train of armed Poles, that came with the czarina, displeased the Russians, who were quite shocked when they saw them afterwards unload great quantities of arms out of their carriages. Their indignation increased daily at seeing these newcomers, these heretics, as they called them, assume airs of authority; and the czarina, imprudently, heightened all their discontents, first, by insisting on being crowned in a Polish dress; in which, however, she was over-ruled; and afterwards, by appearing in that habit the very next day, and wearing it from that time. None but Russians were at the first day's entertainment; but the Poles were received afterwards with uncommon distinction. The Polish ambassador Alexander Grosenski, at first, refused to be present, because he was not to be allowed to dine at the czar's table, though the Russian ambassador had been admitted to that of the king of Poland on a similar occasion. Demetrius pleaded the custom of the country; and at last it was agreed that Grosenski should have a separate table near that of the czar.

In the mean time Zuski took care artfully to point out every incident that might contribute to mortify, and consequently exasperate the Russians, who, now began to exclaim loudly against Demetrius, and to brand him with the name of heretic; for that, contrary to the precepts of their religion, he had several times eaten veal, which they were taught to look upon as an unclean meat, even during the public festivals; that he had contemned their holy days, by making his greatest entertainments, and receiving the nuptial presents, at those very times; and that, though proper baths had been constantly prepared for him ever since his marriage, according to the custom and religion of the Russians, he had not only gone to church, defiled and impure, without using them, not even after the wedding night, but had taken his Polanders and their dogs with him into their holy temples. These observations were made with such unrestrained insolence, that some of Demetrius's guards seized one of the seditious multitude in the very act of speaking thus treasonably against the czar, who, being

ing told by some of the conspirators that the fellow was drunk when he talked at this rate, let him go unhurt. His father-in-law, and his friend Bosmanoff, warned him repeatedly to take care of himself, for that a conspiracy was certainly carrying on against him; but he took no other notice of it than barely to bid his guards be watchful.

Demetrius is warned of his danger; but neglects the advice.

Besides the malecontents in Moscow, whose number was very great, Zuski had now near twenty thousand well armed men dispersed in different parts round about that city, waiting only for his orders to advance. The chief of the conspirators met privately, and settled the time and manner of executing their design, which it was agreed should be on the eve of a grand entertainment the czarina was to give on the 17th of May; and the troops were introduced the day before, by different ways, under pretence of their belonging to bojars who were come to see the festival.

The conspirators put their design in execution.

At six o'clock in the morning of the appointed day, all the disaffected knez and bojars appeared at the head of their troops, and, being joined by some thousands of the populace, likewise armed, seized on the palace, where they found only about thirty guards, unable to make the least resistance. Peter Bosmanoff, awaked by the tumult, ran almost naked to endeavour to appease it; but was the first victim to the fury of the people, who immediately began to massacre all that were, or looked like Polanders; whilst Zuski, armed with a sabre in one hand, and a cross in the other, ran about every where to animate his countrymen to take vengeance; at the same time ordering the great alarm-bell to be rung, and a report to be spread that the Poles had taken up arms to murder all the Russians.

Demetrius himself arose, and asking what was the matter, was answered by one of the guards, who was in the plot, that it was a fire; but the cries of the dying, and those who fled for shelter, soon taught him the true cause of the tumult; whereupon catching up a scimitar, he would have gone out to meet the rebels, but was prevented; upon which he leaped out of a window, and in the fall dislocated his thigh, so that he could not rise from the ground. In this situation he was taken and carried into the great hall of audience, where Zuski set a strong guard over him; whilst the conspirators, breaking open every room in the palace, killed all the Poles they met, treated the ladies of that nation with the utmost brutality, seized all their riches, and those of the merchants who had followed the czarina, which last they demanded with bitter imprecations; but an old lady, under whose hoop she was then hid, saved her,

by assuring them that she had been sent for to her father's before break of day, and that she was still there.

While the unfortunate Demetrius was exposed to the cruel insults of every miscreant now about him, still boldly asserting his birth-right, and appealing to his mother, Zuski went to the dowager-czarina, and insisted on her declaring upon oath, whether the captive prince was or was not her son. She, at first, declined giving any answer to the question; but, being pressed, at length said, that her son had been murdered many years before [q]. Zuski returned with this reply; whereupon Demetrius desired leave to speak to the people; but that favour was refused; and several questions were put to him, which he answered in such a manner, that though the nobles who asked them, kept his reply secret, yet a German, who chanced accidentally to stand by and over-hear what passed, was instantly killed, that he might not divulge them [r]. The rest of the conspirators, as if they had waited only for this signal, then fell upon Demetrius, and mangled him with a thousand wounds. His body was afterwards stripped naked, and dragged through the streets of Moscow, to the very spot where Zuski had received his pardon when on the point of being beheaded. There it was laid upon a table, with the legs of Demetrius extended over the breast of Bosmanoff, whose corpse was stretched out upon a bench. The rabble vented their invectives against the murdered czar for three days, at the end of which his remains were interred; though they were shortly after taken up, and burned; to such a height had Zuski raised the fury of the people [s]. The palatine of Sandomir, and his daughter, the czarina, were arrested; but promised their liberty, on condition of his paying one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars, and her restoring all the jewels that had been sent her. They performed this agreement on their side; but, in a few days after, both of them were sent prisoners to Jaroslaw. Near two thousand Poles perished in this massacre, and the remainder were sold to the Tartars [t].

Demetrius killed.

Some writers say, that the czarina-dowager was confronted with Demetrius, and that she declared upon oath, that he was not her son; but this circumstance does not seem to be sufficiently attested. Others assert, that, upon

[q] Strahlenberg, cap. iv. [r] Descript. Moscov. p 147. ex Thuano. [s] Petr. p. 340. Tragœd. Moscov. p. 41. Margaret, fo. 42. Olear. p. 118. Piasec. Chron. p. 286. Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 682. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 203. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 145. [t] Petr. p. 358. Margaret, fol. 43.

Zuski's

Zuski's returning with her negative answer, Demetrius insisted upon confronting her; and that Zuski thereupon, without deigning to give him any answer, drew out a pistol, and shot him through the head. As to the czarina's declaration concerning him, even supposing her to have made such a confession, there is no saying what force and menaces, backed by irresistible power, might extort from a woman in her situation.

Great pains were taken immediately to publish the reasons, as they were called, why Demetrius had been killed; in order to render his name the more odious to the public. The principal of these were, that he was an impostor; that his real name was Griska Utropeja; that he had been a monk, at which time he had served the patriarch in quality of secretary, and fled from his convent to Poland; to prove which particulars people were produced, who called themselves his brothers and sisters; but even his enemies allowed this to be a poor contrivance [d]. Certain it was, that Griska did fly from his convent to Poland, and with him the person supposed to be Demetrius. This circumstance rendered it necessary to endeavour to make Demetrius pass for Griska. But this Griska returned to Russia with Demetrius; and captain Margaret says, that any one might have seen him and his brothers, who held lands under the family of Galitzin in his time; that the Griska in question was thirty-five years of age; whereas Demetrius was but twenty-five; and that Demetrius himself, displeased at his debaucheries and irregular life, banished him to Jaroslaw. This author, who was captain of the guards to Demetrius, declares, that an Englishman belonging to the factory at Jaroslaw assured him, he heard Griska affirm upon oath, when the news of the death of Demetrius first reached that place, that the Russians had killed the real son of John Basilowitz II. whom he himself had carried from Russia to Poland. Captain Margaret adds, that Zuski sent for this Griska from Jaroslaw; but that he could not learn what afterwards became of him. To the principal charge, before mentioned, against Demetrius, were added others, suited to the genius of the Russians; such as his being a sorcerer, and a heretic, in league with the pope; a tyrant, who liked none but foreigners; who despised the Russians, embezzled their treasures, contemned their religion, and profaned their churches [e].

[d] Tragœd. Moscov. p. 45. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 153.
[e] Thuanus, et ex eo Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 155. Trag. Moscov. p. 45. Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 684

His character.

Demetrius had good natural parts; but he was much too young and too mild to govern so stubborn a people as the Russians, who must be ruled with a rod of iron. His education in a convent could not possibly fit him for a throne. Unexperienced in the artifices of courts, he became an easy prey to a few favourites, who flattered him; and, to add to his misfortune, the chief of these favourites were Poles, the most odious of all nations in the eyes of his subjects. His imprudently countenancing them above all others, and giving them some of the first posts in the empire, whilst the Russians were scarcely suffered to appear before him, together with his marrying a princess of that detested country, immediately set all his nobles against him; and his endeavouring to introduce the manners of that hated country, even before he was well seated on the throne, alienated at once the affections of all his people. His stature was of the middle size; his limbs were strong and nervous, his complexion was brown, and under the right eye he had a wart, which was a mark that had been observed on the real Demetrius, when a child, at Uglitz [f].

ZUSKI.

Zuski elected czar.

Immediately after the death of Demetrius, the nobles and senators then at Moscow proceeded to the election of a new sovereign, the first free election they had known since the days of Ruric. Their suffrages were equally divided between the knez Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski, and John Galitzin. Worotinski desiring these two to withdraw till the assembly should determine which of them to prefer, represented to the electors the great importance of the matter then in debate; that it behoved them to be extremely cautious of chusing a person who had either many or very powerful relations and adherents, lest their choice should be attended with future evils; and that certain conditions ought to be stipulated with the party elected, such as, particularly, that all private animosities should absolutely be laid aside; and that no alteration should be made in their established laws, nor any new taxes be laid upon the people without the consent of the senate. He added, that those who had voted for knez Galitzin, as for an honest and prudent man, had done well; but that his family was so numerous and potent, that he could not help recommending to them to consider a little better of this point before they came to a definitive resolution. One of the assembly answered: "These lords are of equal merit, and

[f] Margaret, p. 34.

we

we have already done what our duty requires; but, to decide this matter, let us consult the people, to the end that no body may have just cause to blame our conduct." This motion was unanimously agred to. In the mean time Worotinski found means to send a person privately among the people, to tell them that Zuski was chosen, and that as soon as the bojars came out, they should proclaim him. They did so, to the astonishment of the electors, who, knowing none of their body had left the assembly, looked upon this event as a miracle. Zuski was accordingly declared czar, crowned, and received the homage of all the people [g].

One of Zuski's first cares was to publish a long manifesto, tending to justify his own conduct, and blacken that of Demetrius, whose corpse he then ordered to be taken out of the grave and burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the Moskwa, that nothing of him might remain. At the same time he sent to Uglitz for the body of the young Demetrius, said to be assassinated by order of Boris, and gave it a pompous burial in the church of St. Michael, at Moscow, after the patriarch had declared him a martyr, and enrolled him among the number of the saints. His next object was to re-establish the tranquillity of the state.

A.D. 1607.

Zuski sends an embassy to the Poles.

The Poles were bitterly incensed at the insult offered to their ambassador and the palatine of Sandomir, and exasperated beyond expression at the murder of so many of their nobles as had perished in the late bloody massacre. Zuski, therefore, began with publishing a sort of apology; after which he sent an ambassador to king Sigismund, to tell him, that there having been found among the papers of Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir, letters which proved that the impostor's enterprize was not the works of the Jesuits, as some pretended, and of the palatine only (Y), but that the king himself and the republic had coun-

[g] Petr. p. 375. Margaret, fo. 43. Tragœd. Moscov. p. 44. Lundorp. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 683.

(Y) Among the historians of those times, who will have it that Demetrius was a monkish impostor, some say, that he first discovered his design to the Jesuits of Poland, desiring their powerful protection, and promising to re-establish their order and the Roman catholic religion in Russia. With this view, add they, the Jesuits took care to instruct him in every thing that might give success to so great an enterprize, and found means to interest pope Clement VIII. in the affair; whilst the palatine of Sandomir contributed his money, and the assistance of his friends, in hopes of raising his daughter to the throne.

tenanced and promoted it, even so far as to lend real succours; the czar and the whole Russian nation thought they had a right to complain of such a conduct, which was a manifest violation of the treaties sworn to on both sides; and that it also appeared that Demetrius had sent considerable sums of money into Poland, to satisfy those who had been his abettors; all which it was insisted on that his Polish majesty should restore, and, at the same time, disavow the whole undertaking, if he would avoid the consequences of a bloody war.

Poland was then distracted by the confederacy of Rokoschaners, headed by Radzivil and Stadnitski, who demanded the reformation of numbers of abuses both in church and state, and were particularly exasperated against the Jesuits, by whom the king was beset, and whom they looked upon as the authors of all their misfortunes. On the other hand, the states of Sweden, assembled at Upsal, had declared Sigismund and his son excluded from the crown of that kingdom, and had given it to his uncle Charles, duke of Sundermania, who was preparing to make good his pretensions to the province of Livonia. For these reasons the Russians found more moderation and temper at the court of Poland than could otherwise have been expected. Sigismund apologised for what had happened, by acknowleging that he himself, and all the Poles, had been the dupes of Demetrius, in thinking him the true and lawful heir of the great John Basilowitz; that therefore they had not violated the treaties made with that monarch, in aiding his son, as they supposed him, to recover a throne which another had usurped from him; and that, as to the damages occasioned thereby, it was but just that they should be repaired on each side; to which end, as well as to restore a good understanding, conferences should immediately be held.

Who agree to his demands.

Makes an alliance with the Swedes.

Charles IX. of Sweden, to whom Zuski had also sent an embassy, delighted with the prospect of drawing succours from Russia to support his pretensions against Poland, readily consented to an alliance between the two states.

At home the new czar seemed to have nothing to fear, but that the suggestions of strangers might draw the people from their duty, and engage them in new designs: to obviate which, he caused all the Poles and Germans, that were dispersed about his dominions, to be sought out; and having got together about fifteen hundred, whom the soldiers or the populace robbed of all they had, he divided them into three bodies, ordered them to be clothed, gave them

them wherewithal to defray the expences of their journey sparingly, and then sent them home by the way of Smolenskow, Livonia, and Poloczk.

A second pretended Demetrius.

These prudent precautions seemed to promise the Russians that tranquillity which they had stood so much in need of, since their misfortunes at the end of the reign of John Basilowitz, the weakness of that of his son Theodore, the troubles of that of Boris, and the calamities occasioned by that of Demetrius. But a new impostor started up with the name of Demetrius, and, though he never appeared, caused more mischief in Russia than he had done whose name he took, and of whom he was the fatal spectre.

The knez Gregory Schacopski, keeper of the seal to Demetrius when he was killed, gave rise to this imposture [1]. Seeing all in confusion, and that the enraged populace were seeking for every one who had been attached to that prince, he fled, with two Polish gentlemen, dressed like Russians, to Putivol, a town always faithful to Demetrius, from the time of his first bringing it under his subjection. Schacopski took great care to publish on the road, that Demetrius was not killed, but another, who had been mistaken for him; and that he had happily escaped in the midst of the dreadful massacre, and would very soon return to punish his ungrateful subjects. At the same time he affected to shew great respect to one of his companions, in order to make him pass for Demetrius. On his arrival at Putivol, he assured the inhabitants, that Demetrius was gone to implore succours from his allies; that he sent him to certify to them that he was living, that he would soon see them, and that he desired them to continue firm in their allegiance. The people of Putivol, accordingly, vowed they would sacrifice their lives for their sovereign.

Schacopski then sent to the Cossacks, whose chiefs met him at Putivol; while the rest of the partizans of Demetrius, who deplored his fate, and treated Zuski as an ungrateful man, and an usurper, assembled under a bojar named Isthoma Bascow, and marched thither, in hopes of finding their prince. All the country took part with them, and fifteen castles withdrew from the obedience of the czar, who no sooner heard of what passed in the Ukraine, than he went thither with all speed, at the head of an army, which, though raised in haste, he imagined would be more than sufficient to reduce to their duty a body of

[1] Petr. p. 380. Ludolph. tom i. p. 206.

malecontents, who had united by chance, and had not had time enough to put themselves in a posture of defence; but his confidence cost him dear, for his troops were defeated, and he was forced to retire in great disorder to Moscow [k].

The rebels defeat the czar's army.

The victors, reinforced by twelve thousand Cossacks, commanded by Iwan Isaiwitz Polutnich, followed him, and were on the point of making themselves masters of Moscow, where all was in confusion, when Polutnich shewed Bascow a commission from the pretended Demetrius, enjoining the latter to give him up the command. Bascow was so piqued at this affront, that, having debauched near nine thousand of the Cossacks, he went over to the czar, and acquainted him, that there was in reality no Demetrius at Putivol. Four thousand of the other troops followed the example of the Cossacks, and abandoned Polutnich, who retired to Caluga, which a detachment from Zuski's army immediately besieged. Schacopski thus defeated in his schemes, and unable to find any one who would really venture to personate Demetrius, sent to the pretended Peter Theodorowitz, whom we mentioned before, and offered him his assistance. Peter readily accepted it, and advanced with ten thousand Cossacks, who raised the siege
A.D. 1607. of Caluga. The rebels then fortified themselves in Tula; but Zuski, advancing against them, forced them to surrender, after an obstinate defence, and, contrary to his promise, treated his prisoners with the utmost severity. Peter Theodorowitz, as he called himself, was hanged, and Schacopski and Polutnich were starved to death in prison.

Their ringleaders are taken and put to death.

A.D. 1608. One might naturally suppose that even the name of Demetrius would have been buried with Schacopski; but the Poles, whose domestic feuds were now ended; whose troops wanted money, which they could have only from abroad; who longed to revenge the late massacre of their countrymen; and whose interest it was to keep up the phantom that divided and distressed the Russians; after looking about some time for a proper person to answer their designs, pitched upon an artful fellow, a schoolmaster at Socola in Polish Russia, who could speak the Russian language, and sent him, with a handsome retinue, to Putivol and Starodub, where he gave himself out for Demetrius [l]. Numbers of malecontents immediately resorted to him from all quarters, and the palatines Adam Wiesnowieski and Romanus Rozynski, together with several other Polish no-

The Poles set up a third Demetrius.

[k] Petr. p. 381, & seq. [l] Piasec. Chron. p. 302.

bles,

bles, soon joined him with sixty thousand of their countrymen, and eight thousand Zaporog Cossacks [m].

The king of Sweden offers Zuski his assistance, which is refused.

The king of Sweden, knowing that his enemy Sigismund of Poland would be glad of any opportunity to place a creature of his own upon the throne of Russia, in order thereby to regain Esthonia and Finland, and perhaps make himself master of Sweden also, kept a watchful eye over these transactions [n], and sent Peter Petreius, whose Muscovite Chronicle we have often quoted, to the czar, to warn him of the impending danger, and offer him a body of auxiliaries: but Zuski, flushed with his late success at Tula, at first refused, though he was afterwards glad to ask them: for the pretended Demetrius, continuing his march, came up with the Russians, whose army consisted of one hundred and seventy-thousand raw undisciplined men; and defeated them twice, with great slaughter; the first time near Bolchow, a town not far from Caluga, and the next near the river Chodinka.

The pretended Demetrius gains two victories over the Russians,

The victors, whose numbers were increased daily by multitudes of disaffected Russians, pursued the vanquished to the very gates of Moscow, and would probably have made themselves masters of the capital, had it not been for five thousand Muscovites, whom they forced to join them at Bolchow, and who, quitting them on a sudden, threw themselves into the city, and defended it with desperate bravery, notwithstanding which, its inhabitants would still have capitulated, and received the pretended Demetrius, if this last had not insisted upon their delivering up to him the czar Zuski [o].

and lays siege to Moscow.

In the mean time Zuski's uncle collected a body of troops, with which he encamped within four wersts of Moscow. The Polish general, who commanded the siege, attacked him in his camp, defeated, and took him prisoner. The czar himself hazarded another action: but his army was again repulsed; and he then saw no way to extricate himself from the approaching danger, but by engaging king Sigismund to withdraw his forces, and desist. He released the palatine of Sandomir, and his daughter, on condition that they should employ their interest to bring about this point: but the fictitious Demetrius, who was informed of all that passed, and who knew how much it would forward the success of his enterprize to have these persons in his power, sent a party of horse to intercept them in their journey. Upon their arrival, he received them publicly with great ceremony,

[m] Petr. p. 402. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 253. [n] Puffend. p. 548. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 142. [o] Piasec. p. 304. Petr. p. 407. Ludolph. ubi supra. Kobierz. Hist. Uladisl. p. 71.

shed

Signal impudence of the impostor.

shed tears, as the overflowing of his joy, and embraced the lady as his rescued consort. They immediately saw the imposture, and could not but express their astonishment at the confidence of the man who so steadily maintained his part, while he was personating this feigned character: but the palatine had been too sensibly affronted and ill-treated by Zuski, to let slip so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on him; and his daughter could not refuse to concur in the execution of a scheme by which she might reascend to that high degree of grandeur from which she was so lately fallen, and at the same time avenge herself and her murdered husband. Accordingly, after having remained a few days in the camp, she appeared with a splendid retinue in the tent of the pretended Demetrius, whom she acknowleged for her husband, and treated, to all outward appearance, with the same kindness and respect as if he had been really so. This public testimonial brought over to the impostor numbers who had doubted till then; and the news being soon spread, almost all Russia declared for him, except Moscow, Novogrod, and Smolensko.

A.D. 1609.

The Poles besiege Smolensko.

Zuski receives succours from the Swedes.

The king of Poland, taking advantage of the confused situation of Russia, in order to recover the places that had once belonged to his crown, laid siege to Smolensko. Zuski, thus attacked on all sides, and on the point of being driven from the throne, now accepted the late offers of the Swedes, and agreed (Z) to relinquish to them for ever, Kexholm, and all pretensions to Livonia, on condition of their sending him five thousand men, whom he was to pay, under the command of count James de la Gardie [p]. By these succours, Zuski was enabled to make head against the pretended Demetrius, but durst not hazard a battle to relieve Smolensko. Sigismund himself eased him in this distress: for, rightly judging, that if Zuski should be entirely ruined, the Russians would probably substitute in his stead the feigned Demetrius, of whom he wanted to make no other use than to hinder them from assisting Sweden, which he intended to attack, he recalled the Poles that served under the pretended Demetrius, who, thereupon fled to Caluga [q]. By this expedient the siege of Moscow was raised; and Zuski gained a sort of respite, till his subjects, weary of him and his government, considering the train of misfortunes that had attended his reign during five years, and imputing all their calamities to him, as to a

[p] Petr. p. 411. Loccen. lib. viii. p. 507. Piasec. p. 314. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 335.

[q] Kobierz. p. 150.

(Z) By a treaty concluded at Wiburg.

person

person visibly disliked by heaven, resolved to chuse themselves a new master. Accordingly, after many debates, they offered the crown to Uladislaus, the son of Sigismund, king of Poland; hoping by his means to save Smolensko, destroy Demetrius, and re-establish peace; and perhaps too, from their natural antipathy to the Polanders, with a resolution to get rid of him as soon as their end should be answered.

Uladislaus accepted the crown, Zuski was deposed, shaved, and put into a monastery, from whence he was taken to be delivered to the Poles, with all his family, and soon after died of grief, or, as some say, by poison. Demetrius made head against the Poles for some time, till he was massacred at a feast by the Tartars, to revenge the death of Kasimouski, their chief, who had been drowned by his order. His party, however, still subsisted for some years; for not only Zarveki the general of the Cossacks, proclaimed his son, whom several of the Russians acknowleged, upon Zarveki's promise to assist them in driving away the Poles; but a new impostor took the name and place of Demetrius.

A. D. 1610.

Uladislaus chosen czar. Zuski dethroned; and the pretended Demetrius killed.

This was the clerk of an office, whose real name history has not preserved: but we are told, he was a man of intrigue, bold, enterprising, who wanted neither wit nor conduct[r]. He first appeared in the province of Novogrod, where he gave himself out for the true Demetrius, the same who had escaped from the hands of the assassins employed by Boris, from Zuski at Moscow, and from the snares of the Tartars at Caluga. Numbers of soldiers joined him; and such crowds of the meaner people flocked to him by degrees, that he was almost astonished himself to find how strong he was grown. He carried his boldness so far as to send an ambassador to Charles IX. of Sweden, to demand succours from him, by virtue of the alliance between the two states; and published a manifesto to engage those whom he called his true subjects, to return to their obedience.

A fourth pretended Demetrius.

The king of Sweden, amazed to see this Demetrius arising every moment, like a phœnix from his ashes, ordered Petreius, who had often seen Griska Utropeja, to examine who he was: but the new Demetrius, being apprised of his design, feigned himself out of order, and sent the Swedish minister to his principal secretary, who was then at Iwanogorod, where all the country had acknowleged him. Petreius desired him to acquaint his master, that he had secret affairs, of great importance, to communicate to

[r] Olear. lib. iii.

him:

him: but it was of greater importance to him not to be seen; so that the Swede was obliged to go away without speaking to him, or being able to determine any thing farther, than that he believed him an impostor. However he prosecuted his schemes for some time; till at last some of his own party betrayed him, and sent him in chains to Moscow, where he was hanged [s].

Who is hanged.

A.D 1611. While Sigismund still doubted within himself, whether he should consent to his son's accepting the crown of Russia, he pressed Smolensko, which had now sustained a siege of near two years, to surrender; but the governor replied, that he was ready to open the gates to the czar Uladislaus. This declaration not satisfying Sigismund, who wanted the surrender to be made to him, that he might re-unite it to his crown, and the Polish troops before the place beginning to grow weary and dissatisfied, orders were given for a general assault. The attack was made in the night of the 13th of July; when the principal inhabitants, finding that their enemies would infallibly overpower them, retired, with all their most valuable effects, into a church, under which they laid a sufficient quantity of gun-powder, and blew themselves up [t]. The flames were soon communicated to all the other buildings; so that the Poles, who entered it sword in hand, became masters of a city reduced to ashes, and almost depopulated; upwards of two hundred thousand of its inhabitants having perished during the siege.

Smolensko taken by the Poles.

The Poles were continually representing to their king, that the Russians sought only to deceive him, and that it would be more glorious for him to be the conqueror of their country than only the father of their czar. In consequence of this idea, though he had promised that Uladislaus should soon go to Moscow to receive the homage of his new subjects, yet he deferred his departure from day to day, and sent in his stead such numbers of Poles, that upwards of ten thousand of them were reckoned in the city of Moscow alone; a number sufficient amply to revenge the late massacre of their countrymen. The Polish general, Stanislaus Solkouski, likewise received, in the mean time, the oath of allegiance from the Russians, in the name of Uladislaus; and, with their consent, which he found means artfully to obtain, put a thousand men in garrison in the castle of Moscow. At length, however, the continued delays of Uladislaus, the insolence of the Poles, who had

[s] Petr. p. 462 & 475. Relation Curieuse de l'Etat. present de Moscovie, p. 457, & seq. [t] Kiober. p. 404. Piasec. p. 324. Lud. tom. i. p. 375.

forgot

forgot how dear their licentiousness had cost them a few years before, and the impatience of the Russians, who saw no end of their miseries, stimulated the people to discontent and insurrection. They met in great numbers in the square before the castle, where they loudly complained of the outrages they had received from the Poles, who ought to have protected and defended them; adding, at the same time, that they should be forced to use those remedies which nature had put into their hands for their safety, if some better course was not taken. Solkouski did all that was in his power to appease them, and even punished severely some of the most culpable among the Poles: but these examples did not satisfy the Russians; and the Polanders, apprehending a general insurrection, redoubled their guards, and forbad the inhabitants to assemble or bear arms. Incensed at this prohibition, they all rose, and met in several parts of the city, in order to oblige the Poles to divide their forces. Some parties of the latter, not thinking themselves strong enough to resist, had recourse to a horrid expedient to divert their enemies. They set fire to the city, which then consisted of above one hundred and eighty thousand houses, in three or four different places; and while its distressed inhabitants ran to the assistance of their wives and children, they fell upon them on all sides, and made so dreadful a slaughter, that all the streets were covered with dead bodies. Above a hundred thousand perished either by the fire or sword [a]. The czar's treasury was plundered; as were the churches and convents, from whence the Poles took an incredible quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones, which they sent into their own country: even their common men got such riches, that, it is said, some of them loaded their pistols with large pearls. About seven thousand Poles, who had committed all this mischief, lorded it over the ashes of Moscow for fifteen days; at the end of which, leaving a garrison in the castle, but imprudently neglecting to supply it with provisions, they evacuted the ruined city, and went to their king, whom they obliged to advance their pay.

Dreadful insurrection at Moscow.

In the mean time Zachary Lippenow, a brave and resolute Russian, putting himself at the head of an army raised in haste, laid close siege to the Poles in the castle of Moscow. King Sigismund, now master of Smolensko, might easily have sent them succours, and thereby have secured his footing in Russia; but he returned into Poland, without giving

The Poles lose all footing in Russia.

[a] Piasec. p. 323. Kobier. p. 374. Petr. p. 34. Olear. lib. iii. Ludolph. tom. i. p. 374.

the

the besieged any assistance, either in men or money; and when he, shortly after, undertook to retrieve his affairs in the empire he had left, none of his designs succeeded, on account of the jealousy of his generals. The Poles blocked up in the citadel of Moscow, made several vigorous sallies; but were at length reduced to such miseries by hunger, that they offered to surrender, on condition that they should be allowed to march home unmolested. The Russians agreed to these terms, but broke their word, and put most of them to the sword [w]. With this place Sigismund lost all that he had in Russia.

A.D. 1613. Uladislaus's election to the crown was set aside, on account of his not coming to accept it; and as soon as the bojars and senators saw the state a little at rest, they proceeded to the choice of a new sovereign.

The Russians proceed to the election of a new czar.

After several had been named, and rejected, one of the electors proposed Michael Theodorowitz Romanow, son of the archbishop of Rostow, a youth of seventeen years of age, who was with his mother in a convent at Castroma; his father Theodore Nikitiz Romanow, or Philaret, as he was called, upon his being obliged to take orders, being then a prisoner in Poland, whither he had been sent on an embassy [x]. This proposal soon gained the approbation of many; and particularly of the people: for in this prince were centered all the circumstances necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the state. There were but three males of his family living; he had not been concerned in the late troubles; and his father, being a prelate of known piety and virtue, would rather advise peace than endeavour to excite new divisions. Of this disposition he had given proof, by a letter he found means to convey from his prison to his wife's brother Czeremetoff, wherein he exhorted him, as a general and a senator, earnestly to consider the good of the empire, and to persuade the rest of the senate to have the same object in view.

Czeremetoff, or Sheremetow, laid this letter before the assembly, whom it immediately determined to fix upon the good archbishop's son; a choice which none could object to, though no one present could certify any thing as to his personal qualifications. The noblemen of Castroma who were present at the election, had indeed seen him, but could only say, that they believed him good-natured, temperate, pious, and discreet for his age. The assembly was

[w] Kobier. Hist. Uladisl. lib. vii. p. 441, 450. [x] Puffend. p. 580. Kobier, p. 469. Piasec. ubi supra. Olear. lib. iii. cap. iii. Ludolph. p. 463

neither

neither willing to ſet him aſide on account of his youth, nor to decide abſolutely in his favour, till they were acquainted with his character, and had ſeen him; for which reaſon they deputed two of their number to his mother, with a letter, deſiring ſhe would ſend her ſon to Moſcow.

The tender mother no ſooner learnt the purport of their meſſage, than ſhe began to weep and lament her misfortune, in that her only ſon was to be taken from her to ſhare the fate of ſo many czars, who had been miſerably ſlaughtered. Full of this idea, ſhe wrote a letter to her brother Czeremetoff, earneſtly requeſting him to uſe his endeavours with the ſenate, that her ſon might be excuſed, as being too young to be fit for ſo high a dignity, and having no relations able to aſſiſt him with their good advice; wherefore ſhe intreated him to prevail on the electors to think of ſome other perſon, more capable to govern both himſelf and the empire.

This letter, and the report of the deputies, occaſioned a warm debate in the aſſembly; many taking it amiſs, that a woman ſhould thus oppoſe the will of the repreſentatives of the ſtate; whilſt others, conſidering her reaſons, and that ſhe was not ambitious of having her ſon promoted to the crown, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had conceived to his advantage.

Czeremetoff, actuated by much weightier reaſons than thoſe which influenced his ſiſter, prudently diſſembled, ſaying, he would not concern himſelf in the matter: but, at the ſame time, he worked effectually under-hand, to bring about this election, which ſeemed to him the only expedient that could ſave his country; and he perſuaded the metropolitan of Moſcow to inſiſt upon chuſing young Romanow. Accordingly the prelate, expecting, undoubtedly, to advance his own intereſt by it, repaired one day early to the aſſembly, and declared, with a ſolemn aſſeveration, that he had been favoured with a revelation, and that, if the Ruſſians wiſhed to have a proſperous prince to rule over them, they could not chuſe a better than the ſon of the archbiſhop of Roſtow. This declaration had ſuch an effect, that the aſſembly inſtantly deſired Czeremetoff to write once more to his ſiſter, and beg of her to let her ſon come to Moſcow. Czeremetoff politicly anſwered with a feigned humility, "I muſt not oppoſe the will of God, nor the opinion of this aſſembly: though I think ſome regard ought to be paid to the mother's endeavour to avert the election of her ſon. For my part I will be neutral; leſt any one ſhould think I have more regard for my relations than for the good of the empire, and that I may have a clear conſcience,

science before God and this assembly, in case any misfortunes should happen on account of his youth."

This speech, accompanied with many tears, affected the hearers so much, that even those who had been most against the election of the young prince, now cried out, "Why should we use so many intreaties in this case, since we have such full power from the Almighty? As to his youth, God, who has chosen him, will also protect him. Let us therefore no longer debate the matter, but acknowlege him our sovereign." So saying, they went to the church, and proclaimed him, to the great joy of all that were present, especially of the common people, who were greatly influenced by the pretended revelation *y*.

SECT. X.

From the Accession of the now reigning Family of Romanow.

MICHAEL THEODOROWITZ.

MICHAEL Theodorowitz began his reign with taking every step that prudence could suggest to appease the troubles of his empire, and strike at the root from whence it was apprehended others might arise. His temper was sweet and engaging; he delighted in the arts of peace, and was resolved, if possible, to efface the remembrance of all the cruelties of his predecessors.

Makes his father patriarch of Russia.

As soon as he had notified his election to the king of Poland, his father, the archbishop of Rostow, was immediately set at liberty, and sent home. Michael received him as the best of parents; and created him patriarch of all Russia, upon the death of the primate, which happened about this period. He constantly treated him with the utmost respect and filial piety; consulted him in all affairs of importance, and gave him the first place in all public assemblies: marks of respect which added greatly to the dignity of the patriarch's office, which had been highly revered before.

We have already observed, that Charles IX. of Sweden had sent auxiliaries to assist the czar Zuski against the Poles: but the Russians not seconding James de la Gardie, as they ought to have done, he retired with several hundred Swedes and Finlanders, to seek, at least to make good, the expences the king his master had been at. With this view,

y Strahlenb. cap. iv.

he

he endeavoured to seize on the places which Zuski had promised him, and pressed the Russians, in particular, to evacuate Kexholm: but, instead of complying with his demand, they took from his courier the instrument of the treaty he had made with them, which he was sending into Sweden, and refused him entrance into Novogorod. This perfidy determined de la Gardie to take, by force, what he found he could not obtain otherwise. Having received a reinforcement from Sweden under the command of Evert Horn, he made himself master of Ladoga and Kexholm, and, re-entering Russia, invested Novogorod, at the time when they were deliberating at Moscow about setting aside the election of Uladislaus[z]. He then proposed prince Charles Philip of Sweden to succeed him, and some of the principal men in the country gave him hopes that this might be brought about: but, having observed the irresolution and inconstancy of the Russians, he thought he might push the affair with a better prospect of success, if he appeared in a condition to be able to support him. He therefore attacked Novogorod, and took it by assault. Those who fled to the castle were allowed to capitulate, on condition of their putting themselves under the protection of Sweden, and electing for their sovereign the king's brother, who, on his side, was to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to defend them against all their enemies. After this convention, de la Gardie put a garrison in the fortress, and took the oaths of all the Russians who were found in the city; upon which the people of Novogorod sent deputies to offer the crown to prince Charles Philip[a]. But while these things passed, Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his son Gustavus Adolphus.

Hostilities of the Swedes in Russia.

Gustavus Adolphus becomes king of Sweden.

Gustavus, who was much embarrassed with the wars of Denmark and Poland, not answering the solicitations of the Russians so warmly as they expected, all the interest of Charles Philip would soon have been suppressed, if la Gardie had not taken uncommon pains to preserve it. At length, peace being made at Knaredh between Sweden and Denmark, Gustavus reflected seriously on the offers of the Russians, and believed there was the more likelihood of success, as all the northern part of the Russian empire seemed much inclined to a Swedish prince. He, therefore, received fresh solicitations from the people of Novogorod, answered with great civility, and assured them that he would soon be with them. The Russians, observing that he made no mention of his brother, immediately,

[z] Plasec, p. 284. Kobierz. p. 461, & seq. p. 464. Puffend. p. 581. Petr. p. 480.

[a] Ludolph.

judged that his design was to annex their empire to his own crown, which was far from being their intention. They, therefore, desiring to have a prince of their own, without being under the power of the Swedes, and judging that both states could not be well governed by one sovereign in their then situation, answered Gustavus with much respect, requesting him to send his brother Charles Philip to them without delay, as his majesty had too much employment upon his hands in his own kingdom, to have time to re-establish the affairs of Russia, which were in the greatest disorder and confusion.

The prince of Sweden misses the crown of Russia.

No opportunity could have been more favourable: but it was lost; either because the king could not bear to see his brother on the throne of so powerful an empire; or that the queen, his mother, feared to expose him to the inconstant temper of the Russians; or that the Swedish nobility, who had conceived a jealousy of la Gardie, did what they could to prevent an affair of such importance from being accomplished by a foreigner.

In the mean time the Swedish troops did not remain idle in Russia. Their general, Slange, took Notteburg by agreement, in the name of prince Charles Philip, the intended czar: Evert Horn, in the same manner, made himself master of Coporie, Jamagrod, and Augdow, and formed a design upon Pleskow, which, however miscarried.

The Russians had waited, with impatience, for the prince of Sweden: but, disgusted at the indifference, or rather contempt, with which they were treated, their inclinations towards him began to cool; especially when they thought they had reason to suspect, that Gustavus sought rather to extend the limits of his own kingdom, than to procure the empire of Russia for his brother, and assist them in retrieving their shatteted affairs. These considerations induced them to proceed to the election, which fell upon Michael Theodorowitz, in spite of all the opposition that could be made by la Gardie, whose activity among the people of Novogorod was such, that he engaged them to take a fresh oath of allegiance to prince Charles Philip, whom the king, his brother, at length sent to Wyburg, when it was too late.

La Gardie, having at the same time received succours from Sweden, reinforced the garrison of Novogorod, the inhabitants of which place sent deputies to the prince, to congratulate him on his arrival at Wyburg, and desire him to honour them with his presence. But the counsellors, whom Gustavus had sent with his brother, would not consent to that proposal, pretending, that all the cities in the empire should send deputies, to shew that they were satisfied

satisfied with the election, and that the disturbances in the state should first be quieted. The Russians persisted, that the prince ought to come and shew himself at Novogorod, which had formerly been the capital of a particular monarchy, separated from the rest of Russia; or at least, that he should go to Iwanogorod, that it might be said he had taken possession of the empire. But neither of these points could be obtained. The Swedish counsellors adhered to their instructions, and the Russian deputies retired; though not till after they had consented to renew their oath of allegiance to prince Charles Philip [b].

The instructions of the prince's counsellors imported also, that if the Russians would not do what was expected from them, the Swedes should seize on the whole province of Novogorod. But la Gardie wisely representing, that this step would be impracticable with their few forces, and that it would serve only to draw upon them insults from the Russians, no attempt of that kind was made. On the contrary, Charles Philip, after having sent again for the deputies of Novogorod, and reproached them with the perfidy of their countrymen, resigned to the king, his brother, all his rights to the crown of Russia, in consequence of his having been freely elected to it, and immediately went back to Sweden; by which means the fury of war was kindled between the two nations, instead of the projected union, which miscarried only by neglecting the proper time.

The czar sent an army against the Swedes, and at the same time dispatched ambassadors to England, Germany, Denmark, and Holland, to notify his accession to the throne; but above all, to complain of the conduct of the Swedes [c]. La Gardie defeated eight thousand Russians near Brunitz, where they were advantageously encamped to cut off his communication with Novogorod, and again reduce Stara Russa. Evert Horn besieged Augdow, which the Russians had suprised: and Gustavus returned to Sweden, where the situation of affairs required his presence. La Gardie accompanied him, and the management of the war in Russia was left, during their absence, to colonel Jaspar Anderson Crauson, field-marshal Evert Horn, and Magnus Martenson Palmen, with power also to treat about peace.

Though the Russians were greatly distressed, they still demanded terms to which the Swedes could not agree. Gustavus wished for peace; but at the same time thought,

[b] Puffend. p. 582. Petr. p. 481. [c] Ludolph. p. 516. 518.

A.D. 1615. himself intitled to advantageous conditions. To this end, he had recourse to the English ambassador, who was then at the czar's court; and, to give weight to his remonstrances, he came back the next year to Narva, and ordered his troops to besiege Pleskow [d]. Evert Horn, with thirty of his men, was killed in the very first attack, in which the Russians lost about seven hundred. The czar sent an army of twenty-four thousand men to relieve the place: but Gustavus, leaving a sufficient force to continue the siege, met them with the rest of his troops, and attacked them with such bravery, that he killed nine thousand on the spot. Pleskow continued to make a vigorous defence, till, winter coming on, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the heavy artillery of the Swedes, Gustavus was obliged to raise the siege.

The Swedes gain several advantages in Russia.

A.D. 1617. At length the differences between the two crowns were mutually submitted to the mediation of England, whose minister, Sir John Merrick, opened the conferences with the Russians at Glebova; where a truce was agreed to, with the preliminary articles of a peace, which was concluded in the beginning of the next year at Stolbowa, a village between Tiffina and Ladoga [e]. By this treaty, the czar yielded up to the king of Sweden, Kexholm, and its dependencies, with all Ingria; an acquisition which enabled the Swedes to make a strong rampart on that side of Russia, and cut the Russians off from all communication with the Baltic sea: though these last comforted themselves for that loss, by seeing their commerce increase daily in the White Sea, by means of the English and Dutch, with whom they chose to traffic, rather than with any other nations (A).

Peace concluded at Stolbowa.

The czar now turned his whole attention towards re-establishing order and tranquillity in his empire, and remedying the abuses that had crept in during the late troubles. There remained no enemies abroad, but the Poles; and they were too fully employed by the Turks, to give him

[d] Loccen. lib. viii. p. 529. [e] Puffend. p. 591.

(A) As most of the writers who have hitherto been our guides, bring their accounts no lower down than to this peace, with which, indeed, many of them were contemporaries; the reader must not expect the sanction of equal authorities for every event in the future part of this history, over which great darkness still prevails; owing chiefly to the incommunicative temper of the Russians, particularly in regard to the affairs of their empire.

much

much uneasiness for the present: but as soon as their hands were at liberty on that side, they bent all their force against Russia, which prince Uladislaus entered at the head of a numerous army, pretending that, by virtue of his election, the Russians ought to acknowlege him for their sovereign. They, on the contrary, reproached him with having abandoned them, and said, that his refusing to come into Russia, when his presence was absolutely necessary, discharged them from their oath of allegiance. He penetrated to the very gates of Moscow, and let his Cossaks ravage all the adjacent country: but finding, at length, that the Russians were determined to support their new czar Michael, he consented to an accommodation, and concluded a truce at Diwelina, for fourteen years, on condition that each should enjoy what he was then actually possessed of [f].

Uladislaus invades Russia.

A.D. 1618.

Makes a truce for 14 years.

Russia was now at peace with all her neighbours, and the czar in a condition to execute the prudent and salutary measures he was taking for the prosperity of his people. One of these was, his marrying, that they might have an heir to the crown, of his own blood. His choice fell upon Eudocia, the daughter of Lucojan Streschnew, a poor, but virtuous gentleman, whom the czar's messengers, sent to acquaint him with the elevation of his daughter, found helping his own domestics to cultivate his patrimonial inheritance, at the distance of near two hundred miles from Moscow [g]. Streschnew was ordered to court, and created a bojar; but soon regretted his rural retreat, to which he begged leave to retire.

A.D. 1625.

Michael Theodorowitz marries.

Eudocia, as virtuous as she was fair, soon gained the love of the whole nation by her prudent conduct. The religion of her country, and innocence, when distressed, always found in her a sure patroness: the poor never applied to her charity in vain. In the first year of her marriage she had a daughter, and afterwards successively three more. The czar, taking it very much to heart that she had not borne him a son, began to think of being divorced from her: but his mother prevailed upon the senate to endeavour to divert him from that resolution; and they succeeded so well, that he altered his mind. The very next year, she was delivered of a prince, who was christened by the name of Alexis, and became the bond of inseparable union between his happy parents.

A.D. 1630.

Birth of the czarowitz Alexis.

Shortly after the birth of the czarowitz Alexis, two ambassadors arrived at Moscow from the states-general of the

[f] Puffend. ubi supra. Ludolph. p. 561. [g] Strahlenberg, c. iv. Olear. lib. iii.

The Dutch send an embassy to the czar.

United Provinces, to treat about affairs of trade. The Dutch had, for many years, found the way to Archangel, where their traffic consisted chiefly in exporting tallow, saltpetre, corn, and skins; but the English, jealous of them, endeavoured to obstruct their commerce. Their factors there now found it difficult to send any corn from thence, on account of the high duties demanded by the Swedes, who were masters of the Baltic; and there being a great scarcity in Holland, at this time, their high mightinesses, at the request of several merchants, resolved to send an embassy to the czar, to endeavour to gain some new advantages with respect to this article.

The embassy was accompanied with some presents of arms, jewels, and rich stuffs, which were very graciously accepted at an audience, which was conducted with great splendour and magnificence.

A.D.1631. The czar, in his turn, sent ambassadors to the states of the United Provinces; the rather as, the truce with Poland being near expiring, he foresaw that he should want the arms, and other ammunition, which their high mightinesses had offered him, as an acknowlegment for his granting them the contract of corn which they desired: and indeed, before his ambassadors could arrive in Holland, he sent thither an officer, named Lesly, with orders to purchase military stores, and to raise troops. The ambassadors, when they came, requested succours of men and money: but the republic, drained by a war of sixty years against Spain, was in no condition to comply with their desire; and therefore could only grant them leave to buy and send away arms and ammunition, without paying the usual duties to the government.

The czar sends an embassy to the states general.

The Poles violate the truce with the Russians:

The Poles had manifestly violated the truce concluded at Diwelina: for their prince Uladislaus not only claimed the title of czar, which he was to have relinquished; but the troops made continual incursions into the Russian provinces bordering upon Poland, and actually seized on several places. Frequent complaints were made on this account to the diet of Poland; but no sort of satisfaction could be obtained. Incensed at this procedure, and at the behaviour of the Polanders, who were continually sending priests of the Romish communion into Russia, where they left no method untried to make converts to that persuasion, the czar resolved to declare war against Poland, without waiting for the expiration of the truce, especially as he had received ambassadors from Sweden, and the grand signor, who seemed likewise highly exasperated against that kingdom.

who therefore declare war against them.

But

But this war did not prove successful. An army of a hundred thousand Russians, commanded by Michael Borissowitz Szehin, besieged Smolenskow, but were defeated with great slaughter, and obliged to raise the siege, by Uladislaus, who having succeeded his father Sigismund III. advanced to the relief of that important place, with a vast army. The conqueror, pursuing his advantage, entered Russia next year, and laid siege to Biela, while his Tartars made incursions on all sides. Szehin, and his camp-marshal Ishmael Gossen, were accused of not having behaved well before Smolenskow, and lost their heads: but this example did not re-establish the affairs of the czar, whose counsellors advised him to make peace with Uladislaus. A negociation was accordingly begun, and at length, with much difficulty, brought to a conclusion. Uladislaus renounced the title of czar, in consideration of Michael Theodorowitz's yielding to his son for ever, the provinces of Smolensko and Czernichew, with their dependencies.

A.D. 1633. *But are defeated.* A.D. 1634. *Peace concluded between the Russians and the Poles.*

Towards the end of the preceding year, Michael had lost the best of friends in the person of the patriarch Theodore, or Philaret Nikititz Romanow his father, and principal counsellor. He had always so great a respect for this venerable parent, that, besides giving him the highest rank next the throne, his name was constantly inserted with the czar's in all public acts, which ran in the name of the czar Michael Theodorowitz, and his majesty's father, the most holy patriarch. As he had joined the mitre to the sword, having been a general in the army before he was an ecclesiastic, the affable and modest behaviour, so becoming the ministers of the altar, had tempered and corrected the fire of the warrior, and rendered his manners perfectly amiable. He had been an eye-witness to all the revolutions that had happened from the time of the death of John Basilowitz II. whose consort was his aunt. He had profited by all the errors committed by the czars Theodore, Boris, Demetrius, Zuski, and Uladislaus; and had drawn from their conduct such lessons, for the instruction of his son, as effectually made him appear without any of the faults of his predecessors, unless it be, that he had too high an idea of his own power, which made him neglect to cultivate those alliances with his neighbours, which might have enabled him to execute great projects, considering the then situation of affairs in Sweden, Denmark, and Poland.

Death and character of the czar's father.

The peace which the Russians now enjoyed, enabled their czar to apply himself more than ever to regulate the disorders of the state, and look into the concerns of his own family; for the welfare of which it was of high im-

Morosou appointed governor to the czarewitz.

portance to provide for the education of the czarowitz, who was to succeed him in the throne. With this view, he appointed for his governor Boris Iwanowitz Morosou, whom we shall find acting a great part under the reign of his pupil.

Michael Theodorowitz was so respected by his neighbours, for his equity, prudence, and piety, that, during the remainder of his life, his court was constantly graced with ambassadors from all the princes about him, as well in Asia as Europe, who courted the friendship of so great a monarch. Even the Cossaks, ill treated by the Polish nobility, offered to put themselves under his protection, and assist him to take vengeance on their then allies, the Poles, for the mischiefs they had occasioned in Russia. But the czar, religiously adhering to his treaties, and preferring the advantages of peace and tranquillity, to any acquisitions that might be made by war, declined their proposals, and contented himself with keeping up a good understanding with that people.

A.D. 1646. This pacific prince, beloved by all his subjects, who looked upon him as their father, died on the 12th of July 1645, in the 49th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign [h]. He left two children, the czarowitz Alexis Michaelowitz, who succeeded him, and the princess Irene, who was betrothed to a count of Holstein, Christian Wolmar, natural son of Christian IV. king of Denmark, but died in the year 1656, without being married.

Death of the czar Michael Theodorowitz.

Alexis Michaelowitz crowned czar.

Morosou was too well acquainted with the fickle temper of the Russians, to give them time to form designs, or enter into cabals against the heir to the crown, who was but in the sixteenth year of his age. He therefore immediately assembled the knez and bojars, and they crowned Alexis Michaelowitz the very day after the death of his father, without observing the tedious ceremonies usually practised at the coronation of the czars.

Ambition of his prime minister Morosou.

After the coronation of the young czar, Morosou changed his office of governor, into that of confident and prime minister; and took upon him the same authority in affairs of state, as he had exercised over the prince in the lifetime of his father. The czarina, widow of Michael Theodorowitz, died eight days after the coronation of her son, who shewed his regard for her, by the favours he bestowed on all her family; though the ambitious Morosou, that he might have no spies upon his actions about the court, took care that their promotions should be such as kept them at a

[h] Olear. lib. iii.

distance

distance from Moscow; whilst, on the other hand, he introduced his own relations, friends, and creatures on whom he could rely, and placed them about the person of the prince.

Morosou certainly loved his sovereign tenderly, but with too much regard to his own interest, and too determined a resolution to be, at least, the first subject in the empire.

To secure his favourite point, he had recourse to two very important measures: the first was, to keep the czar as much as possible from concerning himself in affairs, by continually engaging him in parties of pleasure; and the next, to provide for him a wife, who, being obliged to him for her good fortune, might make her influence over the czar subservient to his own purposes. With this view he cast his eyes upon the two daughters of the bojar Ilia Danilowitz Miloslauski, a nobleman of small fortune, but strongly attached to his interest. Both these ladies were amiable, especially the eldest, called Maria Ilychna[i]; and Morosou resolved that if the czar espoused one, he himself would marry the other: by which means he would not only become brother-in-law to the czar, who, for that reason, would be the more engaged in his preservation; but, by means of his wife, would be able to insinuate into the czarina, and by her into the czar, whatever he should think proper to inculcate. This project succeeded. The daughters of Miloslauski were invited to court, and the czar no sooner cast his eyes upon the eldest, than he was captivated, and, without debating long on the matter, told Miloslauski, that he would honour him with his alliance, and marry his daughter. This compliment was accompanied with such presents as enabled the whole family of the intended bride to appear at court in a manner suitable to their high station. The czar and the young lady were soon betrothed, A.D. 1647. according to the custom of the Russians, and the nuptial ceremony was performed with the utmost magnificence. Morosou married the other sister in a few days after[k]. From this time Morosou, now the czar's brother-in-law, and his father-in-law, Miloslauski, associating themselves with Leponti Stepanowitz Pleschcou, first judge of the Smenskoi Duor, or principal court of judicature in Moscow, formed a kind of triumvirate, which, for a while, governed the whole Russian empire.

Through whose means the czar marries one sister, and he the other.

Towards the end of the reign of the czar Michael Theodorowitz, a daring impostor appeared in Poland, and pretended to be son of the great duke Basilius Iwanowitz

A counterfeit Zuski.

[i] Strahlenberg, c. iv. [k] Olear. ubi supra.

Zuski.

Son of a linen-draper.

Zuski. His real name was Timoska Ankudina, and he was the son of one Demko, or Demetrius Ankudina, a linen-draper at Wologda, where he was born. Demko, perceiving some what more than an ordinary capacity in this child, was at some expence in his education, and he made such progress, as to pass for a very extraordinary person among his illiterate countrymen. His voice, and skill in singing hymns at church, recommended him to the archbishop of the place, who took him into his service, in which he behaved so well, that the prelate, conceiving an affection for him, married him to his grand-daughter[1]. This alliance, which might have been very advantageous to him, proved his ruin; for he presently began, in his letters, to assume the quality of son-in-law to the waivode of Wologda Welicopermia. Having squandered away his wife's fortune, after the archbishop's death, he went with his family to Moscow, where, upon the recommendation of a friend of the archbishop, he found an employment in the Nova Zetvert, an office where those who keep public houses are obliged to take all the liquors they sell. Timoska was made receiver there; but lived with such extravagance, that he could not make up even his first payment of taxes due to the czar; and as great exactness is expected in all accounts of that kind, he set his invention to work, to supply the deficiency, which amounted to two hundred rubles. To this end, he went to one of his fellow officers, named Basili Gregorowitz Spilki, who had done him several kindnesses, and told him, that one of the chief merchants of Wologda, to whom he was under great obligations, being come to Moscow, he had invited him to dinner, and should be glad to let him see his wife, if Spilki would do him the favour to lend her his wife's pearls and rings, that he might present her in a condition suitable to his employment. The other immediately assented, without asking any sort of writing or acknowlegment for what he lent, though the jewels were worth above a thousand rubles. Timoska, instead of pawning them to make up his accounts, sold them outright, made use of the money, and impudently denied the loan. Spilki arrested him; but could not detain him in prison, for want of evidence to prove the fraud. In the sequel, Timoska had some difference with his wife, who often reproached him with his perfidiousness, and other vices too shocking to mention: upon which, fearing, on the one hand, to be called to account for what he was in arrear with the czar; and, on the other, that his wife might,

His first preferment.

Cheats his fellow-officer.

[1] Olear. lib. iii.

perhaps,

perhaps, turn evidence against him; he sent his son one day to the house of a friend, shut his wife up in a stove, and set fire to the house, in which the poor woman was burnt. *Burns his wife,*

After this horrid transaction, he went into Poland, but so secretly, that it was thought at Moscow the same fire had consumed him, with the rest of his family. It was about the year 1643 that he took his departure: but hearing afterwards, that the czar was going to send an embassy to the king of Poland, and that his being at Warsaw was known in Russia, he went to Chmielnisky, general of the Cossacks, and begged his protection against the persecutions which he suffered, for no other cause, said he, than that the czar knew he was nearly related to the prince Basilius Iwanowitz Zuzki. *and flies to Poland.*

He carried on this imposture with such art, and insinuated himself so far into the favour of Chmielnisky, that he began to grow considerable; when a Muscovite officer, named Jacob Koslou, who was sent to this Cossack general, happening to know him, advised him to return to Moscow, and endeavour to make up the sum he owed to the czar, which was not so great but that he might afterwards obtain his pardon, by the interception of friends; for it was not yet known that he pretended to be the son of the czar Zuski.

Timoska, reflecting on this incident, began to think himself not safe even in the Ukraine; and, therefore, made the best of his way to Constantinople, where he abjured the Christian religion, and was circumcised. The fear of punishment, for crimes committed at Constantinople, drove him from thence to Rome, where he became a Roman catholic. From Rome he repaired to Vienna, and from thence into Transylvania, to prince Ragotzky, who gave him letters of recommendation to Christina, queen of Sweden. This princess received him kindly, and, giving credit to his story, allowed him an honourable subsistence. The Russian merchants then at Stockholm, soon acquainted the czar with the imposture that was carrying on by this man, who now stuck not to give out every where, that he was the son of Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski. The czar immediately sent Koslou, who had seen him with Chmielnisky, in the Ukraine, to desire the queen to deliver up the impostor: but Timoska, who knew that inquiry would be made after him, was gone. His servant, or rather his companion, whose name was Kostka, or Constantine, having staid behind on some business, was taken, and sent chained to Moscow, where Timoska's mother and kindred were put *Turns Turk.* *Becomes a Roman Catholic.* *Goes into Sweden.*

to

to the rack, and some of them executed. Timoska himself was afterwards discovered at Reval in Livonia, where the queen ordered him to be arrested: but having found means to escape out of prison, he fled to Brussels, and begged the protection of the archduke Leopold. From thence he went to Wittemberg, and Leipzig, where he made profession of the Lutheran religion, and writ his confession of faith in Latin. He afterwards visited Neustadt, in the duchy of Holstein, where Peter Micklaf, in consequence of letters from the czar to the duke of Holstein, caused him to be secured. He was then carried to Gottorp, and put under a strong guard, till the czar sent express orders for bringing his person to Moscow.

To Brussels.

Embraces the Lutheran religion.

Timoska varies in his declaration.

From this period, his behaviour was so ridiculous and inconsistent, that he seemed to labour under a manifest discompofure of the brain. One while, he said, he was the son of czar Basilius Iwanowitz Zuzki; and another, that his father's name was Basilius Domitian. Sometimes he would be thought a Polander, and confidently maintained, that he was no Russian, and that there was not any thing in his person, language, or manner of life, that could induce a sensible man to think him such. Indeed his beard was trimmed quite differently from the usual fashion of the Russians: he spoke the Latin, Italian, German, and Turkish languages fluently; and had such an art in counterfeiting all sorts of hands, that it would have been very hard to convict him by that which he wrote in his first employment.

Endeavours to kill himself.

Perceiving that all his evasions would not serve his turn, he fell into despair, and would have killed himself: for, in the way to Travemunde, where he was to be shipped off, not far from Neustadt, he threw himself headlong from the waggon, and endeavoured to get under the wheels, in hopes of being crushed to death: but the ground being soft and sandy, he received no hurt, the carriage was immediately stopped, and he was put into it again, so fastened, that he could not possibly make another attempt of the same nature.

Is put to the torture.

On his arrival at Moscow, he was put to the torture, in presence of several noblemen; but he impudently told them, that, of all the bojars, he would not deign to speak to any but the Knez Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow, with whom, though he knew him only by fame, on account of his goodness and courage, he should be glad to have some discourse. While two bojars were gone to fetch Nikita, Timoska desired somewhat to drink; upon which some quas was offered him in a wooden bowl: but he would

have

have mead, and that in a silver cup; though, after they had so far complied with his humour, he only put it to his lips, and would not drink. Seeing Nikita come in with the two bojars, he saluted them, but still affirmed, that he was the son of Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski; though it was plainly proved, that he was the son of Demko Ankudina, linen-draper at Wologda, and that the czar Zuski had no children, but only two brothers, both of whom died without issue male.

Whilst he was under the torture, his mother was brought to him, and exhorted him to acknowlege his crime. He seemed, at first, to be affected by her presence, but persisted in affirming that he knew her not; nor would he recognize one John Pescou, with whom he had left his son, when he quitted Russia. This man earnestly desired him to throw off the masque under which he had cheated the world, and disturbed his country; and conjured him to consider his child, and not rely any longer on illusions and impostures, which would only aggravate his misery, and bring upon him a redoubled weight of the vengeance of the Almighty. This remonstrance affected him to such a degree, that he would not speak a word afterwards, though there were brought before him divers persons who had known him when he was in the Nova Zetbert, or Tavern-office. He was then examined, and found to be circumcised. Next day, he was again put to the torture, but would not speak at all: upon which he was carried to the chief market-place, where his sentence was pronounced, and immediately put into execution. His right arm was first cut off, with an ax, below the elbow, and his left leg, below the knee; then his left arm, and right leg, and last of all his head. The trunk was left upon the ground, where dogs devoured it in the night; and the members, which had been stuck upon stakes, were dragged in the morning, by the executioner's servants, to the place where all the filth of the city was thrown.

Kostka, the impostor's man, was pardoned, because he had confessed the truth: but, in regard to his having been unfaithful to his prince, he was sentenced to lose three fingers of his right hand. However, the patriarch, representing that the religion of the Russians obliges them to make the sign of the cross with the right hand, obtained that this sentence should be executed on the left of the criminal, who was afterwards banished to Siberia[m].

[m] Olear. ubi supra.

A Polish

A Polish envoy, who was to have his public audience of the czar on the day that Timoska suffered, was conducted through the market-place, just at the time of the execution, that he might be an eye-witness of it, and be able to give the Poles an account of the end of that impostor, whom they had looked upon as the son of the czar Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski. But even this precaution did not hinder them from afterwards producing another impostor.

Oppressions of Morosou and his associates.

The triumvirate of Morosou and his colleagues was maintained with such impudence and haughtiness, that the people, accustomed to the mild and wise government of the late czar Michael Theodorowitz, knew not how to bear the insolence of these favourites. Plesscou, in his office, sold justice, and not satisfied with the presents which he received with both hands, he often reduced the parties to the utmost misery by studied delays.

Besides these grievances, trade was obstructed, monopolies were granted, and no employment could be had, but by dearly purchasing the good pleasure of the favourite Morosou.

A.D. 1648.

The Muscovites discontented.

The inhabitants of Moscow, who had lived very quietly under the reign of the late czar, could not help shewing their resentment at these grievous exactions. They had their assemblies about the churches, at the hour when their devotion led them thither, and resolved, at last, to petition the czar: but as no one single person would or durst undertake to deliver the petition to him, they agreed to do it in a body, as he should come out of the palace. Their greatest anger was against Plesscou, and their desire was, that his place might be filled up by some person of honour, from whom they might expect more justice. They had their petition ready, and endeavoured two or three times to give it to the czar; but the bojars, who attended him, took it from them, and reported it as they were instructed by Morosou; so that no answer was returned, nor any grievance redressed. The people at last resolved to take another method, and make their complaints in a body by word of mouth, as soon as an opportunity should offer.

An insurrection at Moscow.

On the 6th of July, 1648, they took their advantage of a procession, which the czar made to a monastery in the city, called Stertenskoi. The people assembled, as usual, in the market-place, to see him pass by: but at his return they broke through those who attended him, and, laying hold of the bridle of his horse, stopped him, and intreated him to hear their complaints concerning the injustices and violences committed by Plesscou, begging that some other

person

person might be put in his place, who should better discharge the duty of so important an office. The czar though startled at their presumption, kept his countenance, seemed moved with the grievances of his good subjects, and promised to enquire into the matter, and declared that they should receive satisfaction. The people desired no more, and were going away well contented with that answer, when the bojars, friends of Plesscou, began to give them abusive language, thrust some off their horses, and struck others with their whips. The people, incensed at this treatment, threw such vollies of stones at the aggressors, that it was with difficulty these last got into the palace, though the czar's guards interposed: a circumstance which inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they threatened to force even the czar's apartments, and take away all they found there, if Plesscou was not immediately delivered up to their revenge.

Morosou went into a balcony, and endeavoured to appease the people, exhorting them, in the name of his czarish majesty, to go back to their homes, and make no farther disturbance: but they told him, that they had as much to say to him as to the other; and accordingly, some of them went immediately to his palace, which they forced, ransacked, and demolished in a moment. Their fury was such, that they spared not even the images of their saints, for which the Russians used always to have a great veneration: but they shewed some respect to Morosou's wife, only taking away her jewels and pearls, which they threw into the street, and frightening her by saying, that if they had not looked upon her as sister-in-law to the czar, they would have cut her in pieces.

From the house of Morousou they went to those of Plesscou, Trachanistou, the chancellor, and of all who had any relation to, or dependence on the favourite, where they found such riches, that pearls were sold by the handful, so cheap, that one might have bought a hatful for thirty rubels; and the finest sables, gold and silver stuffs, were sold for a trifle [a].

The chancellor of Russia murdered by the people.

Nazari Iwanowitz Tzistou, chancellor of Russia, who had farmed the impost upon salt, was one of the victims to this popular fury. He lay, at that time, sick in bed, having received a dangerous hurt by a fall from his horse: but hearing that Morosou's house had been ransacked, and not doubting but that his would share the same fate, he hid himself under a heap of wood, that was piled up to serve

[a] Olear. lib. iii.

the

the ſtoves, and over which ſome flitches of bacon were laid, the more effectually to take away all ſuſpicion. This ſtratagem would certainly have ſaved his life, had he not been betrayed by one of his ſervants, who, taking advantage of his maſter's misfortunes, laid his hands on a ſum of money, and made off with it to Niſchnovogorod, after having diſcovered to the people the place where the chancellor was concealed. The inraged multitude took him out by the heels, and dragged him down ſtairs into the court, where they beat him to death. His body was thrown upon a dunghill, and the houſe plundered.

While theſe diſorders were committed in the city, care was taken to ſecure the palace againſt the outrages of the people, who continued in arms all night between the 6th and 7th of July, in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed they only waited for day-light to reſume their operations: orders were therefore ſent to the German troops then in Moſcow, to meet at their ſeveral rendezvous in the city, and from thence proceed directly to the caſtle, to defend the czar. They marched with drums beating and colours flying; and the Muſcovites, inſtead of oppoſing, gave them way, telling them, that they had no quarrel againſt them, for that they knew them to be men of honour, who did not approve of the oppreſſive proceedings of the miniſtry.

The czar then ſent out the knez Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow, to diſperſe the tumultuous aſſembly of the people, who, he knew, had a very great reſpect for that nobleman. Romanow addreſſed them with great civility, and told them, that they ought to be ſatisfied with the czar's aſſurance, given the day before, that he would remedy the diſorders of which they complained: that his majeſty had commanded him to tell them as much, and to adviſe them to return to their reſpective homes, that he might the better perform what he had promiſed in their favour. The people anſwered, that they were not diſſatisfied with the czar, but with thoſe who, under his name, abuſed his authority; and that they would not ſtir till Moroſou, Pleſſcou, and Trachaniſtou were delivered up to them, to be puniſhed for the injuries they had done to the whole empire. Romanow commended them for their loyalty to their ſovereign, and aſſured them, that he would immediately acquaint his majeſty with their affection for him: that he doubted not but orders would be given for executing thoſe three lords; but that he could ſafely take his oath that Moroſou and Trachaniſtou had made their eſcape; and as to the third, he ſhould inſtantly be put to death. Accordingly, Romanow was no ſooner returned to the czar, than word was ſent to

[n] Olear, lib. iii.

the

the people, that Plesscou would be brought out directly; that the two others should also be delivered to them, as soon as they could be taken; and that they might send for the executioner to do his office. He was soon found, being at the castle-gate with his servants; and in about a quarter of an hour, Plesscou was put into his hands, to be led to the market-place, and there beheaded. But the people, impatient to be revenged, fell upon him so violently with sticks and clubs, that they killed him before he reached the place of execution, and then dragged his body through the streets, ejaculating the most bitter curses; till, at last, a monk, whom the deceased had ordered to be cudgelled, cut off his head [o].

Plesscou put to death.

Morosou had indeed made his escape, and was so fortunate as to avoid those that were in search of him, till he got into the castle again by private ways: and that it might not be thought the czar had connived at the escape of any one, messengers was sent to apprehend Trachaniskou, who was found near the Troitzskoi monastery, about twelve leagues from Moscow. Next day he was brought to the smenskoi duor, the tribunal where Plesscou had sat as judge, and the czar commanded his head to be struck off. This execution wrought so much upon the people, that, though they were informed that Morosou had been seen in the country, and none knew what was become of him, they forbore pressing the czar any farther to deliver up a man, who, they thought, was not in his power; and about eleven o'clock in the morning every one retired to his own home.

Trachaniskou put to death.

In the afternoon, several houses in the Metroski and Twerski quarters of Moscow were set on fire. The people immediately ran thither, with intention rather to steal than quench the flames, which soon consumed the part of the city called Czargorod, and raged with such violence, that it was feared the palace could not possibly escape. At length a monk, dragging along a heavy burden, threw it into the fire, saying, it was the carcase of the abominable Plesscou, and that nothing else could quench the flames [p]. The fire abated soon after, a circumstance which was attributed to this pretended miracle.

A great fire at Moscow.

Some days after this terrible accident, the czar treated the strelitzes with strong waters and hydromel; and his father-in-law, Ilia Danilowitz Miloslauski, invited several of the citizens to dine with him, and spent many days together in entertainments. The patriarch also enjoined the

[o] Olear. lib. iii. [p] Idem. ibid.

prieſts and monks to endeavour to pacify the people, and to exhort them to that reſpect and obedience to the higher powers, which their religion required, and their conſciences ought to ſuggeſt. Theſe means had the deſired effect; eſpecially when they found that the czar had filled the places of thoſe who had been executed, with honeſt and upright men, capable of performing the duties of their reſpective employments. But Moroſou was ſtill in danger; and the czar reſolved, if poſſible, to ſave his life: with this view, he took the opportunity of a proceſſion to ſpeak to the people, having Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow by his ſide: he told them, that he was extremely grieved to hear of the injuries and violences done by Pleſſcou and Trachaniſtou, under the protection of his name, but contrary to his intention: that he had put into their places, perſons of integrity, who, being acceptable to the people, would adminiſter juſtice impartially, and without corruption; and that they might not fail therein, he himſelf would have an eye upon them: that he repealed the edict by which the additional duty had been laid upon ſalt, and that he would immediately aboliſh all monopolies; for that his ſubjects ſhould enjoy all their privileges, which he would even increaſe, if there ſhould be occaſion. The people bowed to the ground, and thanked his majeſty, who thus encouraged, reſumed his diſcourſe. He ſaid, it was true, indeed, he had promiſed to deliver up to them the perſon of Boris Iwanowitz Moroſou, whom he acknowleged he could not abſolutely juſtify, though, at the ſame time, he could not reſolve to condemn him: that he hoped the people would not deny the firſt requeſt he ſhould make to them, which was, that they would pardon Moroſou, only for that time. He declared, that he himſelf would be anſwerable for him for the future, and aſſured them his behaviour ſhould be ſuch as to give them cauſe to rejoice at their lenity: that if they would not have him be any longer of his council, he would diſmiſs him; but that he deſired them to look upon that lord as one who had been a father to their prince, and one who, having married the czarina's ſiſter, muſt needs be extremely dear to him, and conſequently, that it would be very hard for him to conſent to his death. The tears which accompanied this concluſion of the czar's ſpeech, ſhewed plainly his affection for that favourite, and ſo moved the people, that they all cried out, "God grant his majeſty a long and happy life. God's and the czar's will be done." The czar, highly rejoiced at their granting his requeſt,

The czar intercedes for Moroſou.

Who is pardoned.

[p] Idem. ibid.

thanked

thanked the people for this obliging proof of their zeal and affection.

Morosou afterwards appeared in public, among those who attended the czar on a pilgrimage to the Troitzkoi monastery. He went uncovered from the castle to the city-gate, saluting the people on both sides with great submission; and from that time he embraced every opportunity to gratify and assist those who applied to him on any business they had at court[q].

Not long after this tumult was quieted, another broke out in a different part of the empire, upon the following occasion. A war between Russia and Sweden had seemed almost inevitable, for some time, on account of the disorders committed on the frontiers of the two states by the subjects of both crowns, who left their own habitations, and passed over to the other country, to avoid paying their debts. The Russians made great complaints of this evil; but when his czarish majesty sent his ambassador, Boris Iwanowitz Pushkin, into Sweden, to queen Christina, and the affair was examined into, it was found, that there were many more Swedes in Russia, than Russians in Sweden: it was therefore agreed, that this transmigration should be forbidden on both sides for the future: but as the czar, by this practice, had acquired a great number of subjects, he engaged to pay to the queen of Sweden, by way of indemnification, one hundred and ninety thousand rubles, part in money, and part in rye. A.D. 1649. *The czar sends an embassy to queen Christina of Sweden.*

The Poles had been terribly harrassed during the last years of the reign of Uladislaus, by the revolt of the Cossacks, under the command of the famous Chmielniski: but they may be said to have drawn all their misfortunes upon themselves, by their manner of treating the chief of the Cossacks, and the rest of that warlike nation. When Uladislaus died, they had penetrated a great way into Poland, where they committed unheard-of cruelties and devastations, and were so powerful, that it was thought, that whoever had the support of the Cossacks might be chosen successor to Uladislaus. The czar Alexis had then on foot a fine army, which he offered to employ in the service of the Poles, if they would give him the vacant crown; but they not listening to his proposal, he used menaces, which had likewise no effect; for France, having made it a point to place upon the throne of Poland a prince who should be devoted to her, employed her money so properly, to engage the Cossacks to withdraw during the time of the election, *John Casimir chosen king of Poland.*

[q] Idem ibid.

that prince John Casimir, brother of Uladislaus, was chosen, on condition that he should marry the princess of Gonzague, his brother's widow.

The new king would not meddle in the difference between the Poles and the Cossacks, but thought the latter so much in the right, that when the nobles urged him to put himself at the head of an army to chastise the rebels, as they called them, he answered, it was not well done to burn the mills of Chmielniski, or to abuse his wife and children. At length the Cossacks, abandoned before Zbaras by their allies the Tartars, who offered to make peace with John Casimir, were forced also to sue for an accommodation; but as a great many of them could not confide in the Poles, some sought protection under the Turks, and others under the Muscovite.

A.D. 1654. Although the czar Alexis had not been irritated by the contempt with which the Polanders treated the advantageous offers he made them to obtain their crown, he would not have wanted reason for declaring war against them: Smolensko, Kiow, Czernichow, which had been ceded to them by the last treaty of peace, were losses too considerable for the Russians to put up with quietly. The Poles gained them, by taking advantage of the distressed condition to which they had reduced the empire, by patronizing so many impostors; and therefore the czar thought he had the same right, in his turn, to profit by the deplorable state in which he found these mortal enemies of his country. He, therefore, marched to Smolensko, and sat down before it, with three hundred thousand Russians and Cossacks.

The czar declares war against Poland.

Smolensko is one of the strongest places on the frontiers, and the Poles, foreseeing the rupture that was likely to happen between them and his czarish majesty, had furnished it with a large garrison, and every thing necessary for a vigorous defence. After a full year, the town surrendered; and this conquest opened a door for the Russian army into the heart of Lithuania, where they besieged Wilna, which did not hold out very long. The Russians lived at large in this country, and committed such ravages as were long felt in the great-duchy.

A.D. 1655. *Recovers Smolensko, Wilna, the province of Czernichow, and the city of Kiow.*

While this army found nothing to stop its course almost to Prussia, another body, more numerous, on account of fresh supplies from the Cossacks, advanced with as little opposition to the banks of the Dnieper, where the whole province of Czernichow, and the important city of Kiow, returned to the obedience of their former sovereign; whose dominions

dominions were, in the mean while, desolated by a dreadful plague.

The misfortunes which Poland laboured under, were greatly increased by Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who now invaded her with a formidable army. John Casimir had, with very little prudence, endeavoured to prevail upon Christina, queen of Sweden, to protest against her abdication in favour of her cousin Charles Gustavus, and solicited the archbishop of Upsal, and the states of the kingdom, to take this step in her absence. Charles, justly incensed at this conduct, entered Poland, and almost entirely subdued it in less than three months. His Polish majesty, having some apprehensions of this blow, had made a long truce with the Russians, to whom he left all their conquests within the ancient limits of Russia, upon condition that certain sums should be paid him at different instalments. A.D 1656. *Truce between Russia and Poland.*

The czar Alexis Michaelowitz, having thus had the honour to wipe out the disgrace which the loss of three fine provinces had brought upon his country, thought he might be at leisure to apply himself to the peaceable acts of government: but the jealousy that almost all the nations of Europe had conceived of the king of Sweden's arms in Poland, obliged him to take the field again, to stop the rapidity of that prince's conquests. He had reason to complain of the Swedes, who, in attacking their common enemy, not satisfied with the many provinces they had taken, had, by a treaty between Magnus de la Gardie, and Radzivil, appropriated to themselves the great-duchy of Lithuania, which the czar looked upon as his conquest. This last circumstance was sufficient cause for him to carry his arms into Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia. The troops which the czar sent into the two first of these provinces made no other progress than ravaging the open country; but were routed in several places. The weight of the war was in Livonia, where the Russians took Duneburg and Kakenhausen by storm; from whence they advanced to Riga, which they cannonaded for seven whole months, without being able to make one assault, though they were assisted by the Poles, and their army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men. De la Gardie and Helvesd, who were in the place, defended it with such bravery, and made so many successful sallies, that the besiegers were obliged to decamp, with very great loss. The two nations then agreed to a truce, which was afterwards changed into a peace, by the treaty of Cardis, concluded on the 2d of June, 1661.

Hostilities between the Russians and the Swedes.

Conquests of the Russians.

Who are repulsed before Riga;

and conclude, first a truce,

and afterwards a peace.

Another Demetrius produced by the Poles.

Towards the end of the reign of Uladislaus of Poland, a new Demetrius had appeared in that kingdom. Mere chance, as it is said, discovered him, and he himself was ignorant of his own birth: but it is more likely that Uladislaus, an ambitious prince, who could not digest the loss of the Russian crown, had raised him up, and instructed him how to behave, that he might serve as a pretext for his declaring war against the czar Alexis, if the Cossacks had not found so much employment for him, that he had no time to execute his project, which was, to place Demetrius upon the throne, and afterwards transfer the crown to his own head.

This Demetrius was a Cossack, of an agreeable person and uncommon understanding, and seemed to be about twenty-five years of age. It is said, that as he was going into a bath in the little town of Samburg, in Polish Russia, some marks of an extraordinary kind were observed upon his back; that Dmiellouski, the treasurer of the crown, being told of this circumstance, sent for him, asked him several questions, and afterwards examined those strange characters; but, not being able to make any thing of them, he sent for a Russian priest, who immediately read, *Demetrius the son of Demetrius.* These characters were made to signify, that this young man was the son of Griska Utropeja, the first usurper that took upon him the name of Demetrius. It was said, that his mother, the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, had been delivered of him in prison, and that the wife of a Cossack, who was in her service, being brought to bed at the same time, had taken the son of that princess, and given her own in his stead; that a Russian priest, having baptized the son of the princess, and seeing it was likely to continue unknown, and pass only for the son of a poor peasant, had imprinted those characters that were between his shoulders, with a certain indelible liquor. This was the story founded upon the characters, which, without doubt, were put upon the back of the Cossack for the present purpose; and, to render this event the more miraculous, it was given out, that his supposed father and mother were both dead, no body knew where or when; so that some of the domestics, with whom the princess had intrusted the secret at her death, had sought for them in vain.

It is very easy to detect the imposture of this affair, if we recollect that of the second Demetrius, massacred by the Tartars at Caluga, and the manner in which the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir was put to death. However, this impostor appeared at the court of Poland, where he

he was treated as the son of the czar till the death of Uladislaus, and where he had contracted a strict friendship with the famous Galga (B), the Tartarian prince, prisoner of Uladislaus, to whom that king generously gave his liberty, that he might not lose the opportunity of ascending the Tartarian throne, to which he was the next heir.

At the death of Uladislaus, the face of affairs was entirely changed, by the election of John Casimir, especially with respect to this Demetrius, who, fearing he should be delivered up to the czar, with whom the new king seemed desirous to live in peace, retired to Reval, and from thence to Sweden; but, not thinking himself in safety there, he withdrew into Holstein.

We have already seen that the duke of Holstein had sent an embassy ro Russia, in order to settle a trade of silk into Persia. One of the duke's ambassadors, Otto Brugman, of Hamburgh, going thither a second time upon the same business, abused the confidence of his master, by borrowing large sums of money in Russia, of which he could give no account. The czar expected the duke should discharge the debts of his ambassador; but the duke had not yet acquitted himself of this obligation, when a Russian factor, who was in Holstein at the time that this new Demetrius appeared there, gave the duke to understand, that his czarish majesty would remit this large debt, if he would deliver the impostor into his hands; a proposal, which, upon those conditions, was accepted. The pretended Demetrius was accordingly seized, and sent to Moscow, where he was confronted by an old woman, who declared herself his mother. He was prosecuted as a cheat, and a disturber of the public repose, convicted, and condemned to have his head cut off, his body quartered, and his quarters hung upon gibbets.

Who is delivered up to the Russians, and put to death.

The czar Alexis employed every method to settle the tranquillity of his dominions, and made numbers of excellent regulations for the welfare of his people. Though a stranger to foreign languages, he caused an epitome of several sciences to be translated into the Russian tongue, and took great delight in reading this compilation. The laws of the several provinces of his empire were collected and printed together, by his order, in one body, which, in the Russian language, was called Ulogenie: but for want of a good lawyer to digest them into proper order, it is but an imperfect and confused collection. He, likewise,

Civil government of the czar Alexis.

(B) The title of the next heir to the throne, like Dauphin, in France, or Prince of Wales, in England.

introduced several new manufactures, particularly of silk and linen [r]. He added to the city of Moscow two suburbs, called the New and the Old Meshanskoja; and built in other parts of his dominions several market-towns, such as Wolda, and others, which were peopled by Lithuanians and Poles. He endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the crown, but with great circumspection; and was the first who created a privy-council for trying causes concerning his person. When he suspected any individual, he proceeded very cautiously, as well in administering the torture, as in executions; but when a person was found guilty, he generally ordered him to be executed privately. He was also the first who made a distinction among the bojars, by calling the chief and oldest of them Kommatnye Bojars; and, of these his privy-council, for foreign affairs, consisted.

The wars in which Alexis was engaged in the beginning of his reign, necessarily required great expences. His revenues did not exceed five millions of rubles: yet he kept a magnificent court, maintained a great army, and, by his œconomy left his treasury very rich. He was enabled to save so much by the vast contributions raised during the Polish war, and his paying only the foreign officers, and regular troops; for the Russian nobles looked upon it as a disgrace to receive any salary. When any such were grown incapable of service, or had sons old enough to replace them, they were freed, and their toils were rewarded with the gift of lands which had devolved to the crown [s], either by confiscation, or by the extinction of families; or they were promoted to the government of provinces. He greatly improved the culture of his dominions: many desarts were rendered habitable in his time, and peopled with prisoners taken from the Poles and other nations. He also intended to have had fleets in the Caspian and Black Seas; for which purpose he sent for shipwrights from Holland and other places; but the completion of this work was reserved for his son, Peter the Great, for an ambitious rebel now checked the designs of Alexis.

A.D. 1669. *The rebellion of Stenko Rezin.*

Stenko Razin, chief of the Don Cossacks, excited a dreadful rebellion against the czar Alexis Michaelowitz. The cause of his discontent was said to be the ignominious death of his brother, who had commanded the Cossacks that served in the Russian army, in the campaigns of 1654 and 1655, against the Poles. The knez George Alexowitz

[r] Strahlenberg, cap. v. sect. 18 & 19. [s] Idem, ibid. sect. 37.

Dolgorucki,

Dolgorucki, commander in chief of all the forces employed in the expedition, pretended to keep the Cossacks in the field as long as he pleased: but they, not used to be forced in their actions, abandoned the Russian general, and went to receive orders from their own chief. Dolgorucki took upon him to call this chief, who was Stenko Razin's brother, to an account for the conduct of his men, and, without much deliberation, ordered him to be hanged. This was Stenko's pretext for arming against his sovereign; but ambition soon appeared to be his real motive, since he not only made war against the czar, but also against the king of Persia.

His first depredations.

He first began his depredations upon the river Wolga, where he took and plundered all the small shipping he could find, and killed all the men that refused to engage in his service. After this first act of hostility, putting himself at the head of an army of his countrymen, he ransacked every place, church, and monastery, near the Wolga, and marched from thence to Jaik, a town situated on the river of the same name, which divides the kingdom of Astracan from the country of the Calmucks. From Jaik, which was easily mastered, he proceeded to the Caspian sea, and from thence returned to the Wolga, doing great mischief by destroying numbers of houses and villages. He then marched to the town of Terki, in Georgia, and advanced to the frontiers of Persia, where he pillaged the towns, and massacred the inhabitants.

The governor of Astracan, knez John Simonewitz Prosoroffski, sent a considerable number of troops against him, to stop these cruel proceedings: Stenko, finding himself too weak to resist, and apprehending no good issue, asked pardon, which Prosoroffski promised him, in the czar's name, on condition that he would make his submission, and demean himself for the future, as a loyal subject. Stenko and his companions, upon this declaration, went to Astracan, where they were kindly received, and, in return, made rich presents to the people, out of the apparel, jewels, and other ornaments of which they had robbed the houses of many gentlemen. Stenko Razin himself was not to be distinguished from the rest but by the marks of respect that were shewn him by his followers, who always saluted him by the name of batske, *father*. He was tall, and well proportioned; somewhat pitted with the small pox, of a stately mein and deportment; but of a savage cruel disposition.

Remarkable instance of his cruel disposition.

He had with him, when at Astracan, a Persian princess, whom he had taken prisoner with her brother. The brother he presented to the governor of Astracan, but kept the

the sister for his concubine. Being one day on board his yacht, diverting himself on the Wolga, and intoxicated with wine, he on a sudden broke out into these extravagant expressions, addressing himself to the Wolga: "Well, said he, though art a noble river, and out of thee have I had much gold, silver, and other things of value. Thou art both the father and mother of my fortune and advancement! whilst I, unthankful man, have never offered thee any thing. But now I am resolved to manifest my gratitude." With these words, he took the princess in his arms, and threw her into the Wolga, in all her rich attire, adorned with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones. What heightened the barbarity of this act was, that the lady was deservedly as much admired for the endowments of her mind, as for the beauty of her person, and had always behaved to him with the utmost complacency.

Stenko Razin, after a short stay at Astracan, returned with his associates to their own homes, on the borders of the river Don, and carried with him several Russians, whom his money and promises had seduced into his service.

The governor of Astracan, understanding that several persons in the service of the czar, his master, had withdrawn, and inlisted themselves among the rebels, sent one Wederos, a captain of the strelitzes, to Stenko, with instructions to demand the Russians, and order him to send them back, on pain of the czar's displeasure, which he might not so easily appease a second time as he had done before, but, perhaps, be compelled to make satisfaction for his former offences and his present together. Wederos went accordingly to Stenko; but the haughty Cossack would scarce admit him to an audience; and when he began to insist upon his sending back the men whom he had inveigled from their duty, he flew into a violent passion, drew his sword, and threatened to kill him if he dared to persist any longer. The Russian officer, being a discreet man, had then recourse to fair speeches, by which he somewhat pacified his fury; so that Stenko only asked him, how he dared to make such an impudent demand. "Shall I then, said he, betray my friends, who have deserted their nearest allies, and their fortunes, out of pure inclination to me? And shall I be threatened with the loss of favour to boot? Prithee, go tell thy master, that I value the czar no more than I do him: and let him know, that I shall be with him before he is aware, and reward him for his presumption." This insolent answer made the governor rightly judge, that he might expect another visit from the rebel: nor was he mistaken,

His insolence to the governor of Astracan.

mistaken, for within three days, Stenko began his march towards the Wolga, where he had eighty stroegs, or barks, besides other shipping, well provided with men and ammunition. However, he did not, at first, commit any act of hostility. The governor of Astracan assembled his council, who agreed, that as long as Stenko offered no violence to any place belonging to the czar, they should not oppose him, till the arrival of a fleet which they expected.

Whose fleet he becomes master of by treachery.

In about fourteen days, the fleet arrived, consisting of a great many vessels, with six thousand strelitzes, well furnished with all kinds of provision and ammunition. Stenko, having intelligence of all their designs, by his emissaries, ordered some of his own people, in whom he could best confide, to run away, and join the governor's forces, under pretence of desertion. Accordingly, when they came to the Astracan fleet, they feigned great discontent at the treatment they had received from Stenko. The adverse party received them with open arms, in hopes of discovering, by their means, the intentions of their rebel master. But as soon as they were under sail, and almost close upon the enemy, the traitors, on a sudden, fell upon the officers, murdered most of them, and surrendered the rest, with the whole fleet, into the hands of the Cossacks. Stenko, enriched by this prey, immediately ordered his men two months pay before hand, with a promise, for their farther encouragement, of enjoying freely whatever they could make by plunder.

The governor was not a little dismayed at this event; especially when he heard how much the common people murmured against him, and how well Stenko was spoken of, not only in Astracan, but in all the towns round about, which were under the dominions of the czar. The strelitzes, who had not received any pay for a long time, and had heard of Stenko's generosity to the men, began to mutiny, so generally, that the governor and officers durst not oppose them by any rigorous methods, but were forced to soothe them by fair words and large promises.

Stenko Razin, finding his strength increase daily, and having now near sixteen thousand men under his command, landed part of his forces, some of which went to Czaritza, and others to Czarnojar, whilst he himself remained with the fleet, where he was as highly respected as if he had been a sovereign prince. When he was warm with liquor, few of his officers dared to appear in his presence; for it was a common thing with him at such times, to behead a man for a very trifling offence, even though he were his greatest favourite. The meaner sort were in no danger from

from him; for they were wont to flatter him, and, upon the least hint, would dispatch any of their officers against whom he had taken umbrage. Thus, by shewing a greater regard for the common men than the officers, he became the more dreadful and formidable; for the sole command and direction of the whole army lay in himself. In the space of four or five days after he had got the Astracan fleet, his army was augmented from sixteen to twenty-seven thousand men, who were a mixed multitude of peasants, slaves, Tartars, Cossacks, and men of restless minds from all parts, pleased with the thoughts of the free enjoyment of plunder. These miscreants, over-spreading the country, committed many inhuman acts, and murdered such of the gentry as could not escape from them, which many did, by disguising themselves in the habit of slaves.

Stenko having attained to this pitch of grandeur and authority, was as much elated as if he had conquered the whole empire. It is true, he refused the title of king or emperor, saying, that his desire was not to rule as a lord, but to live with his countrymen as a brother, and to pull down that tyranny and oppression which they, and their progenitors, for many ages, had been forced to endure, contrary to reason and the law of nature. Yet, notwithstanding this pretended moderation, he had the impudence to send ambassadors to the court of Persia, with letters in which he assumed the most pompous titles, and styled himself the sophy's brother. The purport of this embassy was to invite the sophy to enter into an alliance with him, to supply him with ammunition of war, and whatever else he might have occasion for, upon paying the value. The ambassadors were ordered to ask these things at first in gentle terms; but if they met with a refusal, they were to menace the sophy, and give him to understand, that their master had two hundred thousand men ready to invade his territories, and that he might take an opportunity to visit him when he should be least expected.

Sends an embassy to the court of Persia.

As soon as the sophy understood that these ambassadors were instructed to threaten him, in case he refused to comply with the demands of the rebel their master, he sent for them, and immediately ordered their heads to be chopped off, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs; except one, whose life he spared, that he might go back to tell his master how they had been received at the Persian court. But this proved only a reprive for the poor surviving ambassador; for, upon his relating to Stenko Razin the success of their embassy, this last flew into such a rage, that he ordered the executioner to cut him in pieces.

The sophy's treatment of his ambassadors.

Stenko

Stenko left no means untried to increase his fleet and army; for which purpose he sent several of his emissaries to debauch the Russian soldiers, and entice them to desert the czar's service, in many towns upon the Wolga; judging those the fittest for his turn, as they were best acquainted with the military affairs of Russia, and therefore could be the most useful, in attacking any place he might have a design upon. In this practice he succeeded to his wish: having mustered his forces, he detached to Camiskinska a body of strelitzes, who, pretending they were imperial troops sent by the czar for the defence of the town, in case it should be attacked, were readily admitted, and so much confided in, that they soon found an opportunity to kill the governor, and almost all the officers of the garrison, having before seduced the rest, and brought them into their party. When this was done, a signal was given, by firing a gun, to Stenko, who came up, and surprised the town, which he garrisoned with Cossacks; removing the Russian strelitzes into his navy.

He seduces many of the czar's troops.

Takes Camiskinska by treachery.

The news of this event occasioned great alarms at Astracan; none knowing who was friend, or who was enemy: the governor, Prosoroffski, considering, that the common people, who delight in novelty, and are generally soon tired, even of the best of governments, might form designs of joining the enemy, called together his council, to consult what was best to be done in so dangerous a conjuncture, in order to quiet the minds of the people and defend the city. After mature deliberation, it was agreed, that the surest way to effect the former, would be to proceed cautiously in the latter; for that a check to the growing power of the rebels, would soon pacify the common people at home; but it would not be safe to put any confidence in the strelitzes.

Upon this resolution, numbers of gentlemen immediately offered to embark as private men, in this sudden, but urgent expedition; and on the 16th of April, 1670, eight hundred horse, of which four hundred were Russians, and the rest Nogayans, set out under the command of Levonti Bogdanoff, to reinforce the garrison of Czaritza, and furnish that city with ammunition and provisions. But on the 28th an express arrived at Astracan, from Bogdanoff, with an account, that the Cossacks had already taken Czaritza, and killed twelve hundred Muscovite strelitzes, who had arrived immediately before the siege.

By this time the czar, Alexis Michaelowitz, having received intelligence of all that had been done in this second revolt of the Cossacks, gave orders for levying new forces,

and

and equipping immediately as many vessels as could be got ready with speed. The towns upon the Wolga did their utmost to complete a fleet of forty sail, each of them being mounted with one cannon, besides a sufficient quantity of small arms and other ammunition, for as many men as the barks could properly carry. On board this fleet were two thousand six hundred strelitzes, and five hundred volunteers, under the conduct of Simeon Iwanowitz Elboff, a knez, who was appointed commander in chief of the expedition. These forces left Astracan on the 25th of May, when the people of that place began to murmur against their governor more than ever, even abusing him as he passed through the streets. On the 4th of June a gentleman, who had made his escape, brought intelligence that Czarnojahr had been taken by the rebels, just before the Russian general arrived there; that the governor and all the officers had been massacred, and their bodies thrown into the river; and, what was still worse, the private soldiers, under the knez Elboff, had murdered all their officers in the fleet, declared for the Cossacks, and surrendered all the shipping to Stenko Razin, though, immediately before their coming to Czarnojahr, they had unanimously sworn to live and die with their leaders. Though the governor of Astracan endeavoured as much as possible to suppress this unfavourable intelligence, the people learnt it, and grew so excessively insolent and outrageous, that neither magistrates nor officers dared to appear, or assemble to consult how to remedy these misfortunes.

Czarnojahr,

Astracan, Stenko Razin having intelligence of these particulars, marched to Astracan, the gates of which were immediately opened to him. The governor, Prosoroffski, was then at church, from whence he was forced away in the midst of divine service, and cast headlong from the top of a high steeple, which stands in the middle of the city, as a mark to direct those who navigate on the Caspian Sea, and travel over the vast and little frequented neighbouring desart. It is said, that Stenko whispered something in Prosoroffski's ear as the ruffians were dragging him along, probably by way of trying to bring him over to his party; but the faithful knez shook his head, and refused to comply. The cruel rebel, not content with this vengeance, put to death Prosoroffski's brother, and many noblemen, with several German and other officers. The churches, cloysters, and houses of the richest citizens were plundered, the records of the chancery were burnt, the czar's treasury of the kingdom of Astracan was carried away, and numbers of foreign merchants, Persians, Indians, Turks, Armenians, and

and others who happened to be in Astracan at the time, were butchered without distinction. Prosoroffiki's two sons were first hung up by the legs upon the walls of the town, and afterwards tortured to death; and his lady and daughters were delivered to the Cossacks, who were told, that they might take them for wives, or use them as they pleased.

After the reduction of Astracan, which happened on the 28th of July, Stenko marched to Tzamatoff, which he soon plundered and destroyed, after having put its inhabitants to the sword. From thence he marched to Simbierske, which he besieged, took by storm, and reduced to ashes; though with the loss of a great part of his Cossacks. *Tzamatoff.* *and Simbierske.*

The governor of this place, John Bochdaenwitz Micoflawski, defended it with such valour as stopped the progress of Stenko, who intended to have marched to the royal city of Casan, which was not a great way beyond Simbierske. He was not only repulsed from the walls of this town, but so dangerously wounded, that he was forced to return to Astracan. His emissaries were, all this while, busy in every quarter, endeavouring to stir up the inhabitants of the place to rebellion. Some of these incendiaries were seized at Oesliga, and hanged; but this example did not deter others from going about in other places, or from publishing, that their master would restore the people to liberty, and free them from the yoke of the nobles, under which they had long groaned. Even in Moscow many began to speak openly in his praise, as if he sought only the public good, and laboured to restore the freedom of the nation.

Stenko was now master of all the land about the Wolga; the whole country, as far as the towns of Accatour and Arsa, was engaged in his rebellion; and the number of the rebels amounted to two hundred thousand. The greatest part of the Czeremisse and Morduate Tartars, and all the peasants in those parts, whose fertile lands belonged to Russian lords, rose up against their governors, and hanged them, or cut their throats. *Power and increase of the rebels.*

In the mean time the czar had given orders to raise troops in every part: but could not bring an army into the field, strong enough to make head against the rebels, till the month of September. He gave the command of this army to the knez George Alexowitz Dolgorucki, whose first exploit was against a flying camp of the enemy, consisting of fifteen thousand men, whom he overthrew, though they fought with great bravery, and returned four times to the charge. *Who are defeated by Dolgorucki.*

After

After this victory Dolgorucki settled his quarters and tribunal at Arsamas, where he executed so severe a judgment upon the rebels that the avenues to that place resembled the dreadful entrance of the Tartarus of the poets. In one place lay heaps of headless carcasses; in others were wretches impaled alive, many of whom did not expire till the third day, with hideous cries; and all around were gibbets, each loaded with forty or fifty men. Within the space of three months above eleven thousand men were put to death by the common executioners, after having been condemned in a legal way; for the Russian army, going out by parties, brought in numbers of the rebels every day. Happily for the czar they were dispersed in different places, otherwise they would not have been easily reduced.

Among the prisoners who were brought to Dolgorucki was a nephew of Stenko Razin, and a nun in man's habit, who had commanded seven thousand men, and acted with much valour in the war. When taken prisoner there appeared not the least alteration in her, nor any fear of death when she was sentenced to be burnt alive; for, among the Russians, the deserting a monastery was, in those times, thought a crime never to be forgiven. A little before her death she wished that many more had behaved as courageously as she had done; and then, said she, the knez George would have found his best safety in his heels. Being come to the place of execution she signed herself after the Russian manner, with the cross on her forehead and breast, and then laid down quietly upon the pile, where she was burnt to ashes.

The rebellion entirely quelled.

When the rebellion was pretty well quelled in those parts, the czar sent the knez Constantine Zarbatoff to disperse the rebels about Tambhoff, a town situated on the river Don, in the province of Rezan, about fifty wersts to the north-east of Sergog. This service was soon performed, and all the discontended countries were reduced to their former obedience, after the destruction of about a hundred thousand men killed in the field, or put to death by the hands of the executioner. The czar was exceedingly grieved at the melancholy necessity of taking away so many lives; but there are occasions when such severities are absolutely requisite, and a sovereign is forced to sacrifice some members to save the body of the state.

Stenko Razin, alarmed at the loss of his friends on every side, knew not where to seek safety for himself. He suspected every one, and feared that some of his own people would follow the example of the inhabitants of Lysko, who had delivered up the chiefs of the rebels in order to make

their

their peace with the czar. Full of this idea he betook himself to the deserts, and wandered from place to place, till at length he fell into the snare he wanted to avoid, and was betrayed by the person in whom he had the greatest confidence. This was his godfather, Cornelius Jacoloff, a commander of the Cossacks, who had remained faithful to the czar, but was always so highly respected by Stenko, that this last could not imagine he had reason to distrust his professions. But he did not consider that, by revolting against his lawful sovereign, he had lost all title to the favour of honest men.

Jacoloff, entering into a serious conversation with him about the state of his affairs, after having represented the danger he was daily in of being murdered by assassins, betrayed by false friends, or overpowered by the superior forces of the czar, which it would not be possible for him long to resist, advised him to think of making terms with his prince. Stenko, dejected by his late misfortunes, listened to the proposal; upon which Jacoloff proceeded to tell him, that the czar himself, sensible of the many important services it was in his power to render him, desired a reconciliation, and wished to see him at Moscow; adding, that he was authorised to assure him that he would be received there with great distinction; that all the inhabitants of that city would come out to meet him; that he would be allowed to make a public entry; and that he would certainly be distinguished by extraordinary honours. A.D. 1671. *Stenko is betrayed,*

Stenko, wrought upon by these suggestions, which the gloomy aspect of his situation contributed not a little to enforce, at length consented to go to Moscow, upon a farther assurance that he should see the czar himself, and plead his own cause. His brother Trolka, who was forced to accompany him, blamed Stenko for all the mischief that had been done, and for the step he then took; but this last endeavoured to comfort him, by telling him of the great honours they should receive at Moscow.

Upon their arrival within a werst of that capital, they were met by a prodigious croud of people, in the midst of whom was, instead of a triumphal car for their public entry, a waggon, with a gibbet erected in it, to which Stenko was immediately fastened by a chain about his neck and hands. His brother Trolka was forced to walk on foot, chained to the side of the waggon. In this manner they were conducted through thousands of spectators, on whom Stenko never once looked, but kept his eyes fixed on the ground. They were carried to the smenskoi duor, and some days after put to the question, when Stenko was *carried to Moscow,*

condemned to the punishment inflicted on criminals guilty of high treason; namely, to have his arms, legs, and head cut off, and his body thrown to the dogs.

and executed.

Stenko suffered without a groan, after his sentence had been publicly read to him at the place of execution. Trolka was also brought to the scaffold, but pardoned, upon his promising to discover where his brother had concealed his treasure.

The death of this rebel was immediately followed by the surrender of Astracan. Sjourteous, surnamed the Devil's Whisker, whom the traitor Stenko had left to govern that city, being poisoned by his own soldiers, who hoped thereby to get their pardon from the czar; but as there are always some men, whom neither the fear of committing crimes, nor the dread of punishment can deter, one of Sjourteous's guards put himself at the head of those who continued in the revolt. However, the Russian commanders soon hemmed them in on all sides, and prevented their escape. All the other places which Stenko had taken, returned directly to their allegiance.

A.D. 1676.

King Michael, at his first accession to the throne of Poland, sent an embassy to Moscow, and renewed the treaty of friendship between the Russians and the Poles. At the same time the Turks, solicited by the Tartars, who were in alliance with Dorosenko, and yet more strongly tempted by the deplorable situation of the kingdom of Poland, rent by the unhappy divisions which reigned among her nobles, took up arms, to make their advantage of these misfortunes. The czar, not doubting but that after ravaging Poland, where little resistance could then have been made, they would turn their arms against Russia, sent a minister to Constantinople, to notify to the divan the renewal of this alliance, and to declare, that he could not avoid breaking with the Ottoman Porte if they attacked Poland.

Treaty of friendship between the Russians and the Poles.

The Turks seek to quarrel with Poland.

In the mean time the Tartars and Dorosenko's Cossacks continued their hostilities, and made themselves masters of a great part of the Ukraine, of which progress the Turks pretended that the Poles had no right to complain, because, said they, that province was entirely free, and its inhabitants, the Zaporog Cossacks, had always been under the protection of the Ottoman empire.

It was thought that the grand signor would not have taken up arms but at the instigation of France, who had many subjects of complaint against the court of Poland, and, besides, sought to find employment for the emperor, whose interest to oppose the progress of the Turks could

no

not but oblige him to enter into this quarrel. All Europe, except France, was on the side of Poland. It is true, the United Provinces, France, and England, were then at war among themselves. The czar assisted Poland with an army of twenty thousand men, commanded by old Gowaski, whilst a body of Don and Zaporog Cossacks made an irruption into the Crim, which caused a diversion very favourable to the Poles, but could not prevent the reduction of the important fortress of Kaminiec. The Calmucks were then ordered to march, to continue the invasion: upon which a peace was struck up between the king of Poland and the sultan. The Tartar khan, Selim Girey, being obliged to quit Poland, in order to succour the Crim, covered his departure under the honourable pretext of making himself mediator of this treaty, which was concluded in a very short time, as it usually happens between two powers, when one of them is entirely exhausted. Kaminiec and Podolia were to be ceded to the Turks; the Cossacks were to have the Ukraine; and satisfaction was to be made to the khan of Tartary, by paying him eleven thousand crowns, and a yearly pension of the same value. A tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats was also to be sent every year to the Porte. Nothing was stipulated in favour of the Russians. The Turks and Tartars took and killed, in this short war, upwards of three hundred thousand Poles.

Peace made between them.

The divisions among the Cossacks having obliged them to seek protection, one part from Russia, and the other from the grand signor, this last expected, that, in consequence of the late cession of the Ukraine, the czar should evacuate all the places he possessed in that country; and to this purpose sent an aga to Moscow. The czar told him, that, "he was not capable of so much baseness as to submit to a Mahometan dog; and that, if the grand signor threatened him with his scimitar, he hoped his sabre would not be useless."

Haughty answer of the czar to the grand signor.

Notwithstanding this resolute answer, the divan, dissatisfied with the peace with Poland, obliged the sultan to take up arms again; and after debating for some time, whether they should make war against the czar or Poland, determined for the last; not doubting, but if they conquered that kingdom, Russia would afterwards become an easy prey. Fraught with this idea, the sultan sent back a Muscovite ambassador, who was then at Constantinople, with orders to notify to his master the czar Alexis, that if he any ways assisted Poland, his highness would fall upon him with such forces as should soon over-run Russia.

The Turks renew the war against the Poles.

The sultan's answer to a letter from the czar.

These menaces produced a letter yet more haughty than the foregoing answer; and, at the same time, the czar sent a solemn embassy to the king of Poland, to assure him, that he might depend on twenty thousand Russians, and every other service in his power. Alexis not only kept his word in regard to these succours, but ordered twenty-two thousand men to advance to the borders of the Dnieper, to be ready to cross that river on the first notice; besides, the Cossacks and Calmucks were directed to make a fresh irruption into the Crim, where they gave the Tartars employment enough to prevent their joining the Turks, as they would otherwise have done. In the mean time the sultan laid the czar's letter before his council, and, with their advice, returned him the following answer.

"Most excellent of Christian hospodars, &c. After saluting you kindly, we declare to you, that upon receiving your letter to our most high, most clement, and most glorious imperial majesty, master of the universe, and equal in power to Alexander the Great (may the Almighty still increase our strength!) we caused the same to be translated and read; and we find, that in the hopes of succouring your friend and neighbours, you speak to us in terms, which are not usual among kings and monarchs. Though, by the peculiar providence of the Almighty, our imperial house is raised above all others, and not accustomed to expressions so injurious and indecent; yet we shall give you for answer, that we cannot but be greatly astonished, that you, who do not hold the first rank among the Christian kings and potentates, and who would not have obtained even an equality with them, had you not procured from our majesty peace for yourself and subjects, should dare to make use of such terms; terms which not only offend our majesty, but might cost you your dominions. As to what concerns Poland, we have executed what we have resolved upon; and by the help of Providence, which directs all events, every thing on that side is in a good condition, so that nothing more is to be said about it; but as to your desiring to assist your good friend and neighbour, the king of that country, why did you not do it before the war, by giving him wholesome advice? You might even have been a diligent and faithful mediator between the most high Ottoman Porte and him. But at present, when you threaten us, that the kings your neighbours will not suffer the progress of our arms, of which they are jealous; know, that we ourselves pay little regard to such menaces; being satisfied, that they are not ignorant of the justice of our cause, which has made us masters of so many provinces,

vinces, towns, and countries: and since it hath pleased God, that those should be disappointed who had any ill designs; be persuaded also, that, as soon as we shall be informed how you intend to act towards us, you shall receive good for good, and evil for evil."

The czar sends to all the princes of Christendom to form a league against the Turks.

The czar, finding that the Turks were determined to renew the war with Poland, used his utmost endeavours to arm all the powers of Europe against those enemies of the Christian name; to which end he sent ambassadors to every court in Christendom. His minister to pope Clement X. though he was a Roman catholic, refused to kiss his holiness's slipper, saying, that so mean an act was beneath the dignity of the prince he had the honour to represent. He declared to the pope, in a writing which he delivered in Latin, that the czar, his master, had resolved to make war against the Turks, to stop their progress into Poland; that he had nothing more at heart than to see all Christian princes in the same disposition, and wished they would unite against those tyrants; that his czarish majesty had, for that purpose, sent ambassadors to all the potentates of Europe; and that he exhorted his holiness to put himself at the head of a league so powerful, so necessary for the welfare of the church, and from which every Christian state might expect the greatest advantage.

This ambassador of the czar Alexis was greatly caressed at Rome. The pope assured him, that this resolution of his sovereign was extremely agreeable to him; and the cardinals Altieri, Barberini, Orsini, Chigi, and de Hesse, paid him the highest honours. But when they were to give his holiness's answer in writing, they framed great difficulties about the czar's title, because the court of Rome supposed, that the Russians understood this word to be equivalent to emperor. Several congregations were held upon this subject; and it was resolved, that, rather than give this potentate the title of czar, which was not refused him by any other nation, the pope's answer should be sent to his nuncio in Poland, and be transmitted from thence by his auditor. The other ambassadors of his czarish majesty were equally well received every where; and the king of Spain, in particular, gave a most favourable reception to the minister at his court; but all ended in empty promises. The situation of Europe was such, at that time, that every sovereign had enough to do to manage his own affairs.

The czar had some reason not only to be dissatisfied with the king of Poland, but even to distrust him; for though he had assisted that prince against the Turks, as soon as he

was attacked, he had not taken any sort of care of the interests of the Russians, who were not so much as mentioned in his late treaty: and after the peace was made, the Polish minister at Moscow had only presented a simple copy of the treaty to the czar; subsequent to which he had several conferences with a Turkish chiaoux, without informing his czarish majesty of what passed betwixt them. At length the jealousy, or rather the natural antipathy between the two nations, gave Alexis room to doubt whether the Polish monarch was sincere in his acknowlegement of the services he had received. He therefore ordered his ambassador in Poland to demand a farther explanation from the king, and at the same time to assure him, that the Russian army, which was on this side of the Dnieper, was ready to cross it, as soon as the Turks should appear beyond the Niester.

The king of Poland answered the Russian ambassador, that he had the deepest sense of gratitude for the services his czarish majesty had done him, by the irruptions he had made in the Crim, by his Calmucks and Don Cossacks, and for the arms and ammunition he had so generously sent to the Zaporog Cossacks. That, though Komor Orsanski had communicated to the minister of his czarish majesty, the peace concluded with the Turks, and had left them a copy of the articles; nevertheless, since his majesty desired it, he had sent one more authentic, sealed with his seal, to shew him that the treaty contained nothing prejudicial to his czarish majesty. That there had, indeed, been some conferences, since the conclusion of the peace; but that they turned entirely upon measures for obtaining the liberty of the hostages of the city of Leopold; and lastly, that there was no likelihood that this new treaty would subsist long; but, on the contrary, that the sultan would break through it as soon as possible, upon the advices he had received, that all the Christian powers were arming in favour of Poland, which he had resolved to conquer; thinking nothing more invincible than his arms, since he had subdued the fortress of Kaminiec; though neither his majesty, nor the republic, had given him reason to violate the peace. His Polish majesty, therefore, besought the czar to give orders to the army, which was near Kiow, to join that of Lithuania and Poland, that they might march together into Podolia, and jointly oppose the efforts of the common enemy.

Meanwhile, the king of Poland assembled the diet; in which, among other resolutions, was taken that of intrusting the operations of the crown-army to the grand-general

general John Sobieski. The forces of the Turks, though very formidable, fell greatly short of their former boastings; the plague in Europe, the revolt of the bassa of Aleppo, and their fear of being attacked by the Persians, who had assembled a considerable army, having prevented the execution of their vast designs. Poland and Russia were in a different situation. The grand-general had assembled an army of forty thousand men at Rubiessou, in the palatinate of Bielz, where the Lithuanian army of twelve thousand men, beside some horse, was to join them. The czar had one hundred and fifty thousand men in the Ukraine; and Sieſko, chief of the Cossacks, had undertaken to find such employment for the Tartars, that they should not be able to assist Hussein Bassa, who was at the head of the Ottoman troops. In effect, the Cossacks made so successful an irruption into the Crim, that, after having killed great numbers, they carried off above twenty thousand prisoners, reduced upwards of forty villages to ashes, and spread terror through the whole country.

This diversion contributed not a little to the glorious victory obtained by John Sobieski over the Turks near Choczim: a victory, by which that general merited the crown of Poland, restored the honour of his nation, obliged the Porte to agree to honourable terms of peace, and for which the Poles were in a great measure indebted to the generous assistance of the czar.

Michael Wiesnowieski, king of Poland, died at Leopold, on the 10th of November, the eve of the day on which Sobieski gained that important victory. An interregnum ensued till the 22d of May following, during which several candidates appeared for the crown, as usual. There were three parties: the first, which was composed of Lithuanians, and had the famous Patz, chancellor of the grand-duchy, at its head, proposed the prince of Lorrain; the senate, a part of the nobles, and the French faction, supported the prince of Neuberg; and the third, and most formidable party, including the whole army of the crown, was devoted to the grand-general, John Sobieski, who publicly exhorted them to demand a French prince for their king, but worked effectually, under hand, to place the crown upon his own head. *Michael, king of Poland, dies.*

The czar also thought, that he had some right to hope for this crown for his son; and his ambassador at Rome had already endeavoured to obtain the pope's interest to that end, by representing to him the advantage which all Christendom might expect from the union of these two states under the

same sovereign, who might alone be able to make head against the mortal enemy of the Christian faith.

The affair was of a delicate nature. The pope had not altogether rejected the proposal; but only given the ambassador to understand, that it was not a proper time to do any thing in it, king Michael being still alive. The party against Sobieski, proposed in the diet, that it should be forbid to elect a Piast, that is to say, a natural Polander; and those who were inclined to the czar readily seconded the proposal.

His czarish majesty offered to unite Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, in the same mannner as Poland had been united with Lithuania under the last of the family of Jagellon. He promised faithfully to maintain the catholic religion in Poland; to pay the debts of the nation, and to furnish it with an army capable of forcing the Turks to abandon all their conquests. Advantageous as these offers might seem, they made no impression, unless it was to the prejudice of the czar; for the Poles, who could not see a hundred and fifty thousand Russians in the Ukraine, without being jealous of so vast a power in a neighbour that had never liked them, disapproved of his pretensions, saying, that he had no other view in soliciting their crown, but to take vengeance on them for the ravages they had committed in Russia.

John Sobieski elected king of Poland.

At length the Poles united, and chose for their king John Sobieski, whose great qualities gave them just reason to hope for a speedy deliverance from the shameful tribute which the Turks had imposed upon them, and exacted with equal insolence and rigour. The new king sent an embassy to the czar, to court his friendship: and, on the other hand, Alexis Michaelowitz was particularly interested to manage matters so, that the Poles might not make peace without him; lest all the forces of Turky should fall upon Russia. To prevent this evil, his czarish majesty sent another army into the Ukraine, stronger than the former, under the command of general Romadanowski, who divided these forces into three bodies. The first marched towards Czeherin, a town at the south extremity of the Ukraine, upon the river Tesium, which falls into the Dnieper at Kyrlow, the place of residence of the famous Cossack rebel Dorosenko, who had been the author of this war, by taking up arms against Poland, and drawing the Turks into the Ukraine; the second body took the route of Kaniow, one of the principal towns of the Cossacks, upon the Dnieper, about ninety miles from Kiow; and the third, which was commanded by the Cossack Hanenko

nenko, advanced towards Czirkassy, a town on the Dnieper, about sixty miles from Kiow. This last division met a body of Dorosenko's Cossacks, who fought with great fury, but were almost all cut to pieces. The Russians attacked Czeherin; but Dorosenko, finding himself too weak to defend so large a place, set fire to it, and retired to the castle, with hopes of being soon succoured by the Tartars. The Russian general contented himself with keeping him shut up in this fort, and employed the rest of his army in reducing all the little places of the Ukraine, and destroying the straggling parties of Tartars that made excursions up and down the country.

In the mean time the czar, to penetrate into the real sentiments of the Poles, caused a report to be spread, that the sultan desired nothing more than to make peace with them, if they would help to drive the Russians out of the Ukraine. The Poles, whose jealousy had been excited by the conquests which the Russians had made in that province, fell into the snare, and shewed, that they were not averse to such an accommodation. The czar then ordered his minister to complain of this their dispostion, to the king, and, at the same time offered to join his forces to the crown-army of Poland, that they might act in concert: but nothing could overcome the diffidence of the two courts, nor conquer the jealousy of the Poles, who cared not to share the honour of a victory with their neighbours.

Whilst affairs were in this posture towards the Dnieper, the king of Sweden, Charles XI. who had succeeded his father, found himself much embarrassed. Like him, he had become a partizan of France, from which he drew large supplies: and, to hinder the elector of Brandenburg from declaring for the Dutch, he had sent troops into that electorate, where they were defeated near Fehrberlin. This battle was followed by a league between Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Lunenburg, and Munster, united against the Swedes, who could not possibly have been able to resist, if the czar, then in strict correspondence with the Dutch, had joined in the confederacy, and carried the war into the heart of Sweden, while the others attacked her only in the most distant parts, her dominions in Germany. To dissuade Alexis from any such design, and at the same time to be exactly informed of the affairs of Russia, the king of Sweden sent a solemn embassy to Moscow.

The czar, who was not altogether ignorant of the motives of this embassy, was willing to give the Swedish ministers to understand, that though he had actually a hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, in the Ukraine, he

A.D. 1674. he had still other troops enough to act elsewhere in such manner as he should judge most adviseable. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary magnificence, and treated sumptuously for some weeks at Nicolsko, about three miles from Moscow, in their way to which capital they were met by twenty-four regiments of foot, of a thousand men each, and eight thousand horse, of six different nations, all co mpletely armed, well clothed, and well mounted. This long train of troops was followed by several companies of merchants, richly dressed, and by two hundred pieces of cannon, of which some were gilt with gold, and some were plated with silver. As soon as the ambassadors entered the city, three pristaffs received them in the czar's coach, while seventy sumpter-horses were distributed among their retinue. The czar's master of the horse began this second procession at the head of a fine company of the nobility, magnificently dressed, and superbly mounted. Among this number was the czar's brother. But when the ambassadors were to have their audience, count Oxenstiern would not consent to make his speech to the czar with his head uncovered, a mark of respect which the Russians insisted upon, because the Swedes had exacted the same thing from a Russian ambassador at Stockholm a few years before. An express was sent to the king of Sweden on this account; and Oxenstiern was not displeased at the delay, as it gave him the more time to make his enquiries.

The Swedes sends an embassy to the czar.

The Turks enter the Ukraine, and lay that country waste.

Dorosenko, blocked up in the castle of Czeherin, pressed the grand signor, without ceasing, to send an army into the Ukraine to drive the Russians from thence. The Ottoman emperor desired nothing more than to withdraw his troops with honour from Poland, and by some means to engage the new king, whose valour he feared, to listen to terms of peace. To this end the Turkish army, now consisting of near four hundred thousand men, crossed the Niester on a sudden at Sorakka, entered the Ukraine, and seized on Kosniek, Sciana, Jampul, Kuzsyn, with several other little places; after which transactions they sent five thousand men to succour Dorosenko; but the Russians having intercepted them in their march, put them all to the sword. This execution irritated the rebels to such a degree, that, consulting with the Turks, they agreed to lay waste all the Ukraine, in order to force the Russians to retire for want of subsistence. The barbarous design was but too well executed; for, in less than a fortnight, all that fine province was reduced to a mere desart.

John

John Sobieski, judging that the sultan would not have taken this step but with a design to fall with greater force upon Poland, after he should have defeated the Russians, resolved to march to the assistance of his allies: accordingly, when he understood that the Turks had ravaged the Ukraine, taken several places, and sent a hundred thousand men to besiege the great city of Human; he advanced with the crown-army towards Jawaroff, from whence he made four large detachments to divide the forces of the enemy, and give the Russians an opportunity not only to save Human, but also to take Czeherin, which they still kept besieged, and, at the same time, to seize the rebel Dorosenko. Sobieski had likewise a great number of vessels ready to throw a bridge over the Niester, in order to carry the war into the enemy's country.

The king of Poland marches against them.

Couvanski, at the head of the Calmuk Tartars, marched into the Crim, but too late to save Human, of which the Turks made themselves masters, after having butchered near a hundred thousand men. Romadonowski revenged this massacre upon the Tartars, commanded by their khan in person, who returned to succour the Crim. The Russian general attacked them, and defeated them with great slaughter; but, upon a report that the whole Turkish army was on their march, he thought proper to retire behind the Dnieper. This intelligence occasioned such terror at Moscow, that the czar immediately sent a reinforcement to his army, of which he gave the command to the knez Dolgorucki, till he should join it in person; for he intended to head his own army, and therefore caused his son Theodore Alexowitz to be acknowleged his successor, to prevent disturbances during his absence. In the mean time the crown-army of Poland, commanded by John Sobieski, lay between Leopold and Kaminiec, in order to harass the garrison of this last place; and the Turks seeing no more enemies, and finding that their forces diminished daily through sickness and famine, returned back by way of the Danube. Thus the czar lost, on a sudden, the fruits of two campaigns, in the course of which he had subdued the greatest part of the Ukraine.

A.D. 1676.

They retire.

The Poles now manifested all their jealousy. They sent a plenipotentiary to Kudzin, to treat with the Russians, of whom they complained, for not having restored Kiow, according to promise. The Russians, on their side, complained of several writings of the Polanders, in which they had not shewn the czar the respect that was due to him, and proposed an equivalent for Kiow.

During

The Poles become masters of almost all the Ukraine.

During these altercations, the Polish army, headed only by some rebel Cossacks of Dorosenko's party, proceeded from conquest to conquest, till, in less than six weeks, they had subdued all the Ukraine as far as Kiow. The Russians, jealous, in their turn, of this new progress, refused to furnish the Poles, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of this fortress, with any provisions, till, upon complaint of their king, who was returned to Warsaw, the czar sent orders to the waivode of Kiow, not to refuse any thing to the army of the allies: but at the same time he took care not to forget any circumstance that might hinder Dorosenko's making his peace with Poland, because the surrender of Czeherin would have put that crown in possession of all the Ukraine.

Death of the czar Alexis Michaelowitz.

Such was the situation of affairs when the czar Alexis Michaelowitz was taken ill, and died, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He had two wives: one the daughter of Ilia Danilowitz Miloslawski, of whom we have already spoken; and the other, the daughter of Cariloff Nariskin, a captain of hussars [b]. This last, to whom he was married in the year 1671, survived him, and lived till the year 1694. By the former of these consorts he had four sons, Simon, Alexis, Theodore, and John, the two first of which died before him; and four daughters, Catherine, Theodosia, Mary, and Sophia. The children of the second marriage were Peter, justly surnamed the Great, and a princess, who was called after her mother's name, Natalia. All the daughters died unmarried.

His marriages, and issue.

Besides these, he had a natural son, whom he created knez, and whose mother he matched to a nobleman called Muschin Puschkin. But when the czar married his second wife, this lady, having through jealousy dropt some injurious expressions against the new czarina, was sent with her son to Astracan, where they died.

His character.

Alexis Michaelowitz was one of the greatest princes of his time; and one of the best and wisest that Russia had known for many years. Though valiant, he never made war but when he could not avoid it. He was a father to his people, whose happiness he constantly studied, and endeavoured to render his government as easy to them as possible. Neither care nor expence was spared by him to form them for war, by drawing into his service, with large pensions, foreign officers, capable of instructing them in military discipline. Alexis loved his people, loved justice and peace, and endeavoured, during the rest of his reign, to re-

[b] Strahlenberg, cap. v.

pair

pair the ills which his favourites and ministers had occasioned in his youth, by abusing his confidence.

THEODORE ALEXOWITZ.

Theodore Alexowitz, born in the year 1657, was just turned of eighteen when he ascended the throne. His father had caused him to be acknowleged his successor, the year before his death, when he thought of putting himself at the head of his army in the Ukraine, as we mentioned before. This young prince found his affairs somewhat embarrassed. The war in the Ukraine had lasted three years, and followed immediately that which the czar had been obliged to make against the Cossacks; so that his finances could not be in good order. However, he continued his father's design upon the Ukraine; and with the more vigour, as he wanted to bring the enemy to a good peace.

Peace concluded between Poland and the Turks.

The king of Poland had now made peace with the Turks, in whose hands he left Kaminiec, and their respective armies had quitted the field. That of Poland, reduced from fifty-seven to twenty-three thousand men, went into winter-quarters; and that of the sultan passed the Niester and the Danube. By one of the articles of the treaty, the Turks offered the Poles their assistance to retake the provinces which the Russians had conquered from them. Sobieski did not, indeed, accept this offer; but, at the same time, he did not reject it with that cordiality which would have become a good ally on the like occasion. By another article of the same treaty, the Turks surrendered to Poland all that part of the Ukraine which lies on the west of the Dnieper, and reserved to themselves the southern part, then under the obedience of Dorosenko.

The Russians recover their possessions in the Ukraine.

The Russians had, therefore, a fair field opened to them, in which they found no enemy to oppose their enterprizes: so that they soon brought back again to the subjection of the czar, not only all the towns in the Ukraine, which the Turks had kept for themselves, among which was the strong city of Czcherin, but also some other places which had been yielded to the Poles; and what still inhanced the value of this conquest, was their taking the rebel Dorosenko. This Zaporog Cossack, dissatisfied with the Poles, as we observed before, had devoted himself to the Turks and Tartars, whom he invited into Poland, and particularly into the Ukraine. He had often endeavoured to make his peace with Poland, but always with an intent to deceive: and though the grand signor had sent him the general's staff, he sought the protection of the czar Alexis, to whom he sent this mark of his dignity, that he might hold

hold it only from him: after which step he treated with the king of Poland. So true it is, that a traitor will always be a traitor, what party soever he embraces.

A.D. 1677 This expedition drew upon the czar all the forces of the Turks, whose first exploit was the siege of Czeherin, where the Russians received them with so much valour, that they retreated in confusion, after having lost a considerable part of their army, with their baggage and artillery. Checked by this repulse, they attempted nothing farther during the remainder of the campaign; but as there was room to apprehend that they would return next year to revenge this affront, the czar sent a minister into Poland, to demand, in his turn, the succours which he himself had been ready to afford his neighbours, when distressed. But the Poles were so far from being disposed to return the favour, that they not only excused themselves, on account of the melancholy situation into which the late troubles, and the last war, had thrown them, as also of the new treaty concluded with the Porte, which would be infringed by granting the succours demanded; but their king himself sent to Moscow two ambassadors, Zevorinski and Sapieha, to take advantage of the czar's distresses, and exact from him advantageous terms. They demanded, that Doroschenko should be put into their hands as a rebel; that Kiow and Smolensko should be surrendered; and that satisfaction should be made them for not joining them with a body of thirty thousand men, as had been stipulated by the last treaty: without considering that the diversion which the Russians had made in the Ukraine and the Crim, had been of greater service to the crown-army than the junction of fifty thousand men. At length, after some debates, a new treaty was concluded, in which it was agreed; 1. That the truce should be continued for fifteen years, including the time that had elapsed since the last treaty. 2. That the czar should pay to Poland, as an equivalent for Kiow and Smolensko, two hundred thousand rubles. 3. That his czarish majesty should evacuate to Poland the towns of Vieliske and Nievel, situated on the frontiers of Lithuania; and that the restitution of some other places, concerning which they could not then agree, should be discussed in the next diet. 4. That all prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty. 5. That a resolution should be taken in the diet, with respect to the succours demanded, and the junction of the armies against the Turks and Tartars.

Where they defeat the Turks.

Ungrateful behaviour of the Poles to the Russians.

Terms of agreement between them.

A.D. 1678. The apprehensions of the Russians in regard to the return of the Turks were but too well grounded; for they re-entered the Ukraine, at the opening of the next campaign,

The Turks re-enter the Ukraine,

paign, with a force still more formidable than that of the year before, and a determined resolution to carry Czeherin, cost what it would. Romadonowski was sent against them with four hundred thousand men, and gained some advantages, but could not force them to raise the siege. On the contrary, having made a large breach in the walls, they took the place by assault, and put above thirty thousand men to the sword. This event so intimidated the Russians, that, numerous as they were, they immediately retreated, and the Turks pursued them as far as Bukzin, harrassing the rear, and defeating several small detachments which were made purposely to amuse them, till such time as the body of the army should reach a place of safety. The Russian general fell deservedly into disgrace with the czar, who rightly judged that he might at least have faced, if not defeated, the enemy, with his vast army. However, this retreat, shameful as it was, obliged the Turks to make an end of the campaign: for being in an enemy's country, without provisions or magazines, they found themselves unable to undertake any thing, and therefore retreated, in their turn, beyond the Niester.

and take Czeherin.

Are obliged to retire for want of provisions.

The Polish diet assembled at Grodno in the beginning of the year 1679, when the question was put, whether the peace newly concluded with the Porte, should be adhered to, as it was not very honourable for Poland? or whether it should be broken, and the army of the crown joined to the forces of the czar, that they might attack the Turks together? The emperor's party, the pope's nuncio, and a part of the diet, were for the last part of the alternative; but the Poles in general, thinking to act cunningly with the czar, and imagining he could not do without the succours he had demanded, were willing to make him purchase them with the restitution of the places which they had ceded to Alexis Michaelowitz. To this end, their king John Sobieski sent an ambassador to Moscow, to make the proposition. But the czar, knowing what he had to expect from his jealous neighbours, answered, that he was resolved not to pay any subsidy to Poland, and that he required nothing but the junction of forces, that they might act in concert against the common enemy, to constrain him to agree to an honourable peace with both states.

A.D. 1679.

Deliberations of the Polish diet in regard to Russia.

The Turks found no advantage in a war with Russia; for all the conquests they could make in the Ukraine, were not worth a quarter of the expences they were at in bringing their army into that province. The divan, therefore, judged, that it would be for the interest of the Porte to make peace with the czar; and the sultan accordingly ordered

dered the khan of Tartary to offer his mediation to his czarish majesty. The design of the Porte, which had just renewed the truce with the emperor of Germany, for twenty years, was to get rid of all her enemies, that she might afterwards fall upon Poland with the greater force, and take Podolia. Spendowski, the ambassador of the crown at Constantinople, had penetrated into this design, and given advice of it to the king his master, who thereupon requested succours from all the princes of Christendom, and particularly from the czar, who, when he found himself sought after, imitated the policy of the Poles, and offered to join them with a numerous army, on condition that they should renounce all pretensions to certain places then in the possession of Russia. The Poles did not reject this proposition; but desired the czar to send them a minister with full powers to regulate the affair, and settle the time and place of the junction of their forces.

Behaviour of the czar with respect to the Poles.

The proposals of this minister were very agreeable, but still accompanied with such hard conditions, that it was not difficult to perceive he did not desire they should be accepted. The Poles saw that the Russians sought only to amuse them; that if they had not already made, they were on the point of making their peace with the Turks, and were not willing to continue the war without a prospect of considerable advantage: and indeed, they were not mistaken; for the czar, declaring that he would prefer a tolerable peace with the Turks, to the conditions that were to accompany the new treaty of alliance with the Poles, actually came to an agreement with the Porte. The Cossacks, who had put themselves under the Ottoman protection, were abandoned, and the grand signor became guarantee of a treaty between the czar and the khan of Tartary, by which this last engaged to hinder his subjects from making any inroads into the provinces of Russia.

A.D. 1680.

Peace concluded between the Russians and the Turks.

Civil administration of the czar Theodore.

Theodore had been too much busied with military affairs ever since his accession to the throne, to have time to execute all his great designs, for the good of his people, and the embellishment of the city of Moscow. Faithfully attached to the wise maxims of his father, he protected foreign officers, whom he invited into his country from all parts, and gave great encouragement to every useful art. He paved the streets of Moscow, erected several edifices of stone in that city, instead of the former wooden buildings, and took great pains to have many other cities repaired. He lent money out of the treasury, to be repaid in ten years, and furnished materials to private persons, who were not in a capacity to build such houses in the city as he required.

quired. He was a great lover of horses; a circumstance which proved very advantageous to the empire, by his sending for stone-horses and mares from Prussia, and forming several studs, from which a breed was raised, in a short time, sufficient, in some measure, to supply the occasions of the court, as well as of the army. Among other regulations, he also introduced a new police, for the better government of his capital, the streets of which he commanded to be shut up at night, and guarded [b].

Thinking it absurd and unjust that any should pretend to be of course entitled to vast distinctions, high honours, and the first employments of the state, merely because they happened to be born with a great name, though they had no sort of merit to support it, he ordered all his nobles to attend him, with their patents and charters of privileges, which he threw into the fire, declaring, that for the future, their prerogatives should be grounded only on merit, and not upon birth [c]. But, laudable as this design might be, it could not be carried into execution. Every country has its nobles; and the distinction annexed to birth seems necessary, in order to preserve a proper subordination, and good order, in a state.

A.D.1681. *His marriages.*

Theodore, now freed from the embarrassments of war, thought of marrying, and chose for his bride Opimia Routoski, a niece of the bojar Simon Iwanowitz Sabaroski. His nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, in the month of August, 1681: but this young lady dying in the beginning of the next year, his chief favourite and privy-counsellor, Jasykow, persuaded him, notwithstanding his weak state of health, to marry, almost on his death-bed, Martha, or Marva Matweowna, the daughter of a newly created nobleman, called Matthias Apraxin; merely to hinder, if he could, the succession of his half-brother Peter. The marriage-ceremony was performed in the month of May, 1682; but was soon followed by a general mourning; for death snatched away this excellent monarch, to the inexpressible grief of all his subjects.

A.D.1682. *His death,*

Theodore Alexowitz had no children, but left two brothers, John and Peter, the first by his own mother, the latter by a second venter; so that most people imagined John would have been appointed his successor. But Theodore, having a greater regard for the welfare of his country, than for a bad custom, which, in spite of all objections, *after appointing Peter I. to be his successor.*

[b] Strahlenberg, cap. v. [c] Idem ibid.

prefers the right of primogeniture to every other consideration, judged his brother John, who was subject to the falling sickness, and weak in understanding as well as sight, unfit to provide for the necessities of a state just beginning to emerge from barbarism, and therefore declared Peter his successor.

Ambitious designs of the princess Sophia.

The princess Sophia, third daughter of the emperor Alexis Michaelowitz by his first wife, leaving her retirement in a convent, to which an ancient custom had subjected the female issue of the czars, few of whom ever married, had been uncommonly assiduous about her brother Theodore, during his illness, and even found means to engross a considerable share in the administration of affairs. Her genius was vast, and might have been of great service to the state, had it not been accompanied with an unbounded ambition, which prompted her to aim at no less than making herself mistress of the empire, by endeavouring to set aside the nomination of Peter, and to substitute in his stead the weak prince John, under the shadow of whose name she hoped to govern Russia.

Horrid sedition of the strelitzes.

Theodore was scarce dead when the nomination of a prince but ten years old to be his successor in the throne, the exclusion of his elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia their sister, excited among the strelitzes one of the most bloody rebellions ever known [e]. On the second day after the funeral of the czar Theodore, they ran in arms to the imperial palace at Moscow, and began with complaining of nine of their colonels who owed them some arrears of pay. The ministry were obliged to break the colonels, and to give the strelitzes the money they demanded. The mutineers then insisted on having these officers delivered up to them, and, of their own authority, sentenced them to suffer the battogen. The colonels thus treated by their soldiers, were even obliged to thank them for the chastisement they had received; like criminals in the East, who kiss the hand of their judges, after they have been punished. To these thanks they added a sum of money; which, indeed, was not customary.

While the strelitzes began thus to render themselves terrible, the princess Sophia, who encouraged them under hand, in order to lead them from one crime to another, convened an assembly of the princes of the blood, the generals of the army, the bojars, the patriarch, the bishops, and even the principal merchants, to whom she represented, that prince John, by right of seniority and merit, ought

[e] Voltaire, Hist. de l'Emp. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, p. 93.

to

to have the empire: and upon quitting the assembly, she promised the strelitzes an increase of pay, besides making them presents. At the same time, her emissaries inflamed the soldiers against the family of the Narishkins, and especially against the two brothers of the young czarina dowager, the mother of Peter I. The strelitzes were made to believe that one of those brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes, seated himself on the throne, and attempted to strangle prince John: it was likewise reported, that Daniel von Gaden, a German physician (C), had poisoned the czar Theodore. At length Sophia gave them a list of forty lords, whom she styled enemies to their corps, and to the state; and as such, declared them worthy of death.

The massacre began with throwing the knezes Dolgorucki and Mattheoff out of the windows: the strelitzes received them upon their pikes, and stripping them naked, dragged their bodies to the great square. They afterwards rushed into the palace, where meeting with one of the czar Peter's uncles, Athanasius Narishkin, brother of the young czarina, they murdered him in the same manner; then, forcing the doors of a neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed had taken sanctuary, they dragged them from the altar, stripped them, and stabbed them to death with knives. So great was their fury, that a young lord of the family of Soltikoff, which they loved, and who was not in the list of the proscribed, happening to pass by at that time, and one of them mistaking him for John Narishkin, of whom they were in search, they killed him in an instant. The assassins, upon discovering their error, carried the body of the young nobleman to his father, that he might have it interred; and the unfortunate parent, far from daring to complain, rewarded them for having brought him the mangled corpse of his son. His lady, his daughter, and the wife of the deceased, with a flood of tears reproached him for his weakness: "Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man to them. Some of the soldiers having overheard these words, they returned quite furious into his apartment, dragged him out by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

Others of the strelitzes, who were in search of Von Gaden, happening to meet that physician's son, asked him, where his father was; the young man, trembling, replied that he did not know: upon which they immediately killed

(C) He was Theodore's body-physician.

him. Another German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor, said they to him, and if you have not poisoned our master Theodore, you have poisoned others, for which reason you deserve death;" so saying, they murdered him in an instant.

At length, having discovered Von Gaden, who had disguised himself in a beggar's habit, they dragged him before the palace. The princesses, fond of the good man, and reposing some confidence in his skill, begged hard for his life, assuring the strelitzes, that he was a very able physician, and had taken great care of their brother Theodore. The soldiers made answer, that he not only deserved to die, as a physician, but likewise as a sorcerer; for that they had found a large toad, dried, in his room, and the skin of a snake. They added, that young John Noriskin, whom they had been seeking for two days, must absolutely be delivered up to them; that they were sure he was concealed in the palace; and that they would set fire to it directly, if he was not produced. Nariskin's sister, and the other princesses, terrified by these menaces, went to the place where this young nobleman lay concealed: the patriarah heard his confession, and administered to him the viaticum and extreme unction; after which, taking up an image of the virgin Mary, which was said to perform miracles, he conducted the youth by the hand, and advanced towards the strelitzes, presenting the image to their view. The princesses, dissolved in tears, encompassed the victim, kneeled down before the soldiers, and conjured them in the name of the holy Virgin, to spare their relation's life: but the barbarians dragged him away to the bottom of the stair-case, where, erecting a kind of tribunal, they put him and the physician to the torture. One of the soldiers who could write, drew up an indictment against them; and they were condemned to be cut in pieces. They then stuck their heads, feet, and hands, upon the iron spikes of a balustrade. While these miscreants thus glutted their fury in the presence of the princesses, others laid violent hands on every one that was odious to them, or obnoxious to Sophia.

A.D. 1682. This horrid tragedy ended with proclaiming the two princes, John and Peter, joint sovereigns, and associating their sister Sophia in the government, as co-regent. She then approved of all the crimes of the strelitzes, and not only rewarded them with the forfeited estates of the proscribed, but gave them leave to erect a monument, on which were inscribed the names of the persons they had murdered, who were represented as traitors to their country;

John and Peter proclaimed joint sovereigns, and Sophia made co-regent.

try; and lastly, she gave them letters patent, by which she thanked them for their zeal and fidelity.

Such were the steps by which the princess Sophia in reality ascended the throne of Russia, without being declared czarina, and such the first examples that Peter the Great had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of sovereignty: her bust was upon the public coin; her hand was set to all dispatches; she had the first seat in council, and a power without controul. She had wit at command; composed verses in her native language; spoke and wrote extremely well; and was agreeable in her person. Her ambition alone sullied all these accomplishments.

A.D. 1684. *Marriage of the czar John.*

To inhance the importance of her brother John, she singled out a wife for him, in the manner of which we have already seen several examples. Paraskowia, a young lady of the house of Soltikoff, and of the family of the nobleman of the same name who had been murdered by the strelitzes, was sent for from the midst of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortress, in order to be presented to the czar John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over all the artifices of her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684.

Singular quarrel about religion.

In the midst of these nuptial entertainments, the strelitzes made another insurrection, the cause of which was religion. Had they been mere soldiers, they would not have become controvertists, but they were also citizens of Moscow. Whosoever has the knack of influencing the populace by his speeches, is capable of founding a sect: of this truth, we have had instances in all ages; especially since the passion of dogmatizing became the instrument of ambition, and the means of enslaving weak minds.

Russia had already experienced some disturbances in consequence of the dispute about the sign of the cross, whether it should be made with three fingers, or two. A priest, called Abakum, who had been degraded, now broached some new doctrines at Moscow in regard to the Holy Spirit, which according to the Gospel enlightens all the faithful, and likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive Christians, and the following words of Christ, "Among you there shall neither be first or last." Several burghers, and a great many strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum, and the new doctrine gained ground. At length these enthusiasts rushed one day into the cathedral, at the time of divine service; and driving the patriarch and his clergy from thence with stones, devoutly placed themselves in the seats of those ecclesiastics, in order to receive the

Holy Ghost. They called the patriarch, the wolf in sheep's cloathing; a title which all sects have liberally bestowed upon one another. The princess Sophia, and the two young czars, were immediately informed of these disturbances; and the other strelitzes, who maintained the good cause, were told that the czars and the church were in danger. A party of the strelitzes, and the principal burghers, came to blows with the faction of the Abakumists; but, as soon as mention was made of convening a council, the carnage ceased. A council was accordingly assembled directly in a hall of the palace. The convocation was not difficult, all the priests that could be found being summoned. The patriarch and the bishop disputed against Abakum; and at the second syllogism, they pelted one another with stones. The council ended with beheading the leader, and some of his faithful disciples, who were put to death by the sole order of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter [b].

Couvanski conspires against the state.

During this time of confusion, Couvanski, general of the strelitzes, thinking no reward too great for the services he and his ruffians had done the princess Sophia, raised his ambitious views even to the crown; as a step towards which, he audaciously proposed a marriage between his son and the princess Catharine, Sophia's younger sister. We may readily believe that Sophia was not disposed to give quite so great a proof of gratitude, and that his insolent proposal was treated as it deserved. Incensed at this repulse, he put himself at the head of the devotees, the persecuted Abakumists, and also raised a party, composed of the strelitzes and the people, in defence of the cause of God. This conspiracy was of a much more serious nature than the enthusiasm of the dogmatizing priest; for an ambitious hypocrite is sure to carry matters much farther than a simple fanatic. Couvanski, disappointed in his former scheme, now resolved to leave nothing unattempted to open his way to the throne; even by murdering the two czars, and Sophia, with the other princesses, and all that were attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Trinity (D). There

[b] Idem, ibid. p. 102, & seq.

(D) This monastery, about thirty-six miles from Moscow, was at the same time a convent, a palace, and a fortress. It is encompassed with deep ditches, and brick ramparts, well planted with artillery. The monks were possessed of all the country round about, for the space of twelve miles.

they

they were safe, rather from the strength than from the sanctity of the place. From thence Sophia negociated with the rebel, whom he found means to decoy to come half way, where he was seized and beheaded, with one of his sons, and thirty-seven strelitzes who accompanied him. *Punishment of some of the conspirators.*

As soon as the body of the strelitzes were informed of this execution, they flew to arms, and marched to the convent of the Trinity, threatening death and destruction. The imperial family prepared to defend themselves; the bojars armed their vassals; all the gentlemen of the country flocked to the monastery; and Russia seemed to be at the eve of a bloody war. The patriarch exerted his rhetoric to appease the strelitzes, and made some impression on them: but when they heard that the other troops of the empire, their implacable enemies, were advancing against them on all sides, their fury was at once succeeded by fear, and their fear by the most abject submission. Three thousand seven hundred of them, followed by their wives and children, went in procession, with halters about their necks, to that very convent, which, three days before, they had threatened to reduce to ashes. In this condition the unhappy wretches proceeded two and two, carrying a block and a hatchet; and prostrating themselves on the ground, they waited for their punishment. They were pardoned, contrary to their expectation, and returned to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; but still ready to commit the same crime again upon any other occasion. *and submission of the rest.*

These convulsions being ended, the state recovered its tranquillity. Sophia was still possessed of the chief authority; Peter being held in tutelage, and John abandoned to his incapacity. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with prince Basil Galitzin, who was created generalissimo, minister of state, and chancellor. Galitzin, descended from the last duke of Lithuania of the house of Jagellon, was superior in every respect to any other person in the tempestuous court of Moscow: he was not only polite, but magnificent; full of great designs; and learned far beyond any of his countrymen, because he had received a better education. He was master even of the Latin tongue, then almost utterly unknown in Russia. His active spirit, his indefatigable application, and extensive views for the welfare of his counrry, would have enabled him to reform the manners of the Russians, had he been possessed of power equal to his inclination [c]. *Rise and character of prince Basil Galitzin.*

This minister, after having curbed the excessive insolence of the strelitzes, by distributing the most mutinous of their

[c] La Neuville Relation de Muscovie, p. 55.

A. D. 1686. corps among the several regiments in the Ukraine, in Casan, and Siberia, wisely brought about a peace with Sweden and Poland, which last ceded all her pretensions to the vast provinces of Smolensko and the Ukraine; in return for which, the czars obliged themselves to make war upon the Crim Tartars, and oppose their incursions into Poland.

The Poles cede Smolensko and the Ukraine to the Russians.

Russia now enjoyed tranquillity at home. She was indeed pent up on the side of Sweden, but had begun to extend herself towards Poland, her new ally. The Crim Tartars kept her in perpetual alarms; and a misunderstanding had arisen between her and China in regard to their frontiers. But what galled her most of all, and plainly shews that her empire had not yet attained a regular and vigorous administration, was the khan of Crim Tartary's continuing to demand an annual tribute of sixty thousand rubles; a humiliation to which the Turks had likewise subjected Poland.

A. D. 1688. To wipe off this disgrace, and at the same time fulfil the new engagement with Poland, endeavours were used to animate all the powers of Europe against the Turks, and a vast army was raised to invade the Crim. Galitzin named several lords, as fit to command the expedition; but was answered by his secret enemies, of which his encouraging foreigners had made him many, that none was so capable of it as himself. He would gladly have declined this honour; rightly judging, that he should meet with nothing but obstacles in the enterprize, in spite of all his precautions, and well knowing that he could reap no benefit from the command of a multitude of raw undisciplined peasants; for the Russians armies, in those days, had no idea of order and regularity. He foresaw that his absence would be more prejudicial to the state, than the conquest of the Crim could be of service to it or him; and he likewise considered, that his adversaries would not fail to make the most of this opportunity, to effect his ruin. Nevertheless, he complied with a good grace: generals were appointed under him; and he set out for the army, after having obtained the princess's leave that his son should officiate as chancellor in his absence.

The Russian commander traversed the dreary deserts of Tartary, till there was no possibility of proceeding any farther for want of forage; upon which he led his troops back to the river Samara. He employed thirty thousand men in building a town, in order to erect magazines for the next campaign. The houses, indeed, were of wood; and the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery, and in a good state of defence. Nothing more was done

done in this ruinous expedition, the miscarriage of which was imputed to the hettman of the Cossacks, John Samuelowitz, whose conduct appeared in such a light, that orders were sent from Moscow to depose him, and chuse another in his stead. The unfortunate hettman was accordingly seized, and conveyed, in fetters, to a tent pitched for that purpose in the general's quarter. Next morning he was brought before Galitzin, and confronted by some of the principal Cossacks, who, pursuant to the instructions they had received before hand, charged him with holding intelligence with the khan, and directing him privately to burn all the forage. Samuelowitz was banished to Siberia, and Mazeppa was appointed his successor.

This Mazeppa was a Polish gentleman[g], born in the palatinate of Podolia, and had been brought up as one of the pages to king John Casimir, in whose court he had acquired some taste for polite literature: but having in his youth an intrigue with the wife of a Polish lord, and being discovered, the offended husband caused him to be severely scourged, and afterwards tied naked on a wild, ungovernable horse, which was then turned loose. The horse returned to the Ukraine, from whence it had been brought, and carried thither Mazeppa, half dead with fatigue and hunger. In this distress, he was succoured by some countrymen, with whom he continued a long time, and signalised himself on many occasions against the Tartars. The superiority of his understanding made him much respected among the Cossacks; and, his reputation increasing daily, Theodore Alexowitz had made him prince of the Ukraine.

The Russian army, which had now retreated to the river Marle, was disbanded by order of the czars; and every general, as well as the inferior officers, and even the private soldiers and strelitzes, received rewards, which Galitzin had obtained of his patroness Sophia, with a view to appease the murmurs of the troops against him; for they began to be greatly dissatisfied with his conduct. This stroke of policy had its desired effect: the prince returned to Moscow, was graciously received by the princess, and resumed the direction of affairs, with greater authority than ever.

The czar Peter's friends and relations, being apprehensive of the designs of Sophia and her favourite, began to concert measures for counter-plotting them; and for this purpose they called in the assistance of prince Boris Ga-

[g] Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII.

litzin,

litzin, cousin to the prime-minister, but despised by him on account of his drunkenness and debauchery. However, the confederates managed their matters so well, that he soon became the favourite of Peter. This aim being accomplished, and the czar's party gathering new strength every day, they came to a resolution to impose the command of the army a second time upon Basil Galitzin, in which design they likewise succeeded; and this prince having obtained whatever he pleased to demand, all the forces were ordered to be at their rendezvous, on the 1st of February. In December, the troops were in motion from all parts, except Siberia, which was excused from sending soldiers, on account of the war that province then maintained against the Tartars.

A.D. 1689.

Galitzin's second expedition against the Crim Tartars.

The preparations for this campaign were much greater than for the last, and most of the troops were commanded by the same officers as before. They prudently marched, before the frost broke, to the other side of the river Marle, where the infantry encamped; the cavalry being posted in the towns along its banks. Prince Galitzin and the generals pitched their tents on the farther side of that river on the 1st of April, and on the 6th all the forces met at the river Samara, which they passed, after having been joined by Mazeppa, and, in a month, reached the Crim [h].

On their arrival at Kairka, upon the Dnieper, they learnt from some Tartars, who were taken prisoners, that the khan was not at Precop, but at Bondgiac, little expecting so formidable an invasion. On the 13th of May, upon advice from the scouts that the enemy was at hand, they began to prepare for their reception. After making the necessary dispositions, the Tartars charged the vanguard commanded by Schein, and, after some slight skirmishes, fell upon Sheremetow's forces, and put them to the rout. The enemy had well nigh carried off the baggage; but prince Galitzin sending a reinforcement, the Tartars were forced to retire and leave the Russians a free passage to Thorna d'Oliva, where they encamped for the conveniency of water. The khan, hearing that the enemy had entered the Crim, had quitted Bondgiac, and marched with four thousand horse to defend his dominions. On the 16th, he removed to Zelona Dolina with all his forces, consisting of thirty or forty thousand horse, with which he insensibly surrounded the Russians.

As soon as the Muscovite cavalry were attacked, they fell into disorder. Nevertheless, they made good use of

[h] La Neuville, Relat. de Moscov. p. 90. & seq.

their

their baggage, from behind which they did considerable execution with their fire-arms. Sultan Naradin, on the other side, charged the Cossacks that were under the Russian secretary Emelian, who, being ignorant of the art of war, and of a pusillanimous disposition, was unable to withstand the Tartars, so that they broke into the very centre of the Russian waggons, and carried off twenty pieces of cannon, with their carriages and horses; and had not the bojar Kourka advanced with his troops, the Cossacks would have been quite cut off. Sheremetow was attacked a second time by the Tartars; but now forced them to retire; and their whole body being at length repulsed, the Russians marched next day to Kalantscheck, where their army joined, and formed a complete square. Their baggage was surrounded with the cannon and infantry, who carried their pallisadoes on their shoulders, ready to be planted. During this march, the Tartars appeared again, but being afraid to make any farther attempts upon so formidable an army, they withdrew to the defence of Precop, the suburbs of which they set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Russians, crossing the river at Kalensbeck, saw from an eminence the flames of Precop, towards which they marched on the 16th, and halted within cannon-shot of the town; which they purposed to have attacked in the night; when, on a sudden, they received orders to return.

These orders were occasioned by prince Galitzin's having suffered himself to be imposed upon in the following manner: a Precopian Nogay, attending on the khan, having signified to a Muscovite of his acquaintance, that the khan was inclined to come to an accommodation, the Muscovite undertook to impart the substance of this conference to the general. Having obtained an audience, and informed the prince of all that had passed, Galitzin sent a letter in the name of the Muscovite to the Precopian Nogay, to this effect: "I have related to the general, prince Galitzin, what passed between us: he is content to come to an accommodation; it lies upon you to get some persons to be sent to him with the khan's proposals[1]." This letter was transmitted to the khan, and hostages were given on both sides. The Russians demanded, that all the Russian slaves should be restored; that the Tartars should make no more inroads into the czar's dominions; that they should quit all claim to the annual tribute of sixty thousand rubles, which they demanded; and that they should not molest the Poles,

[1] Idem, ibid. p. 104.

nor

nor assist the Turks. The khan, after having kept the Russians in suspence a whole day, sent them word, that he would accept of peace on no other terms than those he had engaged in with the czars; that he insisted on the yearly tribute; and expected to be paid two hundred and forty thousand rubles for the arrears of the four last years. The negociation being thus broke off, not without suspicion of a considerable bribe from the Tartars, the Russian army, no longer able to lie encamped upon the sandy plain, was forced to retreat; and thus ended prince Galitzin's second campaign in the Crim.

The Tartars afterwards marched to the river Samara, and from thence to the Marle; whilst Galitzin sent couriers to the czars, and to the king of Poland, boasting that he had defeated the enemy, and driven them far up into their own country. Sophia thereupon ordered public rejoicings throughout the empire, and rewards to be distributed among the army, which was at length disbanded, and the bojar Valenski was left at the river Samara with five or six thousand men. Thus did both these expeditions to the Crim, far from procuring honour to the nation, only entail upon it disgrace and disappointment; to which were soon added the ruin of their general.

Marriage of the czar Peter.

During Galitzin's absence, the czar Peter, then in his eighteenth year, had married Ottokesa Federowna, daughter of the bojar Feodor-Abrahamowitz Lapuchin; a step, which though wholly against Sophia's inclinations, greatly increased the number of his friends. Galitzin, at his return, found all his measures broken by this marriage of the czar, whose consort was soon after with-child. Peter, having been made acquainted with all that passed in the Crim, would hardly be persuaded by Sophia to grant him an audience, which, when at last obtained, produced nothing but reproaches. The princess proposed at the same time an unseasonable liberality; which was to reward the bojars for the good services they had done the state, in the two epeditions against the Crim. Though both the czars immediately declared against this step, she at length persuaded them to grant her request, and gave to prince Galitzin nineteen hundred peasants houses in several villages, to other commanders three hundred, and in proportion to all the rest of the officers [s]. Such gifts had never been known before in Russia, and plainly spoke the design of the giver.

Galitzin, supported by the princess Sophia, now took a most daring step. The hettman of the Cossacks had never entered Moscow since that nation had been subject to the

[s] Idem, p. 3.

Russian

Russian dominions: but Galitzin, under pretence of presenting Mazeppa to the czar, introduced him into the capital, with five hundred of his principal officers. He was, indeed, never admitted into the czar's presence; nor would he have been suffered to come within the city-walls, had it not been to favour a design which Sophia had formed against the life of her brother Peter.

Sophia and Galitzin conspire against him.

Having concerted her measures, she pitched upon Theodore Thekelavitau, president of the chamber of the strelitzes, to be the chief instrument to execute the horrid deed. The czar Peter was at Obrozenſko, a country seat about three miles from Moscow. To this place Thekelavitau advanced with six hundred strelitzes; but while he was giving orders, two of them, struck with horror, at the thought of shedding their prince's blood, stole privately away to the czar, and informed him of his danger. He immediately sent for the Narishkins, his mother's brothers, and consulted them about what was to be done. One of these uncles, and prince Boris Galitzin, were dispatched to the city, to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. In their way they met Thekelavitau and his soldiers, and hastened back to save the czar, who had but just time to ecape in a coach to the convent of the Trinity (the usual refuge of the court, when menaced by the mutinous soldiery), accompanied by his mother, his wife, and her sister, and attended by a few of his faithful servants. The conspirators, upon their arrival at Obrozenſko, enquiring for the czar, were told by the strelitzes then upon guard, that his majesty was just gone from thence with all imaginable speed; and this indeed was all they knew.

The conspiracy is discovered

The princess was not a little concerned at this disappointment; and when the czar, in the evening, sent to upbraid her with the treachery, she absolutely denied the whole affair, pretending that those he had taken for conspirators were only going to relieve the guard, and that she was greatly injured in being thought capable of harbouring so black a design (E). Peter then summoned the bojars to

(E) La Neuville, the Polish envoy, who then resided at Moscow, and was an eye-witness to what passed, asserts (1) that Sophia and Galitzin engaged the new chief of the strelitzes to sacrifice the young czar to their ambition: and M. de Voltaire says (2), that the secret memoirs entrusted to him by the court of Russia, affirm, that a scheme was actually laid to murder Peter the First; and that the blow was upon the point of being struck, by which Russia would have been deprived of a prince, from whom she has received a new existence.

(1) La Neuville, Relation de Moscovie, p. 116. (2) Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 111.

attend

attend him at the convent of the Trinity, ordered the militia to be raised in every town, and having published an account of Thekelavitau's attempt, was visited by a numerous body of noblemen and gentlemen. Galitzin was likewise ordered to attend; but he excused himself on pretence of being with-held by the czar John. Sophia employed all her arts to engage the strelitzes on her side; but they, notwithstanding her injunctions to the contrary, marched directly to the monastery, and assured the czar Peter of their fidelity.

Sophia then sent two of Peter's aunts, his father's sisters, who assured him, that there had been a misunderstanding in the affair, and earnestly besought him not to give credit to any reports which might be maliciously spread to make a breach between him and his sister. But when he had explained to them all the circumstances, and made them sensible that it was really a conspiracy against his life, they burst into tears, averred their own innocence, and protested they would never return to Moscow, but stay and share his fortune, either in life or death.

The princess Sophia applied next to the patriarch, and by her tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to interpose in her behalf. He went to the czar Peter, and used his utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation between him and his sister. But when he understood that he himself was to have been taken off, and that the abbot Sylvester was to have been made patriarch in his stead, he was greatly shocked at the discovery, and judged it most prudent to remain in the monastery of the Trinity till the affair should be cleared up. In the mean time a proclamation was published to apprehend the traitors. The princess, now in a worse situation than ever, after having consulted those in whom she had most confidence, and resolved that the abbot Sylvester should make his escape, and Thekelavitau be secured in the palace, set out in person for the convent of the Trinity, accompanied by prince Galitzin and the rest of her friends, in hopes of appeasing her brother: but she had not gone above half way before a bojar met her, by the czar Peter's order, and told her she must return, for that she would not be received; whereupon, knowing the danger of disobeying, she returned to Moscow. The next day, the bojars being met, it was resolved to bring the traitors to justice, and a colonel with three hundred men was immediately sent to the imperial palace, to demand Thekelavitau, who, after some small resistance on the part of Sophia, was at length surrendered with his adherents. Being conducted in chains to the monastery of the Trinity,

and

and put to the torture, he confessed that he was to have killed the czar, his mother, and her three brothers: upon which he was ordered to a close prison, from whence he wrote to the czar Peter all the particulars of the conspiracy.

The conspirators punished.

The czar, though fully convinced of his sister's barbarity, was unwilling to expose her publicly; but it was with great difficulty that young Boris Galitzin could prevent the execution of the prince his cousin. Several others were sentenced to the extraordinary torture (F), which put them to such exquisite pain, that they immediately confessed their guilt, and discovered their accomplices, who were punished with great severity, according to the custom of Russia, where heinous crimes, and rigorous executions, were very frequent. Prince Galitzin, with his son and friends, were banished to Karga, in the neighbourhood of Archangel (G); and all his immense possessions were forfeited to the crown. Thekelavitau was beheaded next day, with two strelitzes who were to have been the assassins. The colonel of the detachment of the conspirators was scourged, had his tongue cut out, and was sent to end his days in Siberia, and the same punishment was inflicted on five other strelitzes.

End of the administration of the princess Sophia.

When the executions were over, the czar Peter ordered Sophia to quit the palace, and retire to a convent, which she had built at Dewitz. He then returned to Moscow, and made his entry on horseback, attended by a guard of eighteen thousand strelitzes; his wife and mother following in a coach. The czar John received him at the outer gate of the palace, and they embraced each other with great affection, then retired to their respective apartments.

Thus ended the regency of the princess Sophia, who had governed the Russian empire for several years; but by endeavouring to engross the power into her own hands, she not only lost the authority she had maintained in the name of her brothers, but also her liberty; for she was kept in confinement, from that time till her death, which did not happen till fifteen years after this transaction. Some efforts

(F) A dreadful punishment! inflicted by letting water fall from some height, drop by drop, upon the close-shaven head of the offender, who is fastened so that he cannot possibly stir.

(G) La Neuville who was present at this whole catastrophe, says, that Galitzin's sentence was pronounced in the following words: "Thou art commanded by the most merciful czar, to repair to Karga, a town under the pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, out of his excessive goodness, allows thee three-pence a day."

were

were indeed made by her partizans to re-instate her: but they proved fruitless, as we shall see in the sequel. The Narishkins, whom she had taken every opportunity to humble during her administration, now returned to court, and were preferred to the highest dignities: the illustrious families of the Golowins and Dolgoruckis were honoured with great employments: the new favourite, Boris Galitzin, was first ordered to retire to his seat in the country, then recalled by the czar, who was fond of him, and afterwards banished with ignominy for the remainder of his life.

PETER THE GREAT.

Person, disposition, &c. of Peter.

From this time Peter was real sovereign. His brother John had no other share in the government than that of lending his name to the public acts: he led a retired life, and died in 1696.

Peter the Great was tall, and well shaped; he had eyes that sparkled with vivacity, and a robust constitution, well adapted to all sorts of hardship and bodily exercise; his judgment was solid, and to this solidity was joined an active disposition, which set him upon the most difficult undertakings [b]. But his education was far from being worthy of his genius; it had been spoiled chiefly by the princess Sophia, whose interest it was to leave him in ignorance, and to indulge him in those excesses, which, in persons of his rank, age, and circumstances, it had been but too much the custom to overlook. Though but lately married, he was not sufficiently restrained by the solemn ties of wedlock [c]; and from his feasting and carousing with foreigners, who had been invited to Moscow by prince Galitzin, no body would have suspected, that he was to be one day the reformer of his country. However, in spite of bad example, and in spite even of his strong propensity to pleasure, he applied himself to the military art, and to the study of civil government.

His efforts to conquer the bad effects of his education.

It was still less expected, that a prince who had such a dread of water from his infancy, as to be seized with a cold sweat and with convulsions, even in being obliged to pass over a brook, should become the best mariner in all the North (H). He began to conquer nature by leaping into the

[b] Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 115.

[c] Idem, ibid. p. 116.

(H) The cause of this dread is thus accounted for by Strahlenberg. When he was about five years of age, his mother went with him in a coach, in the spring-season; and passing over a dam, where there was a considerable water-fall, whilst he lay asleep in her lap, he was so suddenly awaked, and frightened by the rushing of the water, that it brought a fever upon him; and after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element, that he could not bear to see any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

water;

water; and his averſion was ever after changed into a prodigious fondneſs for that element.

Aſhamed of the ignorance in which he had been brought up, he learnt, almoſt of himſelf, and without a maſter, enough of the High and Low Dutch languages to ſpeak and write intelligibly in both. He looked upon the Germans and Hollanders as the moſt civilized nations, becauſe the former had already erected ſome of thoſe arts and manufactures in Moſcow, which he was deſirous of ſpreading thoughout his empire; and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which he conſidered as the moſt neceſſary of all.

Such were the diſpoſitions of this prince, notwithſtanding the follies of his youth. In the mean while his ſituation was very critical: he was obliged to guard againſt the different factions of the nobility, to check the mutinous temper of the ſtrelitzes, and to defend himſelf againſt the Crim Tartars, with whom he was almoſt conſtantly at war. Hoſtilities had, indeed, been ſuſpended this year, but the truce was of no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter was confirmed in the reſolution of introducing the liberal arts into his country.

His father Alexis had formerly the ſame views, but never met with a favourable opportunity: he tranſmitted his genius to his ſon, who had ſtill a clearer idea of theſe matters, with more vigour and reſolution to ſurmount every difficulty.

Alexis had been at great expence in ſending for one Bothler, a ſhip-builder and ſea-captain, from Holland, with a number of carpenters and ſeamen. Theſe people built a large frigate and a yacht upon the Wolga, with which they fell down that river to Aſtracan; they were to be employed in conſtructing more veſſels, in order to carry on an advantageous trade with Perſia, by means of the Caſpian Sea. Then happened the revolt of Stenko Razin, who deſtroyed the two veſſels, which he ought to have preſerved for his own ſake, and murdered the captain; the remainder of the ſhip's crew fled into Perſia, and reached ſome of the ſettlements belonging to the Eaſt India company. A maſter carpenter, who was a very good ſhipwright, ſtaid behind in Ruſſia, where he lived a long time in obſcurity.

Beginning of his deſign to form a marine;

As Peter was one day walking in the court at Iſmaelhof, a ſummer-palace built by his grandfather, he perceived, among other rarities, an old Engliſh ſloop, almoſt fallen to pieces. He aſked Timmerman, his mathematical teacher, and a native of Germany, how that little boat came to be

of a different construction from those which he had seen upon the Moskwa? Timmerman answered, that it was made to go with sails or with oars. The young prince immediately wanted to make a trial of it, but they were obliged to look out for a person who could repair and fit it for service; and, after a long search, they found this very shipwright, Brandt, who was retired to Moscow. The Dutchman put it in order, and sailed with it on the river Yauza, which washes the suburbs of the town.

Peter caused this boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity; where he made the Dutchman build two frigates and three yachts, and learned to steer them with his own hand. Some time after he took a journey to Archangel, where he ordered this same Dutchman to build him a small vessel, in which he embarked on the Frozen Ocean. On this occasion he was escorted by a Dutch man of war, under the command of captain Jolson, and attended by all the merchant-ships in the harbour of Archangel. He had already learnt the manner of working a ship; and, notwithstanding the eagerness of courtiers in general to imitate the example of their sovereign, he was the only person that learnt this art.

and to have regular land-forces.

To raise a body of land-forces, well disciplined and fond of the service, was as difficult an undertaking as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation upon the above mentioned lake, before his journey to Archangel, had been looked upon as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, had likewise the appearance of being only a scheme of diversion. This happened during the administration of the princess Sophia; but had there been the least suspicion of its becoming a serious affair, the consequence might have proved fatal to him.

Origin and first preferments of M. Le Fort.

He placed his whole confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family of Piedmont, transplanted near two centuries before to Geneva, where it has filled the first employments of the state. His parents would fain have brought him up to trade, to which this city, formerly remarkable only for religious controversies, owes its present importance; but his genius prompting him to great undertakings; he quitted his father's house at the age of fourteen, and was four years a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles. From thence he went to Holland, and having served some time as a volunteer, he was wounded at the siege of Drave upon the Meuse; a very strong town, which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Lewis XIV. The expectation of farther

farther preferment, and, indeed, of making his fortune, induced him him afterwards to embark, in company with a German colonel, named Werstin, who had obtained a commission from Peter's father, the czar Alexis, to raise troops in the Netherlands, and to transport them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a most perilous navigation, the czar Alexis was no more; the government had undergone some change, and Muscovy was in an unsettled state. Things being thus situated, the governor of Archanged suffered Werstin, Le Fort, and his whole troop, for a long time, to languish in want, and even threatened to send them to the extremity of Siberia. Every man then shifted for himself. Le Fort, being in great necessity, repaired to Moscow, where he offered his service to de Horn, the Danish resident, who made him his secretary. There he learned the Russian language, and some time after found an opportunity of being introduced to the czar Peter, knowing that it would be of no use to him to be presented to John, the elder brother. Peter took a liking to him, and immediately appointed him a captain of foot. Le Fort did not understand much of the military service, nor was he a man of literature, having applied himself deeply to no one particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and was capable of forming a right judgment of what he saw: like the czar, he was indebted for every thing to his own genius; besides, he understood the High and Low Dutch languages, which Peter was learning at that time. Finding that he was entirely agreeable to Peter, he attached himself to that prince's service; by administering to his pleasures he became his favourite, and confirmed this intimacy by his abilities. The czar entrusted him with the most dangerous design a Russian sovereign could then possibly form, that of abolishing the seditious and barbarous body of forces called the strelitzes. He began with forming, at his country residence of Preobrazinski, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some of the sons of bojars, were chosen for their officers. But, in order to teach those young bojars a subordination, with which they were wholly unacquainted, he made them pass through all the military degrees, he himself setting them an example, and serving successively as private centinel, serjeant, and lieutenant of the company. This was a very extraordinary conduct, but of infinite use to the state; for hitherto the Muscovites had made war after the manner of our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures; when a number of vassals, undisciplined and ill-armed, were led against the enemy by their lords, who had not the least share of

Peter resolves to abolish the strelitzes.

experience; a very rude method of waging war, sufficient indeed for acting against the same kind of armies, but of no use against regular troops.

Creates new guards.

This company, which had been raised by Peter, soon increased in numbers, and was afterwards the regiment of Preobrazinski guards. Another company, formed on the same plan, became in time the regiment of guards known by the name of Semenowsky.

The czar had now a regiment of five thousand men on foot, on whom he could depend, trained by general Gordon, a Scotchman, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had seen very little service, yet was qualified for any commission, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, and effected his design. Five colonels were appointed to serve under him; and he was made general of this little army, which had been raised as much to oppose the strelitzes as the enemies of the state; to whose great mortification, and to the utter disappointment of all the hopes and expectations of the princess Sophia, the czarina was this year delivered of a son, who, according to the Russian custom of giving the Christian name of the father for the surname of the son, was called Petrowitz.

A.D. 1690.

Raises Le Fort to the rank of general.

Birth of the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz.

Peter was desirous of seeing one of those mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace. He caused a fort to be erected, which one part of his new troops were to defend, and the other to attack. The difference on this occasion was, that instead of exhibiting a sham engagement, they fought a downright battle, in which several soldiers were killed, and a great many wounded. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a considerable wound. These bloody sports were intended to inure the troops to martial discipline; but it was a long time before this design could be effected, and not without a great deal of labour and difficulty. In the midst of these military entertainments, the czar did not neglect the navy; and as he had made Le Fort a general, though this favourite had never borne any commission by land, so he raised him to the rank of admiral, though he had never before commanded at sea. But he knew him to be worthy of both commissions. True it is, he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general without any other troops than his own regiment.

Le Fort made admiral.

By degrees the czar began to reform the chief abuse in the army, which was the independence of the bojars, who, in time of war, used to take the field with a multitude of their vassals and peasants.

Admiral

Admiral Le Fort had soon more than an empty title: he employed both Dutch and Venetian carpenters to build some long-boats, and even two thirty-gun ships, at the mouth of the Woronetz, which discharges itself into the Don. These vessels were to fall down the river, and to awe the Crim Tartars, with whom hostilities had been renewed. These occupations had necessarily rendered the czar somewhat less attentive to foreign affairs than he would otherwise have been. Germany attacked by the Turks, and Poland harrassed by the Crim Tartars, claimed the performance of his engagements with them against their common enemy; the Swedes had renewed their hostilities upon the frontiers of Russia: and a dispute had arisen with the Chinese about the boundaries of their empire: so that Peter was now to determine against which of these powers he should declare war.

Towards the 130th degree of longitude, and 52d of latitude, is the river Amur, which runs the space of five hundred leagues through Siberia and Chinese Tartary, and empties itself into the sea of Kamtshatka. To the northward, a great chain of mountains extends to the Frozen Sea beyond the polar circle.

A.D.1691. *Congress and treaty between the Russians and the Chinese.*

It was in this part of the world, which had hardly been heard of by other nations, that the Chinese and Russians disputed about the limits of their empire. The Russians were possessed of some forts towards the river Amur, within three hundred leagues of the Great Wall. Hostilities had been committed by both nations, on account of those forts; till at length they came to a right understanding, with respect to their real interests. The emperor Cam-Hi, preferring peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, sent seven ambassadors to Niptchou, one of those settlements. The ambassadors had ten thousand men in their retinue, including their escort. This was Asiatic pomp; but it is very remarkable, that there had been no instance in the annals of the empire, of an embassy to a foreign power; and what, indeed, is singular in its kind, the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who were both times the aggressors, they never made war against any nation, except a few hords, which were either quickly subdued, or left to themselves without concluding any treaty. Thus these people, so famous for their knowlege of morality, were strangers to what we call the law of nations, that is, to vague rules of war and peace, to the privileges of foreign ministers, to the formality of treaties, with the obligations from thence resulting; and,

lastly, to the disputes concerning precedency and point of honour.

But the difficulty was to know in what language the Chinese could possibly negotiate with the Russians in the midst of deserts. This was removed by two Jesuits, one a Portuguese, called Pereira; the other a Frenchman, whose name was Gerbillon. They set out from Pekin along with the Chinese ambassadors, and were the real negotiators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Russian embassy, who understood this language. The head of the Russian embassy was Golowin, governor of Siberia, who had a more splendid retinue than the Chinese themselves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Russian empire to a people who looked upon themselves as the only power upon earth. The Jesuits fixed the limits of both empires, at the river Kerbechi, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. The country south of that river was adjudged to the Chinese, the north side to the Russians, who lost only a small fort, which happened to have been built beyond the limits. A peace was agreed to; and, after some contests, both the Russians and Chinese swore to it in these terms; "If any of us entertains the least thought of renewing the flames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, who knows the heart of man, to punish the traitor with sudden death."

The treaty was reduced into Latin, and two copies were made of it. The Russian ambassadors set their names the first to the copy left in their possession; and the Chinese also signed theirs the first, according to the European manner of treating between equal powers. On this occasion was observed another custom of the Asiatic nations, and indeed of the earliest ages; the treaty was engraved on two large pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires. Three years after this transaction, the czar sent a Danish gentleman, Isbrant Ides, upon an embassy to China; in consequence of which, an advantageous commerce subsisted between the two nations.

A.D. 1694. It was not so easy to settle matters with the Turks: this even seemed a proper time for the czar to raise himself on their ruin. The Venetians, whom they had long overpowered, began to retrieve their losses: Morosini, the same who surrendered Candia to the Turks, was dispossessing them of Peloponnesus, whereby he obtained the title of Peloponnesian, an honour which revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had gained some advantages over the Ottoman forces in Hungary;

Expedition of the Russians to the Palus Maeotis.

gary; and the Poles were at least able to repel the incursions of the Crim Tartars.

Peter improved these circumstances, to discipline his troops, and to acquire, if possible, the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Don towards Asoph, with his regiment of five thousand men; he was followed by general Le Fort with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of strelitzes under the command of Scheremetoff and Schein, officers of Prussian extraction; by a body of Cossacks, and by a large train of artillery. In short, every thing was ready for this grand expedition by the end of the year 1694.

The Russian army began its march under the command of marshal Scheremetoff, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, in order to attack the town of Asoph, situated at the mouth of the Tanais, or river Don, at the farther extremity of the Palus Mæotis, now called the Zabac Sea. The czar was with the troops, but appeared only as a volunteer; being desirous to learn, before he would take upon him to command. During their march they stormed two forts, which the Turks had erected on the banks of the river. A.D. 1695.

The Russians besiege Asoph, a first time, in vain.

This was an arduous enterprize, Asoph being very strong, and defended by a numerous garrison. The czar had employed several Venetians in building barks like the Turkish saicks, which, together with two Dutch frigates, were to fall down the Woronetz; but not being ready in time, they could not get into the sea of Asoph. All beginnings are difficult. The Russians having never as yet made a regular siege, miscarried in this first attempt.

One Jacob, a native of Dantzic, had the direction of the artillery under the command of general Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and indeed none but foreign engineers and foreign pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the batogs by Schein, the Prussian general. These severities were thought necessary at that time, in support of authority. The Russians submitted to such treatment, notwithstanding their disposition to mutiny; and after they had undergone that corporal punishment, they continued in the service as usual. Our Dantzicker was of another way of thinking, and determined to be revenged: he nailed up the cannon, deserted to the enemy, turned Mohammedan, and defended the town with great success. The besiegers made a vain attempt to storm Asoph, and, after losing a great number of men, were obliged to raise the siege.

A.D. 1696. Perseverance in his undertakings was the characteristic of Peter. In the spring, he marched a second time, to attack the town of Asoph with a more considerable army. About this time died the czar John. Though Peter never felt any diminution of his authority from his brother, who had only the name of czar, yet he had been under some restraint in regard to appearances. The expences of John's household were applied, upon that prince's demise, to the maintenance of the army; a very considerable relief to a government, which had not near so large a revenue as at present. Peter wrote to the emperor Leopold, to the states-general, and to the elector of Brandenburg, in order to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took some Calmucks into his pay, whose light-horse are of very great use against the Crim Tartars.

Peter besieges Asoph a second time, and takes it.

The most agreeable part of the czar's success, was that of his little fleet, which he had the pleasure to see completely equipped, and properly commanded. It defeated the Turkish saicks, that had been sent from Constantinople, and took some of them from the enemy. The siege was carried on regularly, though not entirely after our manner. The trenches were three times deeper than ours, and the parapets were as high as ramparts. At length the garrison surrendered, on the 28th of July, without having obtained any of the honours of war. They were likewise obliged to deliver up the traitor Jacob.

The czar immediately began to improve the fortifications of Asoph, with variety of out-works: he likewise ordered a harbour to be dug, capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the streights of Caffa, or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which opens the passage into the Euxine or Black Sea. He left thirty-two armed saicks before Asoph [a], and made all the preparations for fitting out a strong fleet against the Turks, which was to consist of nine sixty-gun ships, and of forty-one carrying from thirty to fifty pieces of cannon each. The principal nobility, and the wealthiest merchants, were obliged to contribute to the equipment of this fleet; and orders were issued out that the patriarch, the bishops, and the superior clergy, should find money to forward this new expedition, in honour of their country, and for the general advantage of Christendom. He likewise obliged the Cossacks to build a number of light boats, such as they use for their own occasions. The scheme was to drive the Tartars and Turks

His maritime preparations against the Turks;

[a] Le Fort's Memoirs.

for

for ever out of the Taurica Chersonesus, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia through Georgia. This is the very branch of trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to Colchis, and to this peninsula of Crim Tartary, which the czar seemed likely to subdue.

After his successful campaign against the Turks and Tartars, he was willing to accustom his people to glory, as well as to military toil. With this view, he made his army enter Moscow under triumphal arches, in the midst of fire-works and other rejoicings, intended to decorate the solemnity. The soldiers who had fought on board the Venetian gallies against the Turks, moved first in procession. Marshal Scheremetoff, the generals Gordon and Schein, admiral Le Fort, and the other general officers, took the precedency of their sovereign, who, to shew the nobility, by his own example, that merit ought to be the only road to military preferment, declared, that he had no rank in the army. *and triumphal return to Moscow.*

The slaves taken in this expedition followed the army; and Jacob, who had betrayed them the year before, was carried in a cart, with the gibbet, to which he was fastened, after he had been broke upon the wheel.

Upon this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia. The legend, which was in the language of that country, is remarkable: "Peter the First, the august emperor of Muscovy." On the reverse is Asoph, with these words, "Victorious by fire and water."

Notwithstanding this success, Peter was very much grieved that all his ships and gallies in the sea of Asoph should be built by foreigners Besides, he had a strong desire to have a harbour upon the Baltic, as well as upon the Euxine sea.

These considerations determined him to send some of the young nobility of his empire into foreign countries, where they might improve. In 1697 he sent sixty young Russians of Le Fort's regiment into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, in order to learn the art of navigation, and the method of constructing gallies [b]; forty more set out by his direction for Holland, with an intent to instruct themselves in the art of building and working large ships; others repaired to Germany to serve in the land-forces, and to learn the military discipline of that nation. At length he resolved to absent himself from his dominions for a few years, the better to learn how to govern A.D. 1697. *He sends young gentlemen into foreign countries for their improvement;*

[b] Voltaire, p. 143. from general Le Fort's manuscript.

them.

them. He could not withstand the temptation of having recourse to his own observation and experience, in order to perfect himself in the knowlege of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he longed to introduce among his subjects. With this view he purposed travelling incognito to Rome, through Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, and Venice. In this tour Spain and France were omitted; the former, because his favourite arts were too much neglected in that country; and the latter, because they were, perhaps, cultivated there with too much vanity, and the parade and state of Lewis XIV. which had given offence to so many potentates, might not be agreeable to a prince who intended to travel merely for his improvement, and without any restraint of pomp and ceremony. He was moreover connected with most of the powers whom he intended to visit, except those of France and Rome. He bore a kind of grudge to Lewis XIV. for a disregard shewn by that prince to the Russian embassy, which had been sent to France in 1687; and that monarch had already espoused the interests of Augustus, elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti disputed the crown of Poland.

and resolves to take the same step himself.

His resolution being taken to visit the several countries and courts before mentioned, as a private gentleman, he went in the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had mingled with his generals, at his triumphant entry into Moscow.

These ambassadors were general Le Fort, the bojar Alexis Golowin, commissary-general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who had signed the treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China on the frontiers of that empire; and Vonitzin, diack, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. The chief retinue of this embassy were the four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages to each ambassador, and a company of fifty guards with their officers, belonging to the regiment of Preobrazinski; the whole consisting of two hundred persons. The czar reserving to himself only a valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mixed with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, either ancient or modern, for a sovereign of twenty-five years of age, to withdraw from his kingdoms only in order to learn the art of government. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendor of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the multitude of foreign troops attached to his interest, the death of his brother John, the confinement of the princess Sophia to a cloister, and, above all, the general respect shewn to his person, might naturally encourage

encourage him to hope that the tranquillity of his dominions would not be disturbed during his absence. The regency was entrusted to the bojar Streschneff, and the knez Romadonouski, who were to consult with the rest of the nobility in matters of importance.

The troops which had been trained by general Gordon continued at Moscow, with a view to awe the capital. The strelitzes were distributed on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, in order to preserve the conquest of Asoph, and to check the incursions of the Tartars. Having thus provided against every untoward incident, he gave a free scope to his passion for travelling, and to his desire of improvement.

This journey having been the occasion or pretence of that bloody war, which so long obstructed, but at length contributed to promote the noble designs of Peter the Great; which dethroned Augustus, king of Poland; which bestowed a crown on king Stanislaus, and snatched it away from him, as it were, the next moment; which raised Charles XII. king of Sweden, to the highest pitch of military glory, during the space of nine years, and reduced him to be the sport of fortune for nine years more; it is proper, before we enter into a particular narrative of these transactions, to give a sketch of the general state of Enrope at that period.

General state of Europe at that time.

Sultan Mustapha II. was seated on the Turkish throne. His administration was impotent and feeble; he made no great efforts, either against Leopold, emperor of Germany, whose arms were successful in Hungary; or against the czar, who had lately taken Asoph, and threatened to make himself master of the Euxine Sea; or even against the Venetians, who at length possessed themselves of the whole province of Peloponnesus.

John Sobieski, king of Poland, who immortalized himself by the victory at Choczim, and by the deliverance of Vienna, died the 17th of June, 1696; this crown was disputed by Augustus, elector of Saxony, who obtained it; and by Armand, prince of Conti, who had only the honour of being elected.

Sweden had lately lost, but did not much lament, its king Charles XI. He was the first sovereign who had ever been really possessed of absolute power in that kingdom; and was father of a prince, in whose reign this power still increased, though it was abolished at his demise. He left the crown to his son Charles XII. then only fifteen years of age; a circumstance which seemed to favour the czar's designs of extending his dominions towards the gulf of Finland

land and Livonia. It was not enough for his purpose to harrass the Turks in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea; nor could he make any settlements on the Palus Mæotis, or towards the Caspian Sea, that should answer his schemes of trade, navigation, and power. The glory too which every reformer ardently wishes to acquire, was not to be obtained either in Persia or Turky; but in our part of Europe, where merit and abilities are consigned to immortality. In short, Peter did not want to introduce either the Turkish or Persian customs, but ours among his subjects.

Germany was then at war both with the Turks and the French; but having been supported by her allies, Spain, England, and Holland, against Lewis XIV. she was upon the point of concluding a peace; to which end the plenipotentiaries were just met at Ryswick.

Travels of Peter the Great.

Such was the situation of affairs when Peter and his ambassadors began their journey in the month of April, 1697, by the way of Great Novogorod. From thence they proceeded through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, but at length conquered by the Swedes.

The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of Riga, its capital, were capable of tempting the czar to possess himself of that country; at least, he had the curiosity to desire to see the fortifications of the citadel; but count d'Alberg, governor of Riga, refused to gratify the Russian monarch, and seemed even to slight the embassy. This rude behaviour is said to have incensed Peter so much, as to make him tell d'Alberg, that he hoped to see the day when he should be able to refuse the same thing to the king of Sweden himself.

From Livonia they travelled on to Brandenburg Prussia; part of which was inhabited by the ancient Vandals. What is now called Polish Prussia was included in Sarmatia Europæa. Brandenburg Prussia was a poor country, very thinly peopled: yet the elector, its sovereign, who afterwards obtained the title of king, made a most extraordinary and expensive figure on this occasion. He piqued himself upon receiving this embassy in his city of Konigsberg, with a royal magnificence. The most costly presents were exchanged on both sides. The contrast between the French mode of apparel, which the court of Berlin particularly affected, and the long Asiatic robes of the Russians, with their caps adorned with pearls and diamonds, and their scimitars hanging by their sides, must have had a very singular effect. The czar was dressed in the German fashion. A Georgian prince in his retinue, displayed a different sort

of

of magnificence in the Persian habit: he was taken prisoner afterwards at the battle of Narva, and died in Sweden.

Peter, in his heart, despised this external pomp; and we could have wished that he had shewn the like contempt for carousing and feasting, a kind of entertainment in which the Germans at that time used to place their whole delight [b]. It was at one of these sumptuous treats, the bane at once of health and morality, that this prince drew his sword against his favourite Le Fort: but he expressed the same concern for this short transport of passion, as Alexander shewed for the murder of Clitus; for he asked that gentleman's pardon. He said, that he wanted to reform his subjects; but that he could not as yet reform himself. Le Fort, in his manuscript, seems more ready to commend the czar for this generous disposition of mind, than to blame him for being hurried away by this impulse of passion.

The ambassadors went through Pomerania to Berlin; and from thence one part took their route by Magdeburg, and the other by Hamburg, a town already considerable by means of its extensive commerce, but not so gay and opulent as at present. They then directed their course towards Minden, passed through Westphalia, and at length arrived by the way of Cleves at Amsterdam.

He arrives at Amsterdam.

The czar had reached this city fifteen days before the ambassadors: he lodged at first in a house belonging to the East India company; but chose afterwards a small apartment in the yards of the admiralty. He disguised himself in a Dutch skipper's habit, and went to the village of Sardam, where many more vessels were then built than at present. This village is equal in populousness and opulence, but superior in neatness, to a great many flourishing towns. Peter admired the multitude of workmen constantly employed; the order and exactness observed in their several departments; the prodigious dispatch with which they built and fitted out ships; and the incredible quantity of stores and machines for the greater ease and security of labour. He began with purchasing a boat, and made a mast for it with his own hands: by degrees he executed every part of the construction of a ship; and lived all the time, as a common carpenter; clad and fed exactly like them; working hard at the forges, at the rope-yards, and at the several mills for sawing of timber, for extracting of oil, manufacturing paper, and wire-drawing; of all which there is a prodigious number around the village.

[b] Voltaire, from Le Fort's Memoirs.

He

Enters himself as a common ship-wright at Sardam.

He entered himself as a common carpenter, and was enrolled in the list of their workmen, by the name of Peter Michaeloff. They commonly called him Master-Peter, Peter-bas; and though they were confounded at first to behold a sovereign their companion, yet they gradually accustomed themselves to the sight.

Whilst Peter was handling the compass and axe at Sardam, he received intelligence of the division in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Augustus and the prince of Conti. Immediately, the carpenter of Sardam promised king Augustus to assist him with thirty thousand men. From his shop he issued out orders to his army in the Ukraine, which had been assembled against the Turks.

His troops obtain a victory over the Tartars.

His troops obtained a victory over the Tartars (I), in the neighbourhood of Asoph; and in a few months after became master of the town of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Precop. For his part, he persisted in making himself master of different arts. With this view he frequently went from Sardam to Amsterdam, in order to hear the anatomical lectures of the celebrated Ruysch: under this master he made such improvement, as to perform some chirurgical operations. He likewise studied natural philosophy, under burgomaster Witsen, celebrated for his patriotic virtue, and for the noble use he made of his immense fortune.

He pays a private visit to king William III.

Peter-bas suspended these occupations for a few days, to pay a private visit at Utrecht and at the Hague, to William, king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces. General Le Fort was the only person present at the interview of these two monarchs. Peter assisted next at the ceremony of the public entry of his ambassadors, and at their audience; when the deputies of the states were presented, in his name, with six hundred of the finest sables: the states, in return, besides the usual present of a gold chain and a medal to each, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the first visit of all the plenipotentiaries assembled at the congress of Ryswick, except the French, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only because the czar espoused the part of king Augustus against the prince of Conti; but because king William, whose friendship he cultivated, was averse to a peace with France.

Upon his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his former occupations; and having finished with his own hands a

(I) On the 11th of August, 1697.

sixty-

sixty-gun ship, which he had begun, he sent it to Archangel; for the Russians had then no harbour in the Baltic.

Sends a ship of his own building to Archangel, and all sorts of artists to Moscow.

He not only engaged French refugees, Swiss, and Germans, to enter into his service, but took care to send all sorts of artists to Moscow. There are few arts and manual employments, with which he was not acquainted; he took a particular pleasure in rectifying the maps of geographers, who having at that time but a slender knowlege of his dominions, frequently fixed the situation of towns and the course of rivers at random. He made a draught with his own hand of a projected communication between the Caspian and Black Seas, and commissioned M. Breckel, a German engineer, to carry it into execution.

His troops gain another victory over the Tartars and Turks.

His troops, commanded by general Schein and prince Dolgorucki, gained another victory in the neighbourhood of Asoph, over the Tartars, and defeated a body of janizaries, whom sultan Mustapha had sent to their assistance. This success rendered the czar more respectable to those who had lately condemned him for quitting his dominions, in order to learn the mechanic arts in Amsterdam. They perceived that the weighty concerns of the sovereign did not suffer by the amusement of the traveller, philosopher, and artist.

A.D. 1698.

Peter continued his employments of ship-builder, engineer, geographer, and physician, till the middle of January 1698, when he embarked for England, in his ambassador's retinue. King William sent his yacht to meet him, with a convoy of two men of war.

He goes to England; where he perfects himself in the art of ship-building.

In England the czar followed the same manner of life as at Amsterdam and Sardam. He took lodgings near the king's yard at Deptford, and employed almost his whole time in gaining farther instruction. The Dutch carpenters had only taught him the practical part of shipbuilding; but in England he learnt the art in fundamental principles; the builders of this country working by plan and rule, and according to mathematical proportion. He soon became master of the theory. He undertook to build a ship according to the English method of construction, and it proved a prime sailer. Captain Perry, the engineer, who attended him from London to Russia, affirms, that there was not so much as a single article belonging to a ship, from the casting of cannon to the making of cables, but what he minutely observed, and set his hand to, as often as he came into the king's yards. His attention was also directed to watch-making; an art which had already been brought to great perfection in England.

King

and engages several artists.

King William permitted him to take a number of English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland; but beside the artificers, he engaged some mathematicians, whom he could not so easily have procured from that republic. He contracted for this purpose with Mr. Ferguson, a Scotchman, and a good geometrician. This was the man who introduced the arithmetical way of accounts into the exchequer in Russia, where before that time they made use only of the Tartar method of reckoning, with balls strung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was perplexing and imperfect; because after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, to obtain a certainty of there being no mistake. Ferguson was accompanied by two young mathematicians from Christ's hospital; and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded some time after by Peter the Great. He observed and calculated eclipses with Ferguson. Perry, the engineer, though greatly dissatisfied with the czar for not having been sufficiently rewarded, acknowleged that this prince had studied astronomy. He understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, and even the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed.

Perry set out upon his journey, in order to effect the junction of rivers, and to construct bridges and sluices. The czar's plan was to open a communication, by means of canals, between the Ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Sea.

We ought not to omit that the English merchants, headed by the marquis of Carmarthen, gave him fifteen thousand pounds, for leave to import tobacco into Russia. This branch of commerce had been prohibited by the patriarch from an ill-judged severity; for the Russian church looked upon smoaking as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better, and who, among his other projects, was meditating the reformation of the church, introduced the use of this commodity into his dominions. Whilst in England he frequently went to church; and sometimes to the meeting-houses of the quakers, and other sectaries, in the time of their service. He seemed greatly pleased with the armoury in the Tower, and also with the manner of coining money. He was carried into both houses of parliament when they were sitting; and was twice or thrice prevailed upon to go to a play; though he seemed to have no great relish for theatrical diversions. He always dressed in the English taste, sometimes like a gentleman, and sometimes like a sailor; used to go abroad with few or no attendants, and whenever he found himself gazed upon by the

the populace, he always quitted the place where he was. He likewise went to see the university of Oxford; and once paid a visit to the archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace at Lambeth.

Before he departed from England, king William entertained him with a mock sea-fight; which pleased him so greatly, that he declared, he thought an English admiral a much happier man than the czar of Muscovy. Little was it then imagined, that the czar would one day fight real battles on this element against the Swedes, and obtain victories on the Baltic. His Britannic majesty likewise made him a present of the Royal Transport, a most beautiful yacht, which he generally used for his passage over to Holland. Peter went back to Holland on board this vessel in the end of May, 1698, and took with him three captains of men of war, twenty-five captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This colony of ingenious men in the several arts and professions, sailed from Holland to Archangel on board the Royal Transport; and from thence were sent to the different places where their service was necessary. Those whom he engaged at Amsterdam, took the route of Narva, at that time subject to Sweden. *He returns to Holland.*

While the czar was thus transporting the arts and manufactures from England and Holland to his own dominions, the officers whom he had sent to Rome and Italy succeeded so far as also to engage some artists in his service. General Scheremetoff, who was at the head of his embassy to Italy, made the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta; while the czar proceeded to Vienna with the other ambassadors. He was willing to observe the military discipline of the Germans, after having seen the English fleet, and the dock-yards in Holland. But it was not the desire of improvement alone that induced him to make this tour to Vienna; he had likewise a political view, for the emperor of Germany was the natural ally of the Russians against the Turks. Peter saw Leopold incognito, and the two monarchs stood the whole time of the interview, to avoid the trouble of the court ceremonials. *He proceeds to Vienna.*

Peter was ready to set out from Vienna, in order to finish his improvements at Venice, when he received news of a rebellion which had lately broke out in his dominions. Before he quitted Moscow, he had guarded, as far as human foresight could direct, against every accident that might happen, and had even provided the means for suppressing an in- *And receives the news of a rebellion in his dominions.*

surrection: but his very endeavours to serve and aggrandize his country, proved the cause of this.

These disturbances were owing partly to some old bojars, pertinaciously fond of their ancient customs, and partly to the clergy, who looked upon the present innovations as sacrilegious. The old friends of the princess Sophia began to shew their heads. Her sister, who was confined to the same monastery, is said to have been very active in blowing the coals. It was represented on all sides, that the nation was in the utmost danger of being over-run with foreigners, under pretence of improving their manners [d]; and the permission which the czar had given to import tobacco into his dominions, notwithstanding the prohibition of the clergy, proved one of the strongest motives to rebellion. Superstition, which sheds its baleful influence over all the world, and yet is the delight of the vulgar, quickly spread itself from the common people of Russia to the strelitzes, who had been scattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they assembled, to the number of about ten thousand, and marched in a body towards Moscow, with an intent to place Sophia on the throne, and for ever exclude the czar, who had violated the laws and customs of his country, by presuming to travel for instruction among foreign nations; but their pretence was, the payment of their arrears. The regency sent to them, with offers not only of all the arrears they demanded, but of six months pay in advance, if they would return to their duty. But they declared, they would not listen to any proposals till they had consulted their friends at Moscow, and were absolutely certain whether the czar was alive or dead [e]. This declaration threw the whole city into the utmost consternation: every one remembering the havock made by those inhuman wretches in their former rebellion, and dreading the consequences of their present disposition; to prevent which, as much as possible, general Gordon was ordered to put himself at the head of his army, chiefly composed of veterans, and commanded by foreign officers. He met the rebels near the Jerusalem monastery, about forty miles from Moscow, and sent several persons of distinction to treat with them; but they still persisted in their resolution of going to Moscow, and declared, that if he opposed their passage, they would dispute it with him, though he had double their number of men. Gordon ordered some cannon to be fired over their

The regency endeavour in vain to pacify the rebels.

[d] Voltaire, p. 163, from the MSS. of Petersburg and of Le Fort.
[e] Perry's State of Russia, p. 180.

heads,

heads, to frighten them; but the shot doing no execution, the priests who were among them magnified this incident into a miracle, and persuaded them, that as they were engaged for the honour of God, and the defence of their religion, the shot of the enemy had no power to hurt them. Trusting to this assurance, and quite mad with enthusiasm, they ran furiously to the onset, which was very fierce for near two hours, at the end of which the rebels, seeing by the slaughter of three thousand of their men killed on the spot, that there was no miracle in the case, laid down their arms. Gordon then, imitating the Roman decimation, hanged up every tenth man, and carried the rest prisoners to Moscow: but this advantage, obtained by a foreign general over the standing troops of the nation, among whom were several of the citizens of Moscow, contributed still more to inflame the minds of the people.

Who are defeated, and surrender.

To pacify these troubles, the czar, laying aside his design of going to Venice, and from thence to Rome, at both which places great preparations were made for his reception, immediately set out privately for Vienna, passed through Poland, where he had an interview with king Augustus, with whom he entered into measures against the Swedes, in order to extend his own power towards the Baltic, and arrived at Moscow (K) before any one knew of his having left Germany.

Peter arrives unexpectedly at Moscow.

The first step he took was to reward the troops, who had defeated the strelitzes: the next being to chastize the offenders, the prisons were filled with those unhappy wretches. As their crime was great, so was their punishment. Their chiefs, with several officers and priests, were condemned to death[z]; some were broke upon the wheel, and two women were buried alive. Two thousand strelitzes were executed; part of whom were hanged at the gates of the walls that encompass the city; and others were dispatched in different manners: their bodies were exposed two days on the high roads, especially about the monastery, where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided. Monuments of stone were erected on this occasion, with an inscription setting forth the crime, and the punishment. A great number were banished, with their families; some

Exemplary punishment of the strelitzes.

[z] Voltaire, p. 168. from Perry's State of Russia, p. 183. and from Le Fort's MSS.

(K) In September 1698.

into Siberia, others to the kingdom of Astracan, and others to the country about Asoph. By this step their punishment was at least of some service to the state; for they helped to cultivate and improve a large track of waste land.

If the czar had not seen a necessity for making so dreadful an example, he would perhaps have employed in public works, some of those strelitzes, whom he ordered to be put to death, and who thereby were utterly lost, both to him and to the community; for the life of a subject ought to be considered as a very tender point, especially in a country where the article of population calls upon the utmost attention of the legislator: but his design was utterly to subdue and confound the spirit of the people, by the terror and multitude of executions. The entire corps of the strelitzes, whose number none of his predecessors had dared even so much as to reduce, was broke for ever, and their very name abolished. This great revolution was effected without the least opposition, because he had taken the several steps preparatory to it. Out of that whole corps of the strelitzes, he left only a few feeble regiments, from whom there was no longer any danger to be apprehended; though they still preserved the spirit of mutiny, so as to revolt once more in Astracan, in the year 1705; but this insurrection was soon quelled.

Who are broke, and their name abolished for ever.

Equal to the severity which Peter exerted on this particular emergency of state, was his humanity upon the loss he sustained some time after, of his favourite Le Fort, who was snatched away by an untimely fate, at the age of forty-six (L). He did him the honour of a funeral, that vied with the magnificence shewn at the obsequies of mighty sovereigns. He assisted in person at the procession with his pike in his hand, behind the captains, and in the rank of lieutenant, which he had submitted to in that general's regiment, with a view that the nobility might learn from thence to pay a due respect to merit, and to military subordination.

Death of M. le Fort.

After the decease of Le Fort, it appeared plainly, that the alterations in the state were not owing to that general, but had been originally contrived by the czar. It is true, he had been confirmed in his resolutions by conversing with Le Fort; but he himself planned his own schemes, and executed them entirely without that officer's aid or assistance.

(L) He died on the 12th of March, 1699.

At

As soon as he had suppressed the strelitzes, he established regular regiments on the German footing: he gave short habits and uniforms to the soldiers, instead of the cumbersome long coats, which they used to wear before; and at the same time, they were taught a more regular exercise. *Peter new-models his army.*

The Preobrazinski guards were already formed: they took their name from that original company of fifty men, whom the young czar had trained in his retreat at Preobrazinski, at the time when his sister Sophia governed the state: the other regiment of guards was also established.

As he himself had passed through the lowest degrees in the army, he ordered that the sons of his bojars and knezes should serve in the capacity of common soldiers before they commenced officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at Woronetz and towards Asoph, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship to the navy. None durst refuse to obey a master, who had deigned to set so extraordinary an example. Both the English and Dutch helped to equip this fleet for sea, to construct sluices, to establish docks for careening his ships, and to resume the grand work of joining the Don and the Wolga, which had been dropped by Breckel the German. From that time he set about the several reformations in his council of state, in the revenue, in the church, and even in society itself.

The revenue had been hitherto administered nearly in the same manner as in Turkey. Every bojar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, and raised it upon his dependents or bondsmen. But the czar appointed burghers and burgomasters for his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the privilege of paying into the public treasury only just what they pleased. This new administration of the revenue was what cost him the most trouble; and he was obliged to try several methods, before he could bring it to bear[b]. *Reforms the state of his finances;*

The reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as a dangerous attempt, proved an easy task to him. The patriarchs, as well as the strelitzes, had sometimes combated the imperial authority. The bishops had arrogated to themselves the power of the sword, so far as to condemn people to death, and to other corporal punishments; a privilege contrary to the spirit of religion, and to the subordination of government: *the church;*

[b] Perry's State of Russia, p. 191. and Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 173.

but now they were deprived of this authority. The patriarch Adrian happening to die at the end of this century, Peter declared he should have no successor.

This dignity was entirely abolished; and the great income of the patriarchal see was untied to the public revenue, which stood in need of this addition. The czar did not set himself up for the head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great Britain have done in regard to the church of England; yet he made himself absolute master of the clergy, because the synods no longer presumed to disobey a despotic sovereign, nor to dispute the orders of a prince who knew so much more than themselves.

It is true, he convened a synod, in order to see his laws carried into execution; but the members of the synod were to begin their ministry by taking an oath, the form of which had been written and signed by the czar himself. This was an oath of submission and obedience, couched in the following terms, "I swear fidelity and allegiance as servant and subject to my natural and true sovereign, and to his august successors, whom he shall please to nominate, by virtue of the inconteſtible power for that purpose, of which he is possessed: I acknowlege him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college; I swear by the all-seeing God, that I understand and mean this oath, in the full force and sense, which the words convey to those who read, or hear it." This oath is much stronger than that of the supremacy in England. The Russian monarch was not, indeed, one of the fathers of the synod; but he dictated their laws: he did not touch the censer; but he directed their hands that held it.

While he was waiting for the completion of this great work, he thought, that as his dominions were but ill peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. The ancient usage of the church of Russia is, that the secular priests shall marry at least once; nay they are obliged to do it: and formerly, when the priest lost his wife, he ceased to be in the sacerdotal order. But a multitude of cloistered young men and women, who make a vow to be useless to the public, and to live at other people's expence, appeared in his eye a dangerous institution. For which reason he ordained, that none should be admitted to a monastic life, till they were fifty years old; that is, till they were of an age when this temptation scarce ever seizes them: and he farther prohibited

bited them from receiving any perſon, of what age ſoever, inveſted with a public employment [h].

This regulation has been repealed ſince his time, becauſe the government has thought proper to ſhew greater condeſcenſion to the monaſteries: yet the patriarchal ſee has never yet been reſtored; but the great revenues of that high dignity are appropriated to the payment of the troops.

Theſe alterations were at firſt productive of ſome complaints; a certain prieſt declared in writing, that Peter was antichriſt, becauſe he would have no patriarch. But on the other hand, there ſtarted up a prieſt, who replied that it was impoſſible for the czar to be antichriſt, becauſe the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and he had not the ſign of the beaſt. Theſe murmurs were ſoon ſilenced. Peter, in reality, gave more to the church than he took from her; for by degrees he rendered the clergy more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moſcow, in which the ſtudents are inſtructed in different languages; and where the youth deſigned for the church are obliged to ſtudy.

One of the moſt neceſſary reformations, was the abolition, or at leaſt the mitigation of the three lents; an ancient ſuperſtition in the Greek church, no leſs pernicious to the perſons employed in the public ſervice, and eſpecially to the ſoldiers, than the old-cuſtom of not fighting on the ſabbath day had been to the Jews. Accordingly the czar granted, at leaſt to his troops and to his workmen, a diſpenſation from obſerving theſe lents; in which, though the people were not permitted to eat, yet it was cuſtomary for them to get drunk. He even diſpenſed with their abſtaining from fleſh-meat on fiſh-days; and the chaplains, both in the ſea and land-ſervice, were obliged to ſet the example, which they did without any reluctance.

The calendar.

The calendar was an object of importance. The regulation of the year was anciently made in all countries by the heads of religion, not only on account of the feſtivals, but becauſe in former times ſcarce any but prieſts underſtood aſtronomy. The Ruſſians began their year the 1ſt of September: but Peter ordained that from thenceforward the year ſhould commence, as in this part of Europe, on the 1ſt of January. This alteration took place in the year 1700, at the opening of the century, which he ordered to

[h] Conſett. Preſent State and Regulations of the Church of Ruſſia, p. 1. and Voltaire, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, p. 174.

be

be celebrated by a jubilee, and by other grand solemnities. The vulgar admired how the czar could be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate people being persuaded that God had created the world in the month of September, continued to observe the old way of reckoning; but the alteration took place in all the public offices, in the court of chancery, and soon after throughout the empire.

The manner of writing among the Russians.

Ever since the fifth century, the period in which the Russians were first made acquainted with the use of letters, they wrote on rolls either of bark or parchment, and afterwards of paper; the czar was obliged to publish an edict, commanding them to conform thenceforward to the manner of writing, used in other civilized countries.

Marriages.

The reformation became general. Marriages before that time were performed after the custom of Turkey and Persia, where the parties do not see each other till the contract is signed, and they cannot fly from their word. This custom may do well enough among people where polygamy is established, and the women are confined; but it cannot be suitable to countries where the men are obliged to be satisfied with one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

The czar strove to accustom his subjects to the manners and usages of the nations among whom he had travelled, and from whom he had received the several masters, who were then employed in instructing his people.

It was fit the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to foreign nations is too natural to mankind, and too much encouraged by a difference of dress. The long robe was the habit worn by all nations, as it required less fashion and art. For the same reason it was customary for people to let their beards grow. The czar found no difficulty in introducing the French mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the people were more stubborn, so that he was obliged to lay a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of cloaths were hung up at the gates of towns; and those who refused to pay, were obliged to have their garments and beards shortened.

Manners and customs.

It has ever been the attention of legislators to promote sociability; but for this end it is not sufficient to live together in towns; there must be a polite intercourse, which sweetens all the bitterness of life. The czar introduced those assemblies,

assemblies, which the Italians call ridotti. To these assemblies he invited ladies with their daughters, dressed according to the mode of the southern nations of Europe; nay, he published regulations for these little entertainments. Thus even the civilizing of his subjects was his own work.

To render these innovations, more agreeable, he abolished the word golut, *slave*, which the Russians made use of whenever they had occasion to speak to the czar, and in presenting petitions; he ordered them to substitute in its stead the word raab, which signifies *subject*. This alteration did not diminish their obedience, and yet was likely to conciliate their affection. Every month was productive of some change, or new institution. He carried his attention so far, as to order posts to be erected on the high road from Moscow to Woronetz, as miliary columns from werst to werst, that is, at the distance of seven hundred paces; and he took care to have a kind of caravanseras, or public inns, constructed at every twentieth werst.

While he thus directed his attention to the general advantage of his people, as well as of the merchants and travellers, he determined to render his court somewhat more brilliant; for though he was an enemy to magnificence in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. For this end he founded (M) the order of St. Andrew, in imitation of the several institutions of that kind, with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golowin, successor to Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. The honour of being admitted a member was looked upon as a considerable reward. The badge they carry about them commands the veneration of the populace; it is a mark of honour that costs the sovereign nothing; and it flatters the vanity of his subjects, without adding to their power. These useful innovations were received with great applause by the most sensible part of the nation; and the murmurs of those who adhered to the ancient customs, were silenced by the acclamations of all men of sound judgment.

Institutes the order of St. Andrew.

While Peter was thus beginning a new creation in the interior parts of his dominions, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turks, which enabled him to extend his territories on the other side. Mustapha II. who had been defeated by prince Eugene at the battle of Zenta, having also been stripped of the Morea by the Venetians,

A.D. 1699.

Concludes a truce with the Turks.

(M) On the 10th of September, 1698.

and

and finding himſelf unable to defend Aſoph, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies: this peace was concluded at Carlowitz (N), between Peterwaradin and Salankamen, places grown famous by his defeats. Temeſwar was made the boundary of the German poſſeſſions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kaminiek was ſurrendered up to the Poles; the Morea and ſome towns in Dalmatia, which had been taken by the Venetians, remained in their hands for ſome time; and Peter I. continued in poſſeſſion of Aſoph, and of a few forts conſtructed in its neighbourhood. The czar could not pretend to extend his dominions on the ſide of the Turks, as their whole force would be now united againſt him, whereas before it had been divided. His maritime ſchemes were too vaſt for the Palus Mæotis. The ſettlements on the Caſpian Sea would not admit of a fleet of men of war; he therefore turned his views towards the Baltic, without relinquiſhing the navigation of the Don and the Wolga.

(N) On the 26th of January, 1699.

END OF THE THIRTY-FIRST VOLUME.

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